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The Labors of a Positive Deviance Profession

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Abstract

The clergy are a quintessential example of a positive deviance profession. Further, clergy families are usually expected to represent the clergy. In the context of conducting qualitative interviews of clergy and their family members in terms of other issues, it became clear that the labor they perform is extensive and varied. While physical labor is minimal, other types of labor include the following: intellectual labor, unpaid labor, emotional labor, spiritual labor, aesthetic labor, care work, dirty work, and identity work. Additionally, much of this labor is imposed on the family of clergy. Positive deviance professions are demanding and, in the case of the clergy, challenging for the family.

The clergy constitute a unique positive deviance profession with lofty expectations. Clergy views it as a "calling" as well (Heckert, Heckert, and Morooka 2021; Ventimiglia, 1978). As Mills (1951: 215) famously claimed, "Work may be a mere source of livelihood, or the most significant part of one's inner life…" and clearly, for clergy, the expectation is of the latter. When accepted, the calling is paramount in a demanding profession. For example, entering the priesthood entails a strong level of commitment, both internal commitment (to the identity as a priest and to others in the profession) and extrinsic commitment (e.g., resource investment in academic preparation) (Ventimiglia, 1977). Not surprisingly, the demands from work are multiple and varied.

While researching the clergy in terms of other issues, it became evident that clergy engage in many types of labor as part of their work. By examining the types of labor they perform in relation to their profession and to their religious life and calling, we contribute to expanding the sociological understanding of a positive deviance profession and positive deviance itself. Expectations are extraordinary and seemingly beyond a more normative occupation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Positive Deviance

While slow to gain traction, positive deviance has become increasingly established in sociology. The concept has been used theoretically in sociology and has been applied to concrete societal problems (Herington & van de Fliert, 2018). Sociologists have used positive deviance to illuminate various empirical cases, including, for example, artists, students, and non-drinkers on a college campus (cf., Heckert 1989; Shoenberger, Heckert, and Heckert 2012; Shoenberger, Heckert, and Heckert 2015; Wolfzorn, Heckert and Heckert 2006; Herman-Kinney & Kinney, 2013; Heckert, Morooka, and Heckert 2022).

Some sociologists have simply argued that positive deviance is not possible as deviance is inherently negative (cf., Sagarin 1985; Goode, 1991; Best 2004), and other sociologists have presented idiosyncratic definitions (cf., Buffalo and Rogers 1971; Ewald, 1981; Ewald & Jiobu, 1985; Palmer & Humphrey, 1990). The two most substantial characterizations of positive deviance – and deviance, in general – are the normative and reactivist perspectives (cf., Heckert and Heckert 2004). Whether explicitly using the term positive deviance or not, those sociologists adhering to the normative point of view visualize positive deviance as achieving at the idealized rather than realistic level of the norm (cf.; Sorokin, 1950; Wilkins, 1965; Winslow, 1970). On the other hand, reactivist theorists explain positive deviance as positively assessed attributes of behaviors (cf., Freedman and Doob, 1968; Hawkins & Tiedeman, 1975; Scarpitti & McFarlane, 1975; Steffensmeier & Terry, 1975; Norland, Hepburn, and Monette 1976). A trailblazer, Dodge (1985) combined the two, defining positive deviance as that over-conformity that is positively appraised.

Heckert and Heckert (2002) offered an integrated model and applied it to occupations (Heckert, Heckert, and Morooka 2021). Negatively appraised

underconformity or nonconformity is negative deviance. Drug dealers, in the illegal economy, constitute a negative deviant occupation. On the other hand, when audiences positively react to underconforming or nonconforming behavior, deviance admiration has occurred. Mafioso, in the illegal economy, is an example. When there is a negative reaction to overconformity, rate-busting has occurred. CEOs fit into this category. With a positive evaluation of overconformity, positive deviance takes place. The clergy are one of the best examples of a positive deviance occupation. Goffman (1963:142) recognized the "morally misaligning role" of clergy who were mandated to adhere to idealized norms. Not surprisingly, as a positive deviance profession, considerable expectations lead to complex, diverse, and challenging work.

Categories of Labor

Individuals at work offer either goods or services. Services can produce a public with a voracious interest in acquiring even more services, and clergy prove to be no exception (Hodson & Sullivan, 2012). Various forms of labor accompany occupations or professions. The potential labor of work ranges greatly and can include the following: physical, intellectual, spiritual, care work, emotional, aesthetic, dirty work, and identity work. Each occupation may have more than one form of labor. For example, Chandrachud and Gokhale (2019) refer to workers in the hotel industry in developing nations as having physical labor, intellectual labor, unpaid labor, and emotional labor. Additionally, some other forms of labor have been defined that will not be examined in this paper. For example, body labor involves work that is focused on the human body and those services rendered (e.g., pedicures) along with accompanying feelings (Kang, 2010; Maher, Charles, and Wolkowitz, 2019). Feeding labor has been defined as labor in the service sector that provides physical succor to human bodies (such as performed by school food service employees) (Vancil-Leap, 2016).

A traditional dichotomy has been between physical and mental labor. Physical labor involves physical work, as Pini (2005) pointed out in the case of farm work and is based on abilities such as strength and action. For example, many occupations have a strong element of physical labor attached (cf., Vancil-Leap 2016). Metaphorically and literally, physical labor refers to the work of the hands and body (Davis & Feekin, 2005). The clergy do not have a heavy involvement in physical labor.

Intellectual labor is another aspect of work. Offer (2014:916) has more specifically defined mental labor as part of family work done to coordinate daily happenings. However, as more broadly understood, intellectual labor is knowledge-based and important in terms of being a principal component of the definition of a profession. For Hodson and Sullivan (2012), one of the key components of a profession is that it is based on knowledge, specifically, knowledge that is esoteric in nature. For Merton (1960), knowledge was a portion of the following social values of professions: knowing, or systematic knowledge; doing, or technical skill and trained capacity; and helping, or applying this knowledge and skill in service to others. According to Carroll (1971:62), professional socialization in Protestant

theological seminaries includes the molding of values and norms, as well as the knowledge base of theology and the profession. The theological knowledge taught in seminary includes the theology of the religion, as well as the theological basis of a denomination; further, the budding minister is taught to "engage in theological reflection and analysis." As Finke and Dougherty (2002:104) noted, the educational qualifications can vary by denomination; indeed, a schism between denominations emphasizing seminary training (e.g., Anglicans) and those relying more heavily on the called and their "divine insight" without benefit of seminary training (e.g., Baptists and Methodists) emerged early in American history in the nineteenth century. While the Baptists and Methodists did develop seminaries over time, the latter tradition still exists among various groups, including sectarian groups. In essence, as Hughes (1965:2) wrote, "Professionals profess…to know better than others the nature of certain matters, and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs." He saw this as the crux of the professional ideal. The clergy typically (e.g., Catholics and mainline Protestants) spend several years in seminary after college and involve themselves in many intellectual activities, such as the careful crafting of sermons.

Care work is another type of labor. Besides being accomplished privately, care work is done in the marketplace and refers to the delivery of care for a wage (England, 2005). Indeed, care work is "increasingly marketized" (Charlesworth, Baines, and Cunningham 2015:598). According to Hodges (2020:24), care work offers "…the social reproductive labor necessary for maintaining the physical, mental, social and/or emotional needs and well-being of recipients." For England, Budig, and Folbre (2002:455), care work or "caring labor" is part of "occupations in which workers are supposed to provide a face-to-face service that develops the human capabilities of the recipient." It includes those who provide psychological therapy (England, 2005). An emotional bond between worker and client is often present (Deguili, 2015), as was examined in the case of immigrant home eldercare workers in Italy. While it is only a portion of their work, the clergy provide emotional services for their parishioners and are even often there during the most trying times of life, such as dying or the death of a loved one.

