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Clergy, capital, and gender inequality: An assessment of how social and spiritual capital are denied to women priests in the Church of England

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Abstract

Although the Church of England (CofE) agreed to admit women to its most senior ordained offices as bishops in 2014, they are still not afforded the same opportunities for professional progression as men. This article identifies and explores factors that contribute to such inequality. It draws on semistructured interviews with 41 male priests from theologically conservative traditions within the CofE, interpreting the data with a thematic narrative analysis. Utilizing literature from social and spiritual capital, this article establishes that these forms of capital are necessary for informing the habitus required for obtaining senior positions in the CofE before arguing that such resources are frequently denied to women by those interviewed. The analysis develops understanding of spiritual capital and institutional work, demonstrating that the former functions in a manner akin to cultural capital within religious institutions and that the latter is not always purposive in its capacity for effecting institutional change. It also articulates the theory of irresolute equality reform to describe the way in which different institutional goals can limit their ability for equality reform. The article then outlines changes that could be made in clergy training and in the selection procedures

for senior appointments to address gender inequality within the CofE.

KEYWORDS
Anglo-Catholicism, Church of England, evangelicalism, gender inequality, institutional work, irresolute equality reform, social capital, spiritual capital

1 | INTRODUCTION

The rights of women within the hierarchies of Christian churches have been subject to longstanding debates internationally. Members of the Anglican Communion, for example, have not been unanimous in their understandings of the roles that women should occupy within the Church's ordained structures. Each province (often demarcated by national boundaries) within the Communion has been autonomous in their decisions on ordaining women as priests and consecrating them as bishops (see Shaw, 2008). In the English context, women have been ordained as deacons, the lowest rank in the Church of England's (CofE) ordained hierarchy, since 1987 (Francis & Robbins, 1999).

In 1992, the CofE's governing body, the General Synod, voted in favor of ordaining women to the priesthood, the next rung in the Church's hierarchy (Maltby, 1998). Nevertheless, this decision was met with opposition; clergy holding gender traditionalist beliefs—that men and women should occupy distinct, traditional spheres—left their positions within the CofE in protest (Goodchild, 2002). The CofE also introduced the concept of the "two integrities," which accommodates those with traditionalist gender values and those affirming women's ordination, insisting that both would be enabled to play an active role in the life of the Church (Maltby, 1998). This gave congregations and male clergy a mandate to "opt out" of working with women priests, allowing them to deny women certain posts and prohibit women from undertaking some priestly activities, but did not allow churches to positively discriminate in favor of women (Maltby, 1998).

In 2014, the General Synod passed a motion to consecrate women as bishops (Brown, 2014). Since then, 25 of the CofE's bishop posts have been filled by women whilst the Church has made provisions for gender traditionalist clergy, allowing them to boycott their bishop's authority if they are a woman or ordain women. In such instances, a "flying bishop" (or provincial episcopal visitor) can act as their bishop by offering alternative episcopal oversight (Flying bishop, 2018), meaning that the bishop of the diocese may no longer guide, direct, or discipline such clergy. These provisions are extensions of those introduced in the 1990s in order to maintain unity within the Church (see Furlong, 2000), indicating that this was at least equally as important to the CofE as the introduction of women to the priesthood.

Consequently, clergy who reject the validity of women's ordination do not have to interact as fully with their female colleagues as they might otherwise. However, just as was the case in 1992, there is no legal provision to protect women bishops from discrimination as the CofE is exempt from the Equality Act (Equality Act 2010, 2010). The Church's practice is discriminatory and inconsistent with other British institutions and at odds with the espoused gender value of equality within the wider English population (see Brown & Woodhead, 2016), despite the fact that it exists to provide pastoral care for all living in England as the Established Church.

Continued legal discrimination against women makes it necessary to undertake an up to date study of how female clergy are treated, especially in light of the historic advent of women bishops. Specifically, it is necessary to explore the actions of gender traditionalist male clergy in relation to female clergy because the above indicates that their actions can make them complicit in gender inequality. If this is to be fully addressed, identifying any behaviors that contribute to it is a vital prerequisite (see Storkey, 1985). Given that the CofE has created structures that are

not only themselves discriminatory toward women, but which can also facilitate further discrimination, this will involve teasing out any implications of these structures for fostering inequality.

In this article, I identify the specific ways that gender traditionalist priests in the CofE behave toward their female colleagues. Based on the data gathered through semistructured interviews with ordained Anglican men from theologically conservative traditions, I argue that gender inequality amongst CofE clergy continues through the denial of social capital and spiritual capital because: (i) these forms of capital are intrinsic to the selection procedures used by the CofE to appoint clergy to senior positions; and (ii) it is these forms of capital that are withheld from women clergy by their gender traditionalist colleagues, meaning that women do not have equal access to professional advancement. I also argue that the likely outcome of the denial of capital to women is continued male domination within the CofE. Therefore, understanding how access to such capital shapes gender inequality will reveal how it continues in addition to merely showing that it does. In light of this, I suggest two ways forward for reducing gender inequality within the CofE.

This article stems from a broader research project that explores the historic, sociological, and psychological factors that shape the gender attitudes held by male clergy from theologically conservative traditions within the CofE. However, since attitudes have the ability to impact behavior (e.g., see Krosnick & Petty, 1995), as behavioral intention is a component of attitudes (Rosenberg et al., 1960), in the present article, I explore how such clergy behave toward their female colleagues and, given the apparent discrimination present within the CofE, I assess the relationship between their behavior and gender inequality.

I will proceed by reviewing the existing literature on gender in the CofE, social and spiritual capital, and institutional work before outlining the relevance of this literature for understanding gender equality within the CofE. This will be followed by an analysis of the themes directly relevant to the question at hand, which will be proceeded by a discussion of the analysis' implications and the conclusion.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 | Gender and the CofE

Gender inequality within the CofE is longstanding, occurring significantly before women were permitted to become priests and has continued since the advent of women bishops. Nason-Clark (1987) found that clergy opposed to women's ordination as priests articulated sexist, rather than religious, reasons for their opposition. I have similarly argued that sexist articulations of their gender values are still present amongst gender traditionalist male clergy (Fry, 2019a, 2019b). Aldridge (1989) posited that clergy were ambivalent toward female priesting prior to the ordination of women. Sani and Reicher (2000) have asserted that opposition amongst clergy in the Anglo-Catholic tradition is shaped by their social identity, a finding supported by Village (2012), and also by my research (Fry, 2019a, 2019b) in relation to Anglo-Catholics and evangelicals.

Bagilhole (2003) has argued that women priests have been assigned responsibilities traditionally associated with female domains, rather than undertaking other priestly activities to the same extent as their male colleagues. Peyton and Gatrell (2013) have noted that female clergy married to male clergy have felt forced into supporting roles, including in part-time or unpaid capacities. They have also argued that, in recent years, the sacrificial role that the clergy are expected to play has been gendered with women entering a male-dominated culture where their authority is not always accepted. Greene and Robbins (2015) have shown that female clergy in the CofE receive less pay than men and that their work is less likely to be paid than if a man were to perform the same tasks.

Moreover, women in the selection process for ordination are more likely to be discriminated against than men if they have children (Greene & Robbins, 2015). Additionally, Page (2014) has shown how female clergy are expected to dress and present themselves in a “neutral” rather than a “feminine” way, despite the fact that clerical attire has historically been designed for men. She has also found that clergy husbands benefit from a privileged

status through the accumulation of spiritual capital (Page, 2017). Ordained women continue to report opposition to their ministry, whether it be direct or indirect, because of the fact of their sex (Robbins & Greene, 2018). Unsurprisingly, Bagilhole (2006) concluded that female clergy in the CofE are not faced with a glass ceiling so much as a "lead roof" (p. 109), or even—in the words of Peyton and Gatrell (2013)—a "stained glass ceiling" (p. 16; also see Gatrell & Peyton, 2019). Most recently, I have shown that belief in gender differentiation—that men and women should occupy distinct spheres—amongst conservative evangelical clergy limits the possibility of gender equality within the CofE (Fry, 2021).

Previous research, therefore, has demonstrated that gender inequality within the CofE is historic yet ongoing. The fact that this has been observed over more than three decades is indicative of the centrality of its occurrence in the CofE, providing an additional reason for studying it. However, much recent research has highlighted such inequality through the perspective of women rather than men and (in the majority of cases) has been conducted prior to the advent of women bishops. These are important gaps in knowledge for two reasons. First, the beliefs and actions of men continue to shape the experiences and opportunities afforded to women within the CofE (Aldridge, 1992; Bagilhole, 2003), making it necessary to explore their beliefs and behaviors in order to understand more fully why gender inequality remains.

Second, the introduction of women bishops was an historic development in the ecclesial structure of the CofE and the accompanying controversy intensified debates within it (Peyton & Gatrell, 2013). In order to understand how gender traditionalist male clergy think about and behave toward female clergy, it is necessary to explore their responses to the advent of female bishops. I address both gaps in knowledge by gathering data from male clergy in theologically conservative traditions after the advent of the first women bishops. In doing so, I am also able to reflect on how gender inequality may be more effectively addressed.

2.2 | Social capital and spiritual capital

Gender inequality is often understood through theories of social capital and spiritual capital, both of which relate to cultural capital, the acquired set of resources that can be used for either achieving or maintaining social status (Guest, 2007). This is transmitted via social capital because the extent of an individual's cultural capital is dependent upon "the volume of the [cultural] capital… possessed… by each of those to whom [one] is connected" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 247). Social capital, however, "is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a… network of… relationships of mutual acquaintance" and can be used to exclude others and consolidate power (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 247). Social networks contribute to an individual's habitus–the accumulation of their habits, dispositions and skills which become ingrained over time—because it is produced by "the structures characteristic of a determinate type of conditions of existence," that is, one's social conditions (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

In the process of cultural production, persons engage with the existing social order through embodied social practices resulting from habitus, including inherited and hierarchical sociocultural relations (Dillabough, 2004). This process can lead to symbolic domination where a masculine logic of gender differentiation structures social life through pervasive structural and symbolic mechanisms, leading to the privileged place of men within the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 2001; Dillabough, 2005). That is, symbolic domination results from social interactions that are discriminatory in nature and which structure human behavior accordingly. Power, in Bourdieu's thought, is therefore related to status, derived from consuming cultural resources accrued via one's social networks whilst also denying them to others (Bourdieu, 1986).

However, social capital need not be exclusivist or used to secure privilege at the expense of others. Putnam (2000) argued that social capital strengthens community. He divided it into bonding and bridging capitals. The former is an exclusivist expression of resource sharing whereby only those belonging to the group gain access. The latter refers to interaction with, and sharing of social resources beyond, one's immediate network and is labeled linking social capital when occurring between groups occupying different places within a social hierarchy (Putnam, 2000). However, Putnam does agree that social capital can intensify inequality through the bonding approach.