Aesthetic labor is another portion of much work. Part of how an individual presents themselves in public is through their appearance. Appearance is an important aspect of how people define self and how others define self (Heckert & Best, 1997). Appearance has been examined as an element in occupational discrimination, as in the case of those overweight (Pagan & Davila, 1997) and wage discrimination for less attractive females (French, 2002). Generally, deviant physical appearance has often been stigmatized (Heckert, 2011). According to Mears (2014:1330), aesthetic labor refers to the "…practice of screening, managing, and controlling workers on the basis of their physical appearance." Among variables such as look and grooming, dress style is part of the package. One issue related to appearance is how a person is dressed in relation to their career. For example, a worker may be required to wear a certain uniform or even suggestive clothing in certain lines of work (Hodson & Sullivan, 2012). The clergy also must abide by a dress code. Clergy may wear a collar, which Ventimiglia (1978) described as symbolic of a priest, and other identifying clothing. Goffman (1959)

provided an example of the control of frontstage performance in the case of a French-Canadian priest who wanted to go swimming with friends but who would only do so with those friends who were not parishioners. Goffman (1959:137) proclaimed, "The familiarity required at the beach is incompatible with the distance and respect required in the parish." Even family members of clergy are guided by the expectations of primarily conservative or modest clothing. Aesthetic labor, or presenting oneself conservatively or modestly, yet respectably and not too threadbare, is part of a well-known societal mandate for clergy and even their family.

Emotional labor is another labor. Goffman (1955:213) proposed, "Face is an image of self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself." Further, face-work refers to the behaviors a person engages in so that face and behavior resonate cooperatively. The individual creates a face, and matching emotions emerge (Perakyla, 2015). Goffman (1955) provided examples of profession and religion; clergy combines both. Positive emotions are beneficial at a work site; negative ones detract from work (Hoffman, 2016). For example, teachers believe that they should express positive displays on the job and suppress negative ones (Lee et al., 2016). Emotional labor becomes a labor mandated at work. Hochschild (2003:7) seminally defined emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display." Emotional labor involves portraying feelings for a public display, and Hochschild (2003:7) elaborated, "This labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others…" For the flight attendants she studied, the smile was metaphorically a representation of the environment they were encouraged to create for passengers. Many occupations and professions, especially in the service sector of the economy, require the potential bifurcation of display and feeling; over the long term, differentiation can produce strain. Surface acting, for Hochschild (2003), is feigned; deep acting occurs when the real emotions correlate with those presented to the public. Humans can ameliorate work strain by bringing display and feeling nearer by "changing what we feel or changing what we feign" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 90). Emotional labor for Hochschild (2003) engenders various responses. A person who overwhelmingly connects to the job may face a tendency to burn out. They may also become numb. One who differentiates self from work will encounter a tendency to blame self for being inauthentic rather than experiencing job weariness. Finally, a worker can set apart self from acts and simply see the work as necessitating acting; this worker might become alienated from self and become cynical. Psychological difficulties are more likely to arise when there is a disconnect between the expected emotional display and the true feelings of the worker (McGuire, 2010). Hochschild (2003) noted that ministers are expected to provide empathy. Empathy is among the responses expected of clergy in their emotional labor. As the clergy have a calling, deep acting might be the expectation. Family members are also expected to exhibit emotional labor yet have not been called to the profession.

Spiritual labor is an example of a type of labor that sociologists do not readily focus on. McGuire 2010:75) defined spiritual labor as "…the commodification, codification, and regulation of organizational members spirituality." Examining the case of employees at a parochial boarding school, she concluded that spiritual labor is commodified when spirituality is part of the service offered (as in offering students supplemental socialization into the religion of Seventh Day Adventists), codified when rules govern the proper way for employees to exhibit spirituality (e.g., believing in the religion, tithing, and refraining from drinking alcohol); and regulated, when sanctions are imposed on norm violators (such as verbal reprimands to follow the rules and eventually job termination). When dissonance did occur among these employees between their public display and private feelings, the reaction was stronger than the "acting" involved in feigning emotional labor. As the realm was spiritual, the person experiencing dissonance often felt hypocritical. Spiritual practices are inherent to the clergy. For example, Finke and Dougherty (2002) found that untrained clergy dedicate 6.6 hours in prayer (and meditation) each week; trained clergy devote 4.4 hours. Further, rooted in the ideas of emotional labor, spiritual labor was analyzed by Meher, Trnka, and Dureau (2018:746) in their study of *maushya*, or elder care workers, in India. They found that despite the typically mundane tasks (and even dirty work) inherent in what they do, the workers created a "transcendent ethics of care…entwining understandings of their life and labor with religious and spiritual strivings." This ethic was on top of their relationships with clients and was rooted in a spiritual concept of *seva*, or a service ethic, rooted in both social and spiritual understandings. Spiritual labor is obviously an important labor provided by clergy to their parishioners. Further, it is often expected of family members.

Another labor is performing "dirty work." Hughes (1958) provided the notion of "dirty work" to refer to labor deemed to be lacking in dignity or unsavory. Hughes (1984) pointed to the most extreme example possible of the S.S.; nevertheless, he argued that each occupation has some type of dirty work (Hughes, 1958). Still, the concept of the labor of dirty work has been used to cover a myriad of work activities in varied occupations. Scott and Tracy (2007) presented the case of firefighters as a quintessentially positively perceived profession, which also entailed "dirty work" often hidden from the public view. For example, firefighters experience physical taint (e.g., dead bodies), social taint (distasteful clients), and moral taint (working with immoral people). As Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) elaborated, those taints can be an inherent part of prestigious occupations and those with less status. Occupations, such as criminal investigators, are often glamorized in the media (Huey & Broll, 2015). Individuals in an occupation that engage in "dirty work," which is often important work, can create a close occupational group that symbolically defines their work as altruistic, as in the case of gynecological nurses (Bolton, 2005). Clergy are expected to deal with various sorts of dirty work, such as offering succor to all, including those tainted with afflictions such as drug addiction. They also provide solace to the dying and those who have lost a family member or loved one. Expectations often follow family members.

Unpaid labor is another form of labor. Duffy and Pupo (2014:1) defined unpaid labor as "socially required and routinized labor that is normatively not

compensated for in terms of monetary and other tangible mechanisms of exchange." Reproductive work, or work in the home, has been considered a quite common type of unpaid labor (Duffy & Pupo, 2005). An evil type of unpaid work is slavery. They also point to other types of unpaid work such as training programs for the incarcerated, the unpaid work of internships or training, and mandatory volunteer work of students and relatives who assist in the survival of a family business. Indeed, unpaid work is becoming increasingly necessary for students as they build avenues toward success in developed economies (Grant-Smith & McDonald, 2018). In many respects, a clergy member is on call for emergencies every hour of every day and every day of a career, and thus, there is an intrinsic element of unpaid labor. Within the Protestant tradition, and even if freely chosen, family members often have the unpaid labor expectations of contributing to the success of the church at a level beyond a typical church member.

Identity is the human conceptualization of self; in the context of work, workers identify with work and construct identities. Work is one of the most essential elements of an individual's social identity (Hughes, 1958). According to Montgomery (2015:7), "Establishing and maintaining one's identity is a continually accomplished task that happens through 'identity work.'" Identity work refers to the process by which people perform and navigate their identity (Elliott, 2019) or, as Martin, Jerrard, and Wright (2020:311) explain, "the process of creating and maintaining identity." Identity can be used to illuminate individual and organizational (as well as managerial) phenomena (Martin, Jerrard, and Wright, 2020). Identity can be influenced by work organizations, as Smith (2011) found in her study of retail workers who come to view their identity as high-class hospitality workers through the company pushing the retail brand as desirable, creating identity work, albeit a product too expensive for the same employees on the salary the company provides. Identity is certainly tied to the normative structure of the worker's organization (Martin, Jerrard, and Wright, 2020). For the church, that organization is on the restrictive side compared to some work sites. Further, for those in the clergy, religious identity becomes a major component of work identity. Harvey (2016) found that priests "do religion" as a way of conducting life that also negotiates identity. The practices of religion assist in the creation and maintenance of religious identity. Harvey (2018) found two types of priests. Total identity priests were those for whom that identity dominated other identities and who maintained it through identity work. Partial-identity priests were partial priests for whom other identities were more prevalent and predominant, and the priest identity was placed in a partition of multiple ones. For the priests he interviewed, identity work consisted of various phenomena, such as identity talk, descriptions of their calling, clericalism, dress, and, to a lesser degree, associational patterns. Overall, for clergy, there is an expectation of identity work as part of the job requirements. Clergy family members often have their own identity work.