Verter (2003) developed Bourdieu's framework of cultural capital in his theory of spiritual capital, which consists of religious knowledge, competencies and symbolic preferences. He divided spiritual capital into three elements: (i) the embodied state (i.e., habitus), the "measure of… position, but also disposition; it is the knowledge, abilities, tastes, and credentials" that one accrues through religion (p. 159); (ii) the objectified state, the consumption of "material and symbolic commodities" (p. 159), such as religious clothing and theological beliefs, in order to create habitus; and (iii) the institutionalized state, the sphere in which spiritual capital exists. Institutions possess power in providing devotees with religious goods, conferring a consecrated status on a select few, set apart by God to provide symbolic commodities for consumption (Verter, 2003). Accumulated spiritual capital functions as cultural capital, enabling individuals to either maintain or improve their position within religious spheres, and like social capital, it is accrued via socialization (Verter, 2003). Ordained positions in the CofE have also historically been endowed with an elite status (Aldridge, 1993), indicating that such positions, particularly those toward the top of the Church's hierarchy, provide increased social status. The prevention of access to such positions, therefore, would facilitate symbolic domination by the group that holds them. Nevertheless, Guest (2007) has argued for the positive potential of spiritual capital, which can be used beyond self-interest, for instance, through voluntary action. Whilst Guest does not explicitly relate this to Putnam's bridging social capital, the evidence he provides does indicate the presence of bridging spiritual capital.

Social and spiritual capital are integral to church life. Previous research on gender inequality in the CofE clearly shows the presence of symbolic domination through the privileging of men. In addition to this, Wuthnow (2004) and Ammerman and Farnsley (1997) have shown that churches can be repositories of social capital, and Unruh and Sider (2005) have demonstrated that churches are able to connect individuals in need with resources and foster relationships of trust. Smidt (2003) similarly concluded that religious communities provide a uniquely favorable setting for social capital to flourish. Davies and Guest (2007) have analyzed the presence of spiritual capital amongst the families of CofE bishops and discussed a variety of its implications (e.g., religiously and professionally) for clergy children and wives (see also Guest, 2007, 2010), demonstrating that this form of capital is clearly manifest in the CofE. Previous studies have noted the importance of social capital for understanding women's employment. The value of utilizing this as an interpretive lens lies in the fact that it has been noted to play a key role in the success of women's careers (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010; Timberlake, 2005); its presence can enhance one's career prospects and its lack can undermine them (see Crompton, 2008).

Similarly, work on spiritual capital has identified its utility for highlighting gender inequality within religious communities, including the CofE (Page, 2017; Wortham and Wortham, 2007). These theories are therefore suitable lenses for exploring behaviors within institutions that restrict the role of women in a professional-religious sphere because, in addition to being present in churches, they have the potential to highlight factors contributing to gender inequality by foregrounding the resources that enable professional progression. Nevertheless, there is a lack of research exploring how women are enabled to, or prevented from, being appointed to senior offices in the CofE, particularly through the utilization of spiritual capital. In this article, I demonstrate the relevance of social and spiritual capital for highlighting the existence of gender inequality within the Church's ordained hierarchy. In doing so, I develop knowledge of spiritual capital as a theoretical lens for understanding the presence of gender inequality within the professional hierarchies of religious institutions.

2.3 | Institutional work

Recent research on institutional work recognizes that organizational reforms do not always eliminate inequalities. Rather, those with higher status are often able to maintain their positions of power. Currie et al. (2012) have shown that when the power and status of elite professionals are threatened through the substitution of their labor, they respond through institutional work that enables them to maintain their privileged position. They have argued that such elites engage in the process of theorizing—developing concepts and beliefs that support the status quo—in order to evoke the association of risk with change and co-opt other professional elites to help them do so.

Hamann and Bertels (2018) have demonstrated that business owners can exploit labor forces through the guise of giving greater freedom to employees, outsourcing their former responsibilities and associated costs, perpetuating their advantage in their interaction with the labor market. Institutional work is therefore constituted by the purposive action of individuals, which can include day-to-day adjustments, adaptations, and compromises, aimed at maintaining the status quo (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), maintaining power and status where it has historically been concentrated.

Hargrave and van de Ven (2009) have posited that those who wish to maintain an institution's culture must disrupt the work of those who seek change. There exist three contradictions that agents of either cultural maintenance or transformation must purposively undertake to effectively maintain or change an institution's culture. These are: incorporating the actions of the disruptor/maintainer into one's own goal for shaping the existing culture; exploiting gaps between espoused and actual behavior to motivate others to support one's cause; and undertaking mutually reinforcing practices across the institution, amounting to the production of bonding and bridging capital, thus facilitating a network that can exert power from across the institution to achieve one's goal (Hargrave & van de Ven, 2009).

Despite awareness that male power can remain amidst institutional reforms in the CofE, the question of how institutional work plays out in the CofE—and its implications for gender equality—is lacking. Such research can highlight how actors are able to resist or support attempts at fostering greater levels of gender equality and thus have implications for tackling inequality with greater efficacy. I will therefore note the extent to which institutional work is employed in relation to the maintenance or disruption of male power and reflect on how likely it is that it will be able to subvert or support attempts to transform the Church's patriarchal culture. Hargrave and van de Ven's theory will also be developed through discussion on the role that capital plays in institutional work and on the intentions of those who undertake it.

3 | RECRUITMENT PROCESSES FOR SENIOR POSTS IN THE CofE

It will be insufficient to merely demonstrate whether and how social and spiritual capital are shared with or withheld from women within the CofE. This will only indicate whether female clergy benefit from the kinds of resources that are typically associated with professional progression. Rather, it is necessary to establish whether the types of capital that are extended to or withheld from women are those that can aid their advance within the CofE. I will therefore outline relevant guidlines used to appoint clergy to senior positions, teasing out the forms of capital required to be present in those processes so that my analysis speaks directly into this context. In particular, I shall explore some of the guidance used in the appointments for archdeacons and suffragan (i.e., assistant) bishops, processes overseen by the Church's Development and Appointments Group (Archbishops' advisors, 2020).

An archdeacon sits below a bishop within the CofE's hierarchy. They share the pastoral care for clergy in a specific area of a diocese. According to the House of Bishops, one of the "houses" that makes up the General Synod, and that drafts the guidelines for appointing archdeacons, there are a number of suggestions for selecting candidates. Whilst there is an expectation that such posts are advertised, this is not a firm requirement and candidates beyond the diocese can be excluded from applying, should the decision be made to make the appointment internally (The appointment process, 2016). The Chair of the selection panel is also advised to share the role specification with "those who might be able to draw it to the attention of suitable candidates" (p. 4), meaning that potential candidates must be known by those already in positions of influence if they are to have a better chance of being shortlisted for such posts. Hence, at an early stage of the selection process, one's pre-existing professional networks are influential in the appointment of clergy to senior offices. Moreover, in order for someone to be considered "suitable" for a senior position, they will presumably need to interact in a manner deemed appropriate by those involved in the appointment process, meaning that their habitus will need to have been shaped by the relevant professional network. It ought to be noted that the guidance for appointment processes indicates that

those approached to suggest possible candidates may include Deans of Women's Ministry (The appointment process, 2016) who will have connections with female clergy. However, this is also not a firm requirement and does not preclude the need for extended professional networks beyond this postholder.

The selection process also includes an interview with the diocesan (i.e., senior) bishop, who makes the final appointment decision (The appointment process, 2016). Thus, specific experience of working with senior clergy would prove useful as one's habitus is formed by experiences and impacts how one relates to others. Whilst a candidate may have experience of engaging with senior colleagues in previous careers, the CofE is a distinct context with a particular historical understanding of episcopacy (Davies & Guest, 2007), and so other professional experience cannot be assumed to afford candidates the habitus relevant for relating to senior clergy. Again, only being known by those influential in the appointment process is insufficient for obtaining a senior office; one must also have a certain habitus formed by interactions with particular clergy.

Twenty of the 25 women bishops are suffragans and the remaining five are diocesan bishops. The selection procedures for suffragan posts share some of the same guidelines as those for the vacancy of archdeacon. However, the diocesan bishop collates the names of those nominated by others and seeks further information on them prior to working with their advisory group to shortlist potential candidates for interview before seeking approval for a candidate's appointment from the appropriate archbishop, the most senior bishop in the province (The nomination process, 2016). Once more, those already identified by others as potential senior leaders have an advantage in the process of senior appointments. This further indicates that those with wider professional networks and who are considered by others to possess sufficient expertize (a part of habitus), are those most likely to climb the ecclesial hierarchy.

These guidelines indicate that social and spiritual capital are relevant for professional advancement in the CofE. Bridging capital is required as it allows one to become known amongst those who can encourage candidates to apply for the position of archdeacon. The process of being shortlisted for, and interviewing with, a diocesan bishop would be aided by linking capital because it offers useful experience of interacting with those in positions of authority and those who could recommend them for senior posts. Both forms of capital would inform habitus, as would spiritual capital, particularly the embodied state, which would further ensure that one has appropriate habitus for interacting with such colleagues. However, a prerequisite of the embodied state is the objectified state as this is what shapes habitus, making the consumption of spiritual commodities necessary.

Previous research indicates that these processes disadvantage women. They are more likely to train on regional programs—which are often smaller and part-time—rather than on larger full-time national residential colleges (see Greene & Robbins, 2015), meaning they are less likely to cultivate the same professional networks as men who tend to train in the latter manner and thus are less likely to develop certain habitus. Hence, women are also less likely to be recognized by those who identify potential candidates for appointment panels and to climb the ecclesial hierarchy.

4 | METHODOLOGY

I conducted semistructured interviews in one diocese in the south of England. These took place either in my interlocutors' home offices or in a quiet corner of their church building; I met them at a location of their choosing to avoid an imbalance of power. I recruited 41 male priests using purposive strategies, particularly snowballing, asking participants to recommend like-minded clergy within their tradition or network. It was appropriate to explore theologically conservative traditions within the CofE because opposition to women's ordination as priests and consecration as bishops frequently comes from them, particularly the Anglo-Catholic and evangelical traditions (see Jones, 2004). All my interlocutors had some higher education, with 25 possessing a master's degree or above, and approximately half had attended either Oxford or Cambridge Universities. The diocese remains undisclosed for the purpose of research ethics and all names given are pseudonyms. The diocese was selected because it has a broad range of Anglican traditions as well as a mixture of urban, suburban, and more rural areas, representing something

of the CofE as a whole, and because the number of clergy in it is significant, providing a suitable recruitment pool for the study. The bishop of the diocese is an open advocate of women's ordination and so most gender traditionalists interviewed had selected to place themselves under the authority of a "flying bishop."