Clergy constitute the prime example of a positive deviance profession. The demands are exceptional. Consequently, there are many potential types of labor associated with the profession of clergy. Further, some of these expectations do not stop at the clergy as they are extended to the entire family.

DATA AND METHODS

Through in-depth semi-structured interviews, we utilized qualitative methodology as the basis of this study, focusing on the subjective understandings of those we interviewed. We interviewed 29 clergy and family members of clergy. Family members in this sample included spouses (or significant others), children, and a sibling. Snowball sampling was the basis of a few interviews; nevertheless, most of the interviews were obtained as part of a convenience sample (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Non-probability sampling is characterized by a lack of generalizability; nevertheless, much qualitative research uses it (cf., Miller 1986; Schneider & Conrad, 1993). Generalizability is an ongoing issue with qualitative research, which waxes and wanes in popularity. Qualitative and quantitative research are characterized by different norms (Aspers & Corte, 2019). According to Aspers and Corte (2019:145), while both qualitative and quantitative research proffer the same sublime goal "to understand the world better," the methodologies and focus are quite different. Further, Aspers and Corte (2019:146) maintain that qualitative research "tends to focus on meanings and motivations that underlie cultural symbols, personal experiences, phenomena and detailed understanding of processes in the social world." Clearly, with 29 interviews, no claims of generalizability are made. Nevertheless, transferability is an important concept in qualitative research, according to constructivist researchers. For Drisco (2025:103), transferability is a process of abstraction used to apply information drawn from specific persons, settings, and eras to others that have not been directly studied." According to Subedi (2023:63), transferability is dependent on "thick description" and rooted in the "intricacies of participants' experiences." It is likely that the results would be transferable to most clergy and clergy families across the Christian spectrum. A strength of the research was the focus on interviews with clergy and clergy family members from across the Christian spectrum and the inclusivity of people of various races, genders, and ages. Inquiry from qualitative research abounds. Further research could be conducted among clergy and other faiths to establish the external validity of our findings.

Regarding sample size, qualitative research offers the idea of saturation, suggesting that when new themes no longer emerge, the number of interviews suffices (Mahusudan 2023: Saunders et al. 2018). As Glaser and Strauss (1967:61) seminally explained:

> The criterion for judging when to stop sampling the different groups pertinent to a category is the category's *theoretical saturation. Saturation* means that no additional data are being found, and the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated.

The data collection reached the level of saturation as is common in qualitative research.

The recorded interviews took place in person – by the first three authors -- and lasted from 45 to 75 minutes each and were subsequently transcribed. The interviews all included the same standard questions. These questions can be subsumed under the following categories. We asked questions – of both clergy and clergy family – regarding their interpretations of the rules and norms for their religious and everyday life. We also asked questions about whether they felt these rules were applied differently to them and other members of society. Further, questions addressed their feelings about their reaction to any violation of major and minor rules. We questioned those we interviewed about differential responses to the violations of norms by clergy in contrast to other people in society and any sanctioning that took place. Finally, questions focused on the impact of the rule-breaking and how it impacted them and their sense of self.

Interviews were inductively analyzed by the first and last authors, shared patterns assessed, and descriptive examples demonstrating the pattern found (Heckert and Best 1997; Heckert, 2003). Previous research from this data (Heckert, Morooka, and Heckert 2021; Heckert, Morooka, and Heckert 2022) focused on issues germane to the focus of the interviews. However, quite interestingly, in the process of analyzing the data, it became apparent that other issues emerged naturally as the clergy and clergy family addressed their lives. In other words, clergy and clergy family seemed to focus on another direction as well, on the heavy labor expected of them. We found that the clergy – and the family of clergy – described the many types of work they perform in conducting their jobs. We coded those responses.

We strove for maximum variability in the sample. Roof and McKinney (1987) created a typology of dominant religious groups in the United States. According to their typology, the dominant religious groups share theological similarities as well as patterns of comparable ideological viewpoints of members on social and moral issues (i.e., civil liberties, racial justice, women's rights, and moral and sexual issues). By doing so, they concluded that there are six main religious traditions in the United States: Catholics, Jews, Black Protestants, liberal Protestants, moderate Protestants, and conservative Protestants. The Protestant groups are composed of denominations. Black Protestants include denominations such as Methodists and Northern and Southern Baptists. Black Protestantism is deeply rooted in American history, both historical oppression and the resolve of free African Americans to develop their own churches, as Richard Allen and Absalom Jones founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794 (Roberts & Yamane, 2021). Representing more liberal views, the liberal Protestant faction is composed of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ denominations. The moderate Protestant grouping is formed by denominations such as the Methodists, Lutherans, Christians (Disciples of Christ), Northern Baptists, and Reformed. Representing the conservative end of the continuum, conservative Protestants are comprised of denominations such as the following: Southern Baptist, Church of Christ, Evangelical/Fundamentalist, Nazarenes, Pentecostals/Holiness, Assemblies of God, and Church of God. Some groups, such as Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, and Unitarian-Universalists, are idiosyncratic in reference to this typology. To assure maximum variability, we interviewed clergy

and family members from all the major groups (in the United States) within the Christian tradition: Catholics, Black Protestants, liberal Protestants, moderate Protestants, and conservative Protestants. In Table 1 we provide demographic information about the clergy and family members we interviewed.

Regarding the respondents, 12 lived in the southeast and 17 in the northeast. Of the clergy, nine were Catholic priests, and eight were Protestants (i.e., two Black Protestants, two liberal Protestants, three moderate Protestants, and one conservative Protestant). Their ages extended from 28 to 83. In reference to race, two Protestant clergy were African American, one Catholic priest was biracial, and the others were white. Further, two of the Protestant ministers were women. Amongst family members, one white sister of a Catholic priest was interviewed. Additionally, our respondents included five African Americans who represented the Black Protestant tradition, two white liberal Protestants, three white moderate Protestants, and one white conservative Protestant. The clergy family included one wife, one husband, one male fiancé, six daughters, one son, and a woman who was both a daughter and a wife.

As mentioned, in the process of interviewing clergy and family members about aspects specific to positive deviance (idealized expectations) and the reactions of others, other categories naturally emerged. We focus on the diverse types of labor that clergy perform, as delineated by the clergy and by clergy family. We also outline, at times, the labor of clergy families, often less recognizable on the surface. Thus, the overarching research question is the following. How do clergy and clergy families understand the vast nature of the work expected of them, representing a positive deviant profession?