Within the Anglo-Catholic tradition, I approached ordained members of Forward in Faith first because this group was established for clergy in opposition to the ordination of women (Jones, 2004). Thirteen participants were located in this tradition, six of whom were members of Forward in Faith and 11 of whom had maintained a gender traditionalist stance throughout their ordained ministries. They were all between the ages of 30 and 90. Although it is a diverse tradition, consisting of 'traditional' and 'liberal' wings, it has been described as possessing an "antipathy" toward women priests as those who identify with it can object to women's ordination beyond the role of deacon (Anglo-Catholic, 2018) because they incorporate Roman Catholic theology into their own, believing that only men can fulfill the role of the male Christ at the altar (see Fry, 2019a).

A further 14 participants identified as conservative evangelical, a tradition that has historically rejected feminist understandings of gender (Bebbington, 1989). I initially approached members of Reform, a network that emerged with the aim of opposing women's ordination to the priesthood, and later their consecration as bishops, because they understand scripture to prohibit women teaching or leading men in church (see Jones, 2004), integral facets of priesthood. Thirteen participants were members and one other was actively involved with Reform and considering membership. They were all between the ages of 30 and 70.

Fourteen participants were located in the charismatic evangelical tradition, which emphasizes personal encounters with the Holy Spirit, the third "person" of the Christian godhead (Buchanan et al., 1981), and which has historically encouraged women's ministry (Guest et al., 2012). I initially selected participants in this group if they were affiliated with New Wine, an Anglican network with a charismatic evangelical underpinning (see Fry, 2019a). Participants were aged between 30 and 65. This group was included because some clergy in this tradition oppose women's ordination. Also, as most participants in this group were not gender traditionalist, they show that members of a theologically conservative tradition can interact with women priests in a way that could undermine gender discrimination, which contributed to the implications discussed below. Participants in this group often explained that they had incorporated elements of different Christian traditions into their own theology and religious practices, broadening their expression of charismatic evangelicalism.

The interview questions were formed in a three-stage process. First, there was the initial development of questions based on my personal experience of the traditions in question. Having been immersed in different Christian traditions, I was aware of some of the common beliefs and practices that participants were likely to hold in relation to gender and so some questions were designed to clarify whether those beliefs and practices were relevant to participants and, if so, how. Second, there was the further development of questions through engaging with relevant literature on all traditions. I noted the common findings in historical and social research on gender as they relate to each tradition and so asked questions that provided opportunities for participants to discuss those. Third, questions were honed after feedback from colleagues with similar research interests to ensure that questions covered the breadth of topics that the existing literature has identified.

The interview questions were created with the overarching research question in mind to ensure that they remained directly relevant to the research aim. The interviews were conducted one-to-one and focused on participants' vocational journey, their experience of ordained ministry, their attitudes toward gender-related topics, and their engagement with those beyond their tradition. They lasted a modal average of 75 min. My approach to data saturation followed Grady (1998), finishing data collection when there is significant repetition and an evident lack of new material being gathered.

Thematic narrative analysis was employed to interpret the data. Thematic analysis readily enables one to find patterns across data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and so enabled me to identify similarities in the data between those in the same social group, allowing me to discuss each group as a whole. It also enabled me to identify differences between the traditions explored, providing me with a more panoramic understanding of how participants interact with female clergy, highlighting the diversity of gender traditionalism within the CofE. Narrative analysis

recognizes that all people order their life experiences into narratives to create a coherent understanding of their lives, something equally as true of groups (see Riessman, 2005; see also Bryan, 2016), which is unsurprising given that social group dynamics are born out of a process of interaction between individuals (Sani & Reicher, 2000). I thus structured the interviews so that participants were asked questions in sequential order of their life experiences in order to readily access how they understood them and how this has shaped their work within the CofE as it relates to gender. By identifying the themes that occurred across each group, and comparing the dataset as a whole, I was able to ascertain how the collective experiences of each group, and the wider context of their shared institution, shaped their interactions with female priests.

Themes emerged through coding the data in a two-cycle process. Participants' data were first analyzed individually and then as part of the wider group, allowing me to identify what was unique as well as what was ubiquitous within each group of clergy interviewed. Descriptive coding was employed in the first phase where data were summarized with language found within it. Pattern and focused coding were used in the second phase. The former involved making connections across the data set and the latter, identifying the most common codes (see Saldaña, 2009). The emergent codes were combined when their language or concepts were related, to identify the themes.

Reflexive processes were built into the research process to avoid misrepresenting my interlocutors through my existing assumptions and experiences, not least as a feminist and an Anglican within the evangelical tradition, particularly because my positioning includes the assumption that gender traditionalism regularly precludes equality. My own belief is supportive of the ordination of women to any part of the CofE's hierarchy. As a former student of Theology and Religious Studies, I believe that a contextualized reading of biblical passages used to defend traditionalist gender values are more appropriate and that such readings do not support the traditional view.

Researcher bias was reduced in five ways. First, semi-structured interviews enable one to capture participants' subjective interpretations of the questions more fully and lets them steer the answers in a way that they feel is appropriate (Burman, 1994). Second, when participants used language unique to their religious tradition, I asked them to clarify its meaning to avoid projecting my own assumptions onto their answers. Third, I asked follow-up questions relating to participants' tradition even if I thought I might already know the answer. I also re-read transcripts and re-listened to the audio recordings to familiarize myself with the data before and during the coding process. Finally, I utilized memos, tables, and diagrams in order to visualize the data so I could better identify the relationships between the narratives and a variety of potential theoretical lenses prior to selecting those outlined above.

Embodiment influenced the research process. Participants were particularly candid with their answers throughout the interviews but regularly stated that they do not usually make the fullness of their views on gender known to their congregations. My being male was impactful on the interviews because participants assumed that I shared some of their assumptions about gender. This was buttressed by the fact that (for transparency) I disclosed to them that I have been immersed in the Roman Catholic and evangelical traditions, meaning that participants felt more comfortable being open about their beliefs. My unique positioning has thus afforded a depth of insight not readily available in other studies.

Seven themes of relevance for the present undertaking emerged. Some of these will be discussed in pairs because, their content being similar, they collectively demonstrate the way in which capital can be withheld from—or shared with—women.

5 | DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 | Worked with women priests and wider participation in the CofE

Eleven of the 13 Anglo-Catholics do not believe that it is appropriate for women to be priests or bishops. With respect to the first theme, they evinced engagement with women priests to some extent, but their statements also

revealed that the way in which they do so is limited. Ashley helps women priests in the diocese with their administrative and legal responsibilities because of his previous professional background has provided him with the relevant skill set. Nevertheless, he doesn't see their ordination as valid. He said, "…my mind-set is that I'm engaging in ecumenical dialogue and activity. So these are fellow Christians, I just don't happen to recognize their orders."

Others with more personal relationships with women priests also reported a lack of co-operation. Malcolm described his friendship with a female priest. When asked about how he navigates the tension between his theology and his friendship, he replied, "…we've got to understand each other. We know exactly where we come from…. I wouldn't say I've worked with her…. we keep in touch socially… rather than [working] in each other's churches." The fact that Malcolm reported being on relatively good terms with this priest does not mean that they co-operate professionally to share resources, such as teaching or pastoral skills, regularly employed in priestly ministry.

Turning to the second theme, Peter expressed the same theology. He later explained that when he chaired the Forward in Faith group in the diocese he made sure to book the cathedral for their meetings, including Mass—a Catholic service of communion—because he felt that it was, "as much our space as anyone else's," indicating a territorial approach to an important diocesan resource, which can often be used as a meeting place for clergy across the diocese, where spiritual support such as prayer and the widening of one's religious-professional networks can take place. Malcolm said that "One meets with [female clergy] at deanery chapter and so on… in a sense one works with those people from different [traditions], but they are [usually] of the same ilk." Although less territorial, Malcom's comment parallels Peter's by demonstrating that collaboration outside of one's tradition is limited.

Ashley revealed that any co-operation is accompanied by the belief that women priests are not legitimate colleagues, whereas Malcolm indicated that professional co-operation with women priests is minimal, and Peter that they are nonexistent. Moreover, because Ashley does not believe that interaction occurs on equal terms between the sexes—and because he is not required to—the limited co-operation occurs as linking social capital. However, it is worth noting here that linking capital is typically described in scholarship in more co-operative terms, building bridges between different groups, but its presence here is more ambiguous. There is co-operation that occurs across hierarchical boundaries, but Ashley mentally belittles the women he works with as he does so. Importantly, the type of co-operation involved is restricted to activities that are not uniquely priestly because of this.

Therefore, participants deny women opportunities to develop habitus that benefit from the social resources they possess. This behavior reflects those actions that produce hierarchical sociocultural relations and is legitimated by the two integrities because it permits gender traditionalist clergy to decline to work with women priests. This means that it likely helps facilitate men's continued symbolic domination in the CofE because it lessens women's opportunities to accrue the capital and habitus necessary for professional advancement, making it less likely. Moreover, that women are denied these opportunities by their traditionalist colleagues within this process of cultural production is indicative of inequality apart from any resulting symbolic domination because it means that, regardless of whether women obtain senior offices, they cannot access opportunities for doing so on the same basis as men.

Male privilege also has implications here with respect to spiritual capital. Women are denied the recognition of inhabiting the institutionalized state because they are not thought to be genuine priests. My interlocutors therefore question women's ability to provide symbolic commodities such as communion, a function that demonstrates their priestly status. As such, the traditional Anglo-Catholics do not undertake activities with female clergy that are inherent to priesthood. This means that female clergy have fewer opportunities to gain spiritual capital in the objectified state and thus in the embodied state. Hence, once more, they have fewer opportunities for their habitus to be shaped in a way conducive to recognition for senior appointments. This is further evidence that my interlocutors' actions are likely to facilitate symbolic domination. It is also further evidence that women priests do not have the same opportunities to develop in a way necessary for selection for the Church's senior offices, again meaning that they do not have equal access to professional advancement.

The professional networks (i.e., bridging capital) enjoyed by women priests are therefore limited because traditional Anglo-Catholic clergy are less likely to seek collaboration with female clergy, reducing the likelihood that the latter will become known by those involved in the process of appointing clergy to senior posts and (again)

of developing habitus in a way congruent with professional advancement. This is, yet again, further evidence of how women do not access professional advancement on the same basis as men due to limited opportunities to accrue capital, indicating the likelihood of symbolic domination. Moreover, Peter's narrative shows that this group prefer to consume rather than share resources, indicating an exclusivist approach to spiritual capital because it evinces a bonding approach amongst members of Forward in Faith, preventing others from benefiting from the diocesan resource at the same time. Whilst this does not impact women only, it is they who are most vulnerable to such exclusion given that male priests could always, in theory, subscribe to the position of Forward in Faith, whereas female priests could not. Thus, it is female clergy who are disproportionately affected by the bonding capital here, further limiting their opportunities to develop their professional networks and thus habitus (in the embodied state), on the same basis as men.