Name	Age	Gender	Race	Status: Clergy or Family Member	Denomination	Roof and McKinney Typology
Rachel	87	Female	White	Clergy daughter and clergy wife	United Church of Christ	Liberal Protestant
Joseph	55	Male	White	Clergy	United Church of Christ	Liberal Protestant
Susan	59	Female	White	Clergy	Episcopalian	Liberal Protestant
Lucy	58	Female	African American	Clergy child	Holiness (Pentecostal)	Black Protestant
Matthew	Above 40 (respondent did not want to provide exact age)	Male	African American	Clergy	Pentecostal	Black Protestant
Emma	28	Female	White	Clergy	Methodist	Moderate Protestant
Amanda	22	Female	African American	Clergy daughter	Pentecostal	Black Protestant
Ella	19	Female	African American	Clergy daughter	Baptist	Black Protestant
Sean	36	Male	White	Clergy	Lutheran (ECLA)	Moderate Protestant
Ashley	21	Female	African American	Clergy daughter	United Holy Church	Black Protestant
John	74	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Anthony	75	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Michael	41	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic

Mark	77	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Stephen	83	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Paul	79	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Angela	Above 40 (respondent did not want to provide exact age)	Female	White	Clergy sister	Catholic	Catholic
Andrew	74	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Tom	21	Male	White	Clergy son	Southern Baptist	Conservative Protestant
Iris	21	Female	African American	Clergy daughter	Missionary Baptist/Baptist	Black Protestant
Elizabeth	47	Female	White	Clergy daughter	Presbyterian	Liberal Protestant
Lorenzo	62	Male	African American	Clergy	Charismatic	Black Protestant
Pierre	78	Male	White	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Luke	31	Male	Biracial	Clergy	Catholic	Catholic
Philip	24	Male	White	Clergy fiancé	Methodist	Moderate Protestant
Alan	40	Male	White	Clergy husband	Lutheran (ECLA)	Moderate Protestant
Nathan	30	Male	White	Clergy	Pentecostal, Charismatic (Independent; Nondenominational)	Conservative Protestant
Danny	50	Male	White	Clergy	Methodist	Moderate Protestant
Mary	49	Female	White	Clergy wife	Methodist	Moderate Protestant

FINDINGS

Physical Labor

The clergy do not compose an occupational group involved in much physical labor, such as lumberjacks or construction workers. A few pointed to some minor types of physical activities that they engaged in, and those were primarily rooted in their orientation of service to others. For example, Danny, a 50-year-old white Methodist minister, observed that he might help a community member cut

grass. Mary, the middle-aged white Methodist minister's wife, also mentioned that her husband, who was a mechanic prior to entering the ministry, had often worked on fixing cars of people, without compensation, to help them out. Emma, a 28-year-old white Methodist minister, also stated that as she worked with the youth, they "split a lot of wood" to help others in the community. The same can be said for the families of clergy. Occasionally, they mentioned a labor they engaged in, and it was also rooted in a service orientation. Mary, a 49-year-old white Methodist minister's wife, stated: "I love helping people around. I'm going with (name of person) to bring (another person) home because she can't lift him. I'm a CAN. I can lift him. I'm excited. But I don't want you to think I act that way. You know, I enjoy doing it." Philip, a 24-year-old white fiancé of a minister, simply observed that in the traditional case of a wife, the expectation is "to do some cooking, or make the biscuits in the morning, that type of thing." The expectation of physical labor from the clergy and family is very minimal compared to traditional occupations rooted in labor.

Intellectual (or Mental Labor)

The clergy have theology as the basis of their field, and most have significant seminary training. They are aware of their intellectual labor; it is understood as essential to their profession. Matthew, an African American Pentecostal minister of a certain age (who declined to state his age), stated, "I'm a clergy; that means I should be a professional, and I should have in-depth knowledge concerning God's word." He further added, "I think the average believer expects the clergy to know the whole Bible, to be able to quote Scriptures." He commented that he was a "studier of the Bible." Paul, a 79-year-old white Catholic priest, noted that even with his considerable seminary education, "We have priests that are more scholarly and have probably more degrees than I have and better education." He understood the importance of theological education in the profession. Mark, a 77-year-old white Catholic priest, observed:

> The way we were trained, I'm part of the old school and part of the new school. We went into the seminary in a very structured black-and-white area, and Vatican II came (and) we were called to be our own persons. I went to Catholic University in Washington, DC, and we started with 50 and we ordained 25. I had my master's degree before I went to seminary.

Family members were aware of the intellectual labor of their loved ones. Alan, a 40-year-old white Lutheran (ECLA) minister's husband – in addition to pontificating at length about Martin Luther – simply described his wife's education, "In seminary, they read theology and think deep thoughts and do all this stuff." The intellectual labor continues in the practices of the clergy, for example, in the writing of sermons. As Angela, an elderly white female, stated about her brother, a priest, "I think David once went through anxieties because somebody said they didn't like his sermon, or his sermon didn't reach the point, or they disagreed with him." She

continued about her current parish, "We had good pastors at (a church) who gave thought-provoking homilies. They were not as enlightening as (those of her brother), but they left you with something to think about after they get out of the church."

While intellectual labor was not discussed as frequently by family members, there was some mention of it. Matthew, a minister, noted that people "might expect the children to know Scriptures." Amanda, a 22-year-old African American daughter of a Pentecostal preacher, proposed that she was encouraged to read the Bible as her father said to her that rather than immersing herself in mass media, "If you want to read something, read the Bible. You want to watch something, read the Bible; maybe God will give you a vision." Clergy has intellectual demands, and family members are aware of the intellectual labor demanded of the profession of the clergy. Some minor mention was made about the expectations for family members of the clergy.

Unpaid Labor

Unpaid labor was consistently brought up by both clergy and their family; still, it was not specifically addressed as a complaint but just noted in passing. For clergy, unpaid labor could be considered as follows. Although there are exceptions, such as doctors and the military, most occupations have parameters on time in that a person is expected to be on the job for certain hours. Many clergy described expectations of having to be available without limits, and thus, this could be considered unpaid labor. As Danny, a minister, noted, "When I get the phone call at 10:30 in the evening, and someone's in the hospital, and I have to go sit until 6 in the morning, I knew what I was signing up for, and that was it." A young biracial Catholic priest, Luke, proffered:

> Sometimes, people don't think that we have private lives in terms of personal time. We constantly have to be working, over and over. We have to be available for them. They ask us, "Can you do this thing for me?" There is a certain expectation that we will always be available certainly in terms of emergency visits to give Last Rites, for example, to the hospital. Sometimes, people think priests should never take a day off. I guess their perception is that we don't need that time. We have given ourselves totally to the church, and we are not entitled to any of that.

After outlining a lengthy list of the responsibilities of running his two churches, Michael, a 41-year-old white Catholic priest, also observed:

> I find that people sometimes have unreasonable or illogical expectations of my time. Part of the job of a priest is to go to the hospital when called to visit someone, and I will also be able to get to the place that someone wants me to be at a moment's notice right away. I find it is unreasonable. I find it almost childlike or fantastical. It's almost like a fantasy. And it (is) almost to be related to the idea

that the priest is so exalted that the priest can do things other humans can't do. It would be silly to say that people think we can "bilocate," but it is true that they hope that we can do something like that.

Anthony, an elderly white Catholic priest, described his responsibilities:

The laity places a burden upon the clergy in terms of availability. You should be available all of the time. And they really place that burden, and many people accept that 24 hours a day, you (can) get a phone call; as I had one time at 3 o'clock in the morning, "My son lives in California" and something rather (like) "Would you please say now a mass for him?" I am called 24 hours a day.

Most of the clergy did note that they must learn to set boundaries for themselves in reference to the burden of unpaid labor.

For clergy family, there is simply an expectation that they should work without pay; this expectation extends beyond the normative hope of what a regular congregational member will do to support church ministries. There are few occupations left today where the spouse is part of some implicit package deal; political spouses are an example. Both spouses (or significant others) and children have demands of unpaid work placed upon them. Speaking of her friends from her Lutheran seminary, Susan, a 59-year-old white Episcopalian priest, stated that the male spouses were more likely to be expected to be involved in youth ministry. Female spouses were more likely to be pressured to work with women's outreach or play a significant role in running Sunday School. For the female spouses who were also enrolled in classes or a program in the seminary, "They would take classes in how to teach Sunday School. Yeah, it was interesting; you're taking classes to learn how to be a (clergy) spouse." She also noted that her husband was a long-time member of another church (and denomination), and so (as unpaid labor), he would come to her service and stay through her sermon and half of the service before departing to attend his own church service. Mary, a minister's wife, noted the unpaid quality of the work she performed. Discussing the considerable help she provided for a woman in her church, Mary stated, "It's not because I'm getting paid because I don't get paid. It's not because they make me, it's because that makes her happy. That makes the family happy. You know it gives (my husband) a break. It's whatever I can do to help you make your life a little better. I'll do it. If I can do it, I'll do it." Amanda, a minister's daughter, concluded that her mother was heavily burdened and stated about the congregation, "Pressuring her to sing in the choir or do the nursery or become a Sunday school teacher. She thought she was just going to sit in the pews like she had done for years before and just clap and stand up and shout hallelujah when it was time." She further noted that there were so many events she had to attend and church groups she had to participate in. "If she doesn't, it is like, where were you? The (other) pastor will call her out real quick." Emma, a minister, noted that spouses – especially in smaller congregations – are "expected to teach Sunday School and sing in the choir and show up to certain events and take leadership roles because they are married to the minister." These expectations of

unpaid labor extend to children. Tom, a 21-year-old white son of a Baptist minister, described how every Saturday and Sunday, he was pressured from an early age to engage in a myriad of activities, ranging from the choir, creative movement, leading prayers, and puppet shows. He and his sisters felt the weight of expectations to go beyond what would be more normative for other children involved in the church. He simply stated, "I definitely had to do all the activities from the church."