These themes also reveal the presence of two of Hargrave and van de Ven's (2009) contradictions. First, participants have incorporated the actions of those seeking to challenge the CofE's patriarchal culture to achieve their goal of maintaining traditional patterns of ordained ministry. Ashley is able to reject the validity of his colleagues' ordination because the CofE permits gender traditionalists to do so. Second, my interlocutors undertake mutually reinforcing practices through their display of bonding capital. In this instance, bonding spiritual capital enables members of Forward in Faith to meet to share spiritual resources whilst being united around shared beliefs, including partaking in communion which, according to traditional Anglo-Catholicism, must be administered by a male priest, ensuring that their shared practices are reinforced.

The first appears to be effective for disrupting attempts to change the male dominated culture of the CofE because participants' actions—which restrict women's access to the capital necessary for professional progression—is permitted by the wider institution, allowing such behaviors to continue. The second, however, is not fully adopted because there is a lack of bridging capital across the institution, limiting the network that gender traditionalists employ to ensure gender traditionalism is maintained. Hence, its implications for challenging changes in the Church's hierarchy is more limited than it may otherwise be.

5.2 | Resistance toward the diocese

Thirteen of the Reform participants do not think women should be ordained to lead a church or a diocese. Karl leads a church whilst, in theory, being a part of a team of three clergy working across three churches. Despite being the only participant in Reform open to women's ordination across the Church's hierarchy, in a statement that was representative of this group, he explained, "I'm the only orthodox one in the whole team. So each week I am working with liberals." This includes a female colleague. When the diocesan bishop invited Karl to come and lead his church, he accepted the invitation on a condition: "I will go ahead if I am the only one preaching in that pulpit–I am the only one running this [church]." Greg was asked about his collaboration with those from different theological traditions in the diocese, including women. He responded, "…my own philosophy is that it's more effective to build [ministry] with those who have a similar ministry philosophy and common theology." That is, Greg does not work with women priests because their ordination as church leaders does not dovetail with his gender traditionalism.

Karl interacts with women priests to a limited extent because the diocesan structures require it. Being a part of a team of joint churches means that he communicates with his colleagues to update them on ministerial developments. However, whereas in the past these clergy shared responsibilities across all three churches, since Karl's arrival this has not been the case. He has refused to share responsibilities with those who do not share his churchmanship, including his female colleague, who he believes is theologically too liberal to be trusted to teach his congregation.

Women wishing to occupy roles not traditionally afforded to them can be inclined to disaffiliate from English evangelicalism, which can prescribe more restrictive roles for them, favoring female submission to male authority (Aune, 2008a) and which, therefore, overlooks women for positions of church leadership (Aune, 2008b). Moreover,

female priests are non-existent in the Reform network in this diocese, most likely because Reform was founded to oppose the ordination of women to the priesthood (see Jones, 2004). Nevertheless, Karl seemed unaware of the fact that this would limit the possibility of working closely with his female colleagues on the basis of a shared religious tradition. Whilst his avoidance of collaboration with "liberals" may initially appear unrelated to gender, it excludes the possibility of working with far more women than it does men.

Greg does not collaborate with clergy outside of his tradition because he believes that it would be an ineffective model for ministry. Again, this would particularly exclude women as his tradition precludes the possibility of ordaining women to lead churches. This theme shows a bonding approach to capital amongst the conservative evangelicals. Once more, it is women priests who are most vulnerable to this exclusion from the social and spiritual resources necessary for professional advancement. The resulting risk is identical to that discussed in the first two themes, namely, fewer opportunities to develop professional networks so as to become known by those influential in the processes of senior appointments, and fewer opportunities to develop habitus in a manner necessary for senior posts, making the maintenance of male domination likely as it lessens women's chances of obtaining senior offices.

Moreover, regardless of symbolic domination, it denies women the possibility of attaining senior offices on an equal basis to men due to fewer opportunities to acquire the necessary capital. However, in the case of these narratives, women are not excluded because their sex is understood to be incompatible with priesthood but because they do not share in the conservative evangelical tradition. The fact that they are unable to do so because this tradition precludes female ecclesial authority is apparently unrecognized. This contrast to the traditional Anglo-Catholic narratives is one of theological emphasis and highlights that gender discrimination in the CofE is far from ubiquitous.

On the surface of it, the way in which Reform participants restrict women's access to capital does not reflect Hargrave and van de Ven's (2009) approach. Indirectly, however, my interlocutors' narratives provide evidence of the bonding approach inherent in the process of creating mutually reinforcing practices that can maintain the status quo. Participants do not work extensively with those outside of their tradition but belong to a network of like-minded Anglicans who meet on a regular basis to strategize Reform's impact in the Church and in society in line with their shared beliefs, and to offer pastoral—including spiritual—support. Meeting regularly to achieve Reform's vision would naturally lead to the reinforcing of the network's practices through continual affirmation. The social and spiritual resources on offer here are less accessible to women because of the embodied expectations that accompany Reform membership. Nevertheless, as was the case with Forward in Faith, employment of this approach is limited because bridging/linking is not being undertaken between different levels of Church structures, although this does not preclude some effectiveness of this institutional work for limiting women's access to capital.

5.3 | Presence of women in ordination training and co-operation with those in other traditions and with different theologies

Twelve of my charismatic evangelical interlocutors affirmed women's ordained ministry without qualification. With respect to the first of these themes, an important feature of participants' narratives was that they trained alongside women at theological college. While the number of women varied, participants readily recalled relationships with their female peers. Nick attended a residential evangelical college. He said:

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

Nick reported meaningful relationships with women at theological college. Lewis commented similarly about his pastoral group: "…there was a deep bond between… us. It was a mix of men and women." In ordination training, members of pastoral groups meet on a regular basis to offer each other mutual support, including prayer. This sentiment was also found in this group's narratives when they discussed their current working relationships within the diocese.