Unpaid labor is a constant in the life of clergy as work is expected beyond the hours normally associated with most jobs. For many spouses and children of clergy, unpaid labor is also part of an implicit package deal.

Emotional Labor

A significant type of labor is emotional labor, be it on the surface or deep. The maintenance of positivity is especially mandated for clergy. In fact, Paul, a priest, surmised from his life's work that congregants leave churches over personality issues with priests and "never theology," making emotional display quite important. He specified the importance of emotional work, "You have to be very careful about how you treat people. You've always got to be kind; even if you are out of sorts, you don't feel good, you are sick, and you still have to be kind. They expect it, in our denomination." Stephen, an elderly white Catholic priest, presented the importance of self-control and even knowing the names of parishioners and writing them down in "pencil on a card he kept in his pocket" as part of emotionally connecting with parishioners. As Emma, a clergy member, remarked, "You are always supposed to be friendly and open, and when you are out trying to have dinner, you're supposed to be open to any kind of pastoral situation that comes, and there is pressure to not ever turn off being a minister." She recounted situations when she was enjoying leisure time, when parishioners, and even strangers, posed theological questions, and she had to maintain her game face and put the leisure activity aside. Even the display of emotion and its appropriate calibration was subject to judgment. Surface and/or deep acting is expected. As Nathan, a 30-year-old white Pentecostal preacher, acknowledged that in addition to following strict norms:

> Even relationally, people expect ministers to act a different way. Somebody out in the congregation might feel like they can just tell somebody off and get in a fight with someone. But, if the minister does that, everyone is going to look at him and say whoa. This is not supposed to be happening. And so that aspect of, you feel all eyes are on you, basically, and you have to put that duty above your own wants and how you feel inside. Sometimes, you have to push that down; you have to suppress everything you want to say and do.

To assist him in public presentation, he stayed quiet on social media and stayed publicly neutral on political issues. Deep acting or feelings can occur naturally. As Sean, a 36-year-old white Lutheran minister, mentioned, "I've had one funeral

where I was very close to the parishioner, where I did kind of lose my composure, and some of them looked at that as being human and that I cared for that person, but some looked at it as he must have liked that person better than grandma. He didn't cry at hers." Even deep acting can be subject to judgment. Pierre, a 78-year-old white Catholic priest, discussed the difficulties in emotional control for a priest conducting joyful weddings in close proximity to profoundly sorrowful funerals; he stated, "Emotionally, you are up and down, up and down, worrying. I thought I don't think Jesus intended it to be this way." The emotional labor can have negative consequences, as Sean, a minister, said about his fellow preachers, "I know with some clergy, I am familiar with, they battle with depression, like bad; some of them get diagnosed with it; some not and I think with those who have not, it is obvious." He further mentioned that the preachers did not want their congregation to see them as "weak." The emotional labor for preachers and priests is ever-present.

Again, the family of clergy also felt the weight of expectations on their emotional display. Rachel, the elderly white daughter and wife of United Church of Christ ministers, avowed that in addition to following the rules of a good Christian, the expectation of family members was "They had to be more polite and accepting of people." Ella, the 19-year-old African American daughter of a Baptist minister, affirmed, "You have to be polite. If somebody is rude to you, you can't be rude to them." Mary, a preacher's wife, defined the struggle for herself:

> Me, I call people out. It was kind of just my personality. I'm not afraid of speaking up, which is another trait that's not really good for a minister's wife. I would be better off not saying anything ever (as a minister's wife). Now, I'm getting better (and censoring myself). I didn't realize that the church people actually hold you to a higher standard. I didn't know that. I was naïve. It was me.

She described herself as under a microscope; so much was her personality watched that she even wondered about the dog, "When I take my dog for a walk, and the dog barks at another dog, I feel bad because the minister's dog shouldn't be barking at people." Amanda, a preacher's daughter, stated about her mother that some people outside the congregation assumed that her mother was her father's mother; she wore the stress and worry of all this labor on her face. Children feel this labor, too. Elizabeth, the 47-year-old white daughter of a Presbyterian preacher, simply stated that the privacy of home offered a "protected place where we could be ourselves," but in public, "we are a minister's family." The labor can cause consequences for children as many express negative emotions like stress and guilt. Ella, a preacher's daughter, commented, "I dealt with a lot of guilt, and I didn't do anything. It was guilt for basically doing nothing." Amanda just felt anger more than guilt for the same reason.

For clergy to be successful, emotional labor is necessary; further, family members often engage in it as well.

Spiritual Labor

As a musician practices many hours, aside from performances, clergy – motivated by a calling – and certainly the expectations of the religious community, engage in significant spiritual labor. Many mentioned that spiritual necessity guided them to try to their utmost ability to practice that ethos through their life practices. As Joseph, a middle-aged white United Church of Christ minister, professed, "Those expectations are not only from the people, but also at least for me, and I hope also for the other clergy members, are also from God. So, this responsibility from God is even more important in my life, and I am speaking for myself than to meet the expectations from the side of the people." He felt the "higher ethical standards" were there. Matthew, a minister, simply called it "holy living." Lorenzo, a 62-year-old African American Charismatic pastor, "One (is) the scriptural foundation in other words, I try to abide by the Bible in terms of what behaviors are encouraged or discouraged in the Bible." Michael, a priest, reflected the other clergy when he stated that the guide of religion is "to love God with your heart, your soul, your mind, and your strength, and to love your neighbors as yourself" and that engendered the spiritual labor to treat all humans as neighbors and abide by that life ethos. Sean, a minister, referred to the congregational and societal expectations on pastors is "not necessarily human; that they're other-Godly." The spiritual labor engendered a feeling that religion was not compartmentalized to Sunday morning or to their role as a minister. Susan, an Episcopalian priest, avowed:

> As a Christian in general, I do believe in the love of your God with all your heart all, your soul, and all your might, and it permeates my life, so I try not to keep my life in categories. I generally preach, and I generally follow what I believe was what Jesus intended for people to understand: love the Lord your God; love your neighbor as yourself. It is Jesus's view of the commandments, and I've tried to take that very seriously across the board as much as I can. And that is how I try to live my life, whether that's here, whether that's at home, or whether that's on vacation, wherever, that's how I try to live.

She noted that in her denomination, Episcopalian priests were to be in "spiritual direction with somebody" to guide them on that path. The spiritual labor included the private practice of religion. Nathan, a preacher, suggested that the time when he turned off outside distractions like the phone was vital for his time and his relationship with God. He stated, "Definitely, time in prayer, Bible study, spending time focusing on our relationship with God and not neglecting that. That is going to be the utmost, probably rule, that we focus on our relationship with God so that our relationships with people will be better." Paul, a priest, implied how that spiritual change occurs:

One of the things we have built into our sacramental system, the Protestant Church doesn't, is that when we are baptized, we start our mission, right? Then, as we live, we start making choices. If you make the choice for ministry, that's your retrievable. That can never be undone. So, you are a priest forever. With that comes the understanding in the church that you are anointed, so you have an anointment that is more than just a profession; it comes from your baptism. It becomes a part of you. In theology, they call it 'anthological change' (and) there is a real change in your spiritual inner soul.

Emma, a young minister, mentioned "walking closely with God, doing devotion, reading the Bible, prayer" as the spiritual practice. Clergy families were aware of the spiritual labor of the clergy in their families. As an example, Mary, the wife of a minister, suggested her husband was both morally and spiritually the leader of a church and held to an elevated level. As Ella, the young daughter, recalled a time when her father was in deep private prayer over an issue, "Yes, they will go and repent. Like I said, I saw my dad do that before I walked in on him, and I was like, 'What is he doing? What are you doing?' And my mom is like, 'don't interrupt him; he's praying right now' like he was in there for hours." Spiritual labor is an important part of the job description for clergy.

Clergy family often replicated their understanding of spiritual labor. Rachel, the daughter and wife of ministers, understood spiritual labor as "Love God and love your neighbor. Love includes everything, so you don't need any more rules. If I love my neighbor, I'm not going to break the Ten Commandments to love them." Lucy, a 58-year-old African American daughter of a Holiness (Pentecostal) preacher, noted that the clergy have a higher calling, and she also felt a standard for herself. She, too, spoke about the disciplines of spiritual practice, including "worship, prayer, meditation, discipline," and following associated rules. Angela, the sister of a priest, also expressed the need to "Thou should love thee with your heart, and you should treat neighbors as you would yourself." Consequently, clergy families were quite cognizant of the spiritual labor required of their family members; further, most felt a view of spiritual labor as important for themselves.

Aesthetic Labor

While the clergy are not required to wear a uniform in the same sense as, for example, a police officer wears one, the collar is a metaphorical representation that the clergy member is in uniform. Further, modest dress is implicitly expected, and as Joseph suggested, the clothes could not be too "fancy." Paul, a priest, discussed how priests can be judged on the way they dress. He commented:

I mean, if you are running around in a sweatsuit all the time, they talk about the priest and (say) "He is always running around in a sweatsuit." One guy was in stretch pants all the time, like he was going to the gym. He does office work, but people don't like that.

> That's a minor thing, yet the expectations are a little bit higher than (they) would be for an ordinary person who is not ordained.

Dressing casually could result in commentary from others. Emma, a clergy member, stated about her casual wear, "I dress very casually. I wear jeans all the time. People do comment on the way I dress some, and if I don't have a certain shoe on, people are like, well, 'those aren't as nice as the ones you wore last week, and I'm like, whatever.'" Society has become increasingly casual, and some clergy noted that movement, although not suggesting any clothes other than modest ones, would be deemed acceptable. Pierre, a Catholic priest, observed, "The parish, I have been here now for six years. I rarely wear the collar; it's not that I don't like the collar, but everybody knows who I am. I wore the collar as a younger priest. People would relate to the collar, not to me as the person." In fact, he discussed the case of a priest in a nearby town who converted to Catholicism and wore the more traditional look of a cassock and biretta. He felt that priest looked a tad ridiculous. Emma noted an element of aesthetics, and her perception of it is related to gender, "Like to be told I can't listen to your sermon because your earrings distracted me or your voice is too high; like stuff that a lot of men don't have to deal with." Furthermore, dressing in casual clothes can demarcate personal time from professional. Luke, a priest, specified the difference between "clerical clothes" and "secular clothes," with the latter being used for the following scenarios, "Or, if I'm going out with my friends (or if), I go on a trip with my friends who are teachers. I don't dress in clerical clothes. I go in secular clothes. It's kind of downtime; trying to decompress, have some fun."

While there was no uniform or collar for the family members of the clergy, many felt the mandate to wear modest clothes. The pressure is there for spouses. Tom, a preacher's son, stated about his mother and other wives of clergy:

> They definitely have to dress accordingly, and I want to say traditionally. They don't like anything that's too high or too showy. They definitely look at them to see, first, their attire and then see how they express themselves and how they put themselves out there. More lady-like. I heard people at the church complain all the time when I was there, "Oh, her dress is too high, her dress is too short, or it's too showy." It's the first thing I always hear: attire and appearances. They want modesty and something that meets the expectations of being a part of their religion, someone who can look the part, look the role. They don't want someone that looks out there. I don't think they like too much originality.

Lucy, the daughter of a minister, specifically mentioned the need to be conservative about showing cleavage. Mary, the wife of a minister, recounted a time when she was called before the Pastor Parish Relations (part of her religious tradition), and one of the points made against her was that she was wearing shorts in her own home. The children of the clergy also felt the mandate. The unwritten rules surely applied while the preacher's kid was at church. Iris, a young African American adult

daughter of a Baptist preacher, recalled a time when she was playing piano for a church service, thinking she was dressed suitably, and an usher at the service, who disapproved of the length of her skirt, came up and put a sheet over her legs. Further, expectations were not relegated to Sunday morning worship. As Amanda, the young adult daughter, noted, the expectation extended beyond the time spent in the church, as she commented:

> Word of mouth, especially when I was in school. You bring your extra change of clothes. My mom would call me, or I would get home, and (she said) "You were wearing such and such and such and such." They always kept an eye on me. (For the others) children would constantly be coming to school with this (immodest) clothing; nothing. I do it one time; it's just a little low-cut. I've got some breasts, and I'm going to show that off. No. The first time. No.

She noted that the implicit dress code included rules such as not having clothes that were too short and showing knees or necklines that were too revealing or tattoos. Ella, a preacher's daughter, stated that preacher's kids were to follow unwritten rules like not wearing shorter shorts or showing midriffs. She stated, "That's why I stopped going. They say they don't judge, but they really are judging. They judge all the time. I just felt like if I wanted to come to church, I know it's not proper, but what I got on (jeans with slits), if I wanted to come to church like this, you should accept me for who I am." Lucy, the daughter of a minister, commented about clothing and implicit aesthetic labor required of family members:

> You can't win. I went on a trip with some of my friends, and my dress was rising up a little bit in the back, and they harassed me the whole day. They were like, "Would you pull your dress down?" I (responded), "My behind is not showing. I'm ok. I'm covered." So, it's a really strict standard. I mean, we get labeled because we're expected to set the example for everybody.

Males felt these unwritten expectations, as well. Tom, a preacher's son, noted that as a young man who was a nice person, he felt judged primarily for his clothing choices. He felt that his beloved grandfather was quite strict about his clothing, and he would always make sure that Tom's tie was done exactly right. He continued about his goth period as a teen:

> When I wore jeans or when I was going through a gothic with all-black leggings, black clothes (the congregation members) looked at me like I was rebellious, looking at me like I was troublesome. All of them thought I was a very nice person. But I felt like deep down, even though I was nice and I didn't have the attitude of a rebellious teenager, they looked at me like there was something wrong, or I was probably misguided or something like that. But, clothes, I used to be judged on all the time.

Aesthetic labor is a part of being a clergy member and a dictate expected of family members. Modesty, in a society marked by much immodesty, is the unwritten rule.

Care Work

Caring for parishioners, especially their emotional well-being, is a critical part of the work of clergy. As Susan, an Episcopalian priest, commented, all is rooted in "love; that's the bottom line." Paul, a priest, contended about the service orientation and the core belief associated with service, "It will be the calling. You are called to service and ministry through your baptism, and when you respond to that, there is a hierarchy of values. It's usually what Jesus said, 'Go out and preach the Gospel to all creatures.' So, we are always teaching, trying to help, and trying to be present to the community." Danny, a preacher, discussed the care provided to congregants, "I could be very good at hiding just how much I do or not do, but the congregation is going to know. You're not going to hide it from them, and again, we can use the example of the person in the hospital or the person who is sick at home." Paul, a priest, described an important part of his work as, "Service, teaching, helping the sick and hospitalized, and being with people when they need you." Anthony, a priest, analyzed the importance of care work when he noted, "Service to the people, which obviously comes from the scriptures; the teachings of Jesus." Luke, a priest, referred to the challenges of this portion of work when he aptly affirmed, "Some parishioners seem to be very emotionally demanding." Emma, a clergy member, talked about "helping people out." Unmistakably, care work, or attending to people in their toughest times, is a critical part of the work of clergy. A few family members mentioned the obligation of care work for their clergy members. Ashley, the young African American daughter of a United Holy Church preacher, described the importance of her father's ability to "hear people's problems, counsel people." Alan, a minister's husband, stated about his wife, "She's grieved with people. She's walked with people who have cancer. She's walking with people through divorce and the loss of kids. She's walked with people through some of the hardest things you can imagine you go through." The clergy have significant care work to perform.

Additionally, some family members also took on the obligation. Mary, a preacher's wife, commented, "My goal, with him being a minister, is just to be available to the congregation and to be there to help if anybody needs it. My whole goal is just to help." Ashley, a preacher's daughter, talked about "sharing other people's burdens." Elizabeth, a clergy daughter, described how, as a teenager and when she came home from college, she was asked to cook and offer a meal for people, such as college students in need, as her parents would bring people into family homes for shelter. Care work is an important part of much labor in a modern economy. For clergy and some family members, care work is part of the job.

Dirty Work

Clergy are expected to be of service to all humanity. While often a small part of their job, compared to various positions, clergy will have to work with those with physical, social, or moral taint. For example, regarding a societally tainted group of people, Pierre, a Catholic priest, stated that his first assignment was to a center for the chemically dependent. He noted that at that time, he realized all humans "were made of the same stuff, and I'm not better than anyone else." Lorenzo, a preacher, stated that the preaching to all, reflecting a "flawless God," included the tainted:

> I heard a preacher say this once, and I thought that it was an excellent analogy. He said, "When a pastor stands in front of a church, he really has two churches he's talking to. He's reading the Scriptures, and he's talking to the church that the Bible says should be, and then he's talking to the people who are standing right in front of him, which are definitely not in the two same places." And I think that we use the Bible as standard as we should, but (we need to) understand the weakness of humans and the fact that we're sick. That's why we're in the hospital. We're not understanding that since everybody's not well, we tend to blame them for their sickness.

John, a 74-year-old white Catholic priest, described the need to minister to all, "Jesus didn't condemn people who made mistakes. He came for who? For the goody-goodies of the world? He came for sinners." Sean, a preacher, vowed that he went to bars to meet people on their own terms, including those who had been hurt and tainted. He commented:

> I tell my congregation members I do go to bars. Of course, the first time I did it was the adult Sunday school class and the 89-year-olds. And I said, listen here, Martin Luther always had many little funny sayings, and one of them is, "It's better to have the church in the ale house than the ale house in the church."

Danny, a preacher, just noted that "We are called to love, one and all regardless of how their lifestyle fits into our Biblical belief. I can't say I totally agree with it, but it's a rule I have to follow." In describing care work, Alan, a minister's husband, had discussed his wife working with the sick and dying. Dirty work is part of the job.

Family members recognized the calling of the clergy to serve all, including the tainted. Mary, a minister's wife, referred to a case in her home church where a youth group leader broke the law, and the secretary of the church and a youth group worker had an extramarital affair. However, she also concluded that the church should stay the course with all: "I hope the church will forgive them because they're not the ones doing the judging. It's going to be Jesus in the end. So, basically, you

just have to love them in the end. Help them get through it." Clergy family members can reach out to everyone as well.

Dirty work has been described as those working with physical, social, or moral taint. The clergy and family know the calling of the clergy member is to love all and work with all.

Identity Work

As a profession that is positively deviant, the clergy has an identity that is powerfully complicated. The identity work that they do has certain strands. Clergy understand that they are put on a pedestal, and consequently, the identity of clergy is a major portion of their identity. As Sean, a minister, claimed, "I still feel there is the expectation that the pastor is not necessarily human; that they're other-Godly." Many look for a path for separating the clergy (and the complex expectations of near perfection) from their human side, which they understand is part and parcel of all, clay feet included. Pierre, a Catholic priest, commented on how, over the years, his ideas changed:

> When I was first ordained, I thought that, somehow, priests were supposed to be different than any other human being. I don't see that today. When I was first ordained, I would try to be this perfect priest, and you get down on yourself and, oh, my God. I was not understanding. I didn't do everything I could. The older I get, the more I realize my limitations – I'm not going to be like the Messiah, and I'm not going to save the world. I don't feel those expectations now.

Matthew, a minister, expressed the inherent difficulty of living up to an idealized standard and how he has coped:

> If we make mistakes, we repent of them, and we keep going. We are mistake-makers. And today, if I count the mistakes I have made, and I was really hard on them, I can hear God in the background saying, "Why are you so hard on yourself? So, why are you so bent on hurting yourself?" What I hear is, "I love you."

John, a priest, spoke of the need for forgiveness when humans, including priests, make mistakes and fall and that Jesus came for the sinners. Danny, a preacher, noted that he tries to prepare people for his human side while still understanding how people want him to live:

> All eyes look at me, and I'm very sure to tell people, especially in the church, not to put me on a pedestal because I will probably fall right off. That's what I will do. But they look to me, for example, and I know because of the position I'm in, I have to lead by that example.

In fact, for people in most occupations, it is easier to compartmentalize the work identity from the more complicated identity of any individual. For clergy, the task is harder. Michael, a priest, understood the role he had as clergy and that should he fail in that role, there could be great ramifications for others:

> Many people consider priests mediators between themselves and God. And I think that I do not see myself as a mediator. I believe everyone has a direct connection to God. However, I do know that I represent God to many people, and I know that when I or another clergy member breaks the rules, people are more shocked because they feel that the middle person, the mediator between themselves and God, has been corrupt. So, that makes them wonder if the things that that person has been told them are true. It has the potential to rock their understanding of God, which is monumental for someone who believes in God to have the foundations of their understanding of God rocked.

Andrew, an elderly white Catholic priest, suggested that unless parishioners got to know him as a person, they simply saw him as a role that carried weighty expectations. As Luke, a priest, noted about the inherent difficulty and importance of separating work identity from private identity:

> We have a sense of vocation as priests. We are called by God. We also realize (that) sometimes having these high expectations placed on us, either justly or unjustly, certainly affects the way we act. Sometimes, we want to live our own lives, just be in a place where we are not treated on a pedestal. Sometimes, we long to be with other people who just call us by our first names. That's something that we long for because being on a pedestal and having these expectations on us can wear on us. Sometimes, we just want to be able to reel back. Sometimes, we just want to have a conversation with somebody. The high expectations that people have of us can almost cut us off sometimes, to distance us from our humanity, from our ability (of) just wanting to be humans. We need to be able to not let those expectations negatively affect us. Just to be aware of them, to abide by the cultural norms, but also be able to just live out what we are supposed to enjoy our humanity in a way that is fruitful and good, and (make sure) that's life fulfilled for us.

Occasionally, they may try to shelter some aspects of self or maintain some identity separate from work identity from parishioners as they construct their clergy identity. Luke, a priest, suggested, "You don't certainly let everyone know everything going on in our lives. We have to have a little bit of connection, but also that is something that we hold for ourselves. But we have to be able to be transparent, at least with somebody else – somebody to go to with confidence, to be a confessor, to be a good

friend." Susan, an Episcopalian priest, spoke of a few clergy friends who lived in another town and come to her town to "throw back a few; so just to chill." Only when people are living under an idealized set of norms would they feel compelled to leave town to engage in fairly normative behavior. Or, as Joseph, a preacher, commented, "I am who I am; I don't behave so much differently. I do have things that I hide from the people; I do. People would say these are minor things." Finally, many work on their identity by reconciling their overall identity with their clergy identity by focusing on traits like authenticity, being truly who they are in private and public, and learning to accept themselves as is, as humans are mistake prone. Matthew, a minister, stated, "I am a strong believer that my personal life should reflect the representation of my faith." Sean, a minister, just noted, "We try to live up to the expectations of what God wants from us." As Susan, an Episcopalian priest, stated, "I recognize that there are some aspects of my life that are private and personal and not matters for review here at church, but the way I live my life is who I am, so I try to be genuine across the board." Luke, a priest, commented, "I think people expect transparency, they expect honesty, because I would say people want a priest to be well, people want a priest to be healthy." Andrew, a priest, proposed, "If the clergy member understands that he is human and capable of failing, and he can accept the fact that he failed and he seeks forgiveness or deals with the failure on his own terms, how other people react may not bother him that much." Perhaps Nathan, a preacher, summarized the need to understand one's own humanity, "I believe that we are human beings. Not just human doings. We have to give ourselves a chance to just be." Clergy clearly engage in identity work.

Family of clergy also have identity work. Clergy are aware of the role which will be imposed on a spouse or significant other. Nathan, a preacher having had a girlfriend for two years, commented on the expectations that would be placed on a future wife, "There are definitely expectations placed on a minister's wife, so she's definitely had to look at that and say is that something I'm comfortable with, being held to that standard." Lucy, a preacher's daughter, having thought about the clergy family, commented that the expectations on the spouse were the same as those of the clergy member: "They are married, and they are one, so they share it, the responsibility. They got the same standards; they can't hang out, they can't drink, they can't smoke; things are expected of them." Philip, a minister's fiancé, felt that were he to not succeed at that identity and the accompanying standards, he would worry about the impact on his future wife, "Well, I've embarrassed not only myself but (fiancé's name). That would worry me a little more for (his fiancé) sake more so than for mine." Any identity work would cause him to be cautious about honoring his fiancé in her role as clergy; nevertheless, he noted that you get "extra Jesus points" for being the partner of clergy and a feeling of being "guaranteed a ticket to heaven" if he "played his card's right." So, clearly, he understood the identity work he would have as a future spouse of the clergy, negotiating his identity as a clergy spouse with other facets of his identity. That role can cause identity work for any spouse. As with clergy, a family member can proffer the idea that all of us are just humans, prone to mistakes. Mary, a minister's wife, observed, "I just wish that people realized we are still humans. We still have free will. We are going to mess up." Some may choose to lean away from portions of the identity of a

preacher's wife to focus on other aspects of identity. Ashley, a preacher's daughter, described her mother as saying that she did not have the calling, even if her husband had one. She was a preacher's wife, but that was not a calling, and she felt that the expectations imposed on her as a clergy wife were simply unfair. The children of clergy also have the responsibility placed upon them to represent the family by following expected standards, and that causes identity to be addressed. Lucy, a minister's daughter, simply stated, "You couldn't embarrass your parents. It was a higher standard." Rachel, the wife and daughter of preachers, reminisced, "They're expected (to be) the same as the clergyman because they are part of the clergy's family." This standard can also produce identity work for the children of clergy as they contemplate being a child of a preacher as well as other aspects of their identity. Ashley summarized the identity work of a child of clergy, starting to delineate their role as a child of clergy with their trying to establish their own identity:

> I was living at home, and they wanted me to go to church, so I was just listening to them. It doesn't mean I'm going against what I believe, but why can't I just lead my life? It would help me not be so angry and mad all the time.

Still, she added that she tried to reconcile her overall identity to the expectations, "making sure that what my dad says and what he's preaching is backed up by my life." Mentioning how, as a preacher's child, she was supposed to exhibit certain positive personality traits and refrain from certain activities, Iris commented, "I guess everybody kind of lives a double; do one thing at church, do another thing outside of church." As Lucy, a minister's daughter, remembered about her youth, she hung out with her clique of friends but did not participate in certain activities that went against the expectations of her identity as a preacher's daughter; she further reminisced that her friends accepted her and "looked out" knowing she would not participate in the full gamut of their adolescent activities. She further commented that she had a group of friends who were also offspring of the clergy as they had a natural sympathetic understanding of each other and would not throw it in her face, as some outside the occupational realm were prone to do. They could accept that she was human and "just like everybody else" and could make mistakes, too. Ella expressed that she felt guilt as she tried to live out the identity of a preacher's kid, but in a way, she had carved out her own adolescent life. She observed, "I'm not really wild, but I just do what a normal teenager does." In a way, which represents the need to carve out the identity of a preacher's kid with her identity as a young woman, negotiating who she wanted to be. She mentioned that the struggle of this identity caused so much frustration in her family that her brother refused to speak with her father for an entire year. As Rachel, the daughter, and wife of ministers, hypothesized, "They are either going to think it is unfair or if they're strong enough in their own shoes they would probably say oh the heck with you I'm going to do what I'm going to do." Thus, the identity work of a preacher's child is the complexity of figuring out what it means to be the child of a preacher as an identity in relation to other parts of their identity.

In essence, identity work is done by clergy and by clergy families. In numerous ways, they negotiate their identity as a clergy member or clergy family member in relation to their overall identity.

Summary of Results

Major forms of labor have been delineated in the work of the clergy, a quintessential example of a positive deviant profession. Further, family members are expected to engage in the labor. As a positive deviant occupation, much is expected of the clergy, and the type of labor they provide transcends quite a few categories. While they do minimal physical work, they do intellectual labor, spiritual labor, care work, emotional labor, aesthetic work, dirty work, and identity work. Additionally, at times, there is overlap in the type of work they do. For example, care work and dirty work can overlap, as is the case of working with the dying. Much of the care work is rooted in their spirituality, reinforced by spiritual labor. The extensiveness of labor in this positive deviant profession is great.

Furthermore, the family of clergy also engages in much labor and work. Many of these are replications of the expectations of the clergy, just transferred to the family. The occupation of clergy is certainly among those occupations where the family is seen as part of the overall functioning of the job performance of the clergy member.

DISCUSSION

Positive deviance has been increasingly utilized to illuminate social phenomena. By applying the deviance typology to occupations and professions, the clergy emerges as a classic case of a positive deviant occupation. Using the types of labor delineated in an understanding of work, the expansive nature of expectations placed on the clergy is not surprising. Further, it is important to note how these expectations are also placed on family. These findings are heightened in the context of the focus of the interview questions being primarily elsewhere and the clergy and clergy family just naturally talking about the weight of these labors. The findings suggest much in terms of understanding the complexity of work in a positive deviance profession and the varied burdens and inherent stress placed on individuals who choose this profession and their families.

As previously discussed, the Heckert and Heckert typology suggests that there are four categories in relation to normative expectations and societal reactions. Regarding future research, criminologists, and sociologists could further explore negative deviant occupations (e.g., drug dealers) and deviant admiration occupations, such as mafioso and moonshiners. Further research would also illuminate rate-busting professions and occupations, such as CEOs. As rate-busters conform to the norms and are negatively evaluated, how do they experience the overburden of work they perform coupled with the negative evaluation? This research would be interesting as humans generally want to be appreciated. To be negatively evaluated in the context of their expansive work raises the prospect of potentially illuminating future research.

A positive deviance profession was illustrated in this research. Further research could delineate the type of labor performed by other positive deviant occupations, such as humanitarian workers. It would be intriguing to understand what is expected of secular positive deviance professions/occupations. Is it similar to the heavy expectations placed on clergy, being representative of a profession rooted in religion? As an architect of Sociology, Max Weber (1999:79) delineated a calling as "a task set by God." So, is the nature of a positive deviance profession differentiated on the basis of religious ones as opposed to secular ones? Are the expectations even more pronounced and expansive for a positive deviance profession rooted in religion? In other words, is the "morally misaligning role" as proposed by Goffman (1963:142) applicable just to religious positive deviance occupations or also to secular positive deviance occupations? Qualitative research on secular positive deviance occupations/professions would enhance a greater understanding of the nature of positive deviance. Future research awaits.

Overall, other occupations could be examined in terms of the types of labor they perform and the combination of types of labor required. Finally, the impact of the expectations should be examined in relation to how they affect workers. Future work is vital within both the rate-buster category and the positive deviance category.

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