Turning to the second of these themes, Matt said, "I am all for women's ministry [as deacons, priests and bishops]." He expanded that he was happy to have a female curate (i.e., assistant minister) and currently works in a parish with colleagues who have "different theological churchmanships to me." Matt explained that he was happy to work in a team that is diverse with respect to religious tradition and that is mixed sex: "…every day one is working with those differences," and that he supported his female colleagues in prayer, noting that they have "…different attitudes of praying together, and we've introduced a… mixture of more open and more formal ways of praying. But we negotiate that; we talk about that." In other words, Matt intentionally collaborates with female clergy and is willing to spend time with them undertaking ministry and praying with them. Rob reported similar behavior. He explained, "I'm now in… a cell group with two female clergy who both came from my [previous] church and who are in ministry in this diocese now…" A cell group functions similarly to a pastoral group, meaning that Rob would likewise have been offering prayer and mutual support to those in that group.

These practices lead to the expansion of one's professional network, meaning that the female clergy whom participants interact with are more likely to become known in the wider CofE than if their neighboring colleagues were either traditional Anglo-Catholic or conservative evangelical. As a result, spiritual capital pertaining to the objectified state is shared with and consumed by women priests because my interlocutors reported partaking in spiritual practices with women. These inform habitus (or the embodied state) in an important way given that it is necessary for potential archdeacons and suffragan bishops to have such dispositions ingrained for their interaction with those who would appoint them or recommend their appointment. This sharing of capital is exhibited in both a bonding approach and a bridging approach. The former is exhibited by the participants because, in the first of these themes, spiritual capital is consumed amongst a defined group of ordinands (i.e., clergy in training) who meet together on a regular basis, live in close proximity (as is commonplace in residential training), and are most likely of similar religious traditions given that they have elected to attend the same training college, as such colleges locate themselves within particular Anglican traditions. The latter is found in the second of these themes because my interlocutors reported sharing other forms of capital with those of different Anglican traditions to themselves and with those ministering in different churches.

This group was not actively attempting to transform the male-dominated culture of the CofE. Nonetheless, their narratives do evince institutional work because they undertake mutually reinforcing practices across a variety of Anglican traditions as they display bonding and bridging approaches to capital. Such practices will be reinforced by the regularity of their meetings and continued collaboration. Therefore, it is their institutional work that provides female clergy with increased access to the types of capital associated with senior appointments in the CofE. These interactions thus possess the potential to undermine male domination by providing women equal opportunities for professional advancement through offering access to the necessary habitus-shaping capital, and/including an expanded professional network, as they would with male colleagues. This highlights the potential that bonding capital can have for advancing equality in the CofE. However, this was limited to this group of participants and so appears to be an exception, particularly in light of the findings of other scholarship. There were two other charismatic evangelicals who deviated from the narratives of their wider group to some extent.

5.4 | Theology of male leadership and exposure to women in church leadership

These themes overlap. Oscar, another charismatic evangelical, holds more traditional gender values that would, in his opinion, exclude women from leading churches but accept them as curates. He said, "I do believe that women

can be ordained, be in leadership, be teaching…. However… I'm not completely egalitarian… as I look at scripture… I do think…that the leader of the local church should be a man." Nevertheless, he explained that not only does he work with women in his congregation through the selection process for ordination, but also that the majority of those he sends to the diocese for discernment for ordination are women.

This process occurs because the diocese requires that those who believe that they may have a vocation to ordained ministry approach their incumbent (i.e., parish priest) who then decides whether to send them to the diocese for further discernment. This next stage is undertaken with the support of the incumbent who writes references and provides ministerial experience for the candidate. Michael holds the same theology. He criticized the CofE for consecrating women as bishops:

> If you look at Church history, we have moved pretty quickly from the ordination of women to the priesthood to women in the episcopacy…. [for] churches that had said… 'We believe that the [incumbent should] … be a man'… you're going to have something pretty problematic.

Michael did not take theological issue with women being curates or teaching men if they have the appropriate skills, in keeping with the historic emphasis on spiritual gifts found within the charismatic evangelical tradition (see Buchanan et al., 1981). He reported that he does work with a female colleague, from a different tradition, who holds incumbent status in a neighboring parish. He explained that, because their respective churches are part of a unified group of parishes, he meets regularly with her to offer mutual support and prayer, and to organize collaboration in various ways, such as covering for each other when one is on holiday or unwell. Hence, Michael works with women in positions that he does not believe they should occupy.

These participants reported the same behaviors as the other charismatic evangelicals, including the sharing of capital, despite holding theology that is more akin to that of the conservative evangelicals in this instance. In Oscar's case, linking social capital would be present between the incumbent and the person discerning a vocation to the priesthood because the two would be working across a formal hierarchy. Michael offers a bridging approach to spiritual capital to his female colleague. In this respect, articulating a belief that is associated with gender inequality does not necessarily lead to actions that produce it; those who do hold such beliefs may facilitate equal access to capital that would develop networks and shape habitus in the way needed for professional advancement, irrespective of sex.

Participants also indicated the presence of institutional work that has the potential to undermine the male dominated culture of the CofE. They undertake mutually reinforcing institutional work across different traditions of the CofE and between clergy and laity. Also, these participants do not undertake institutional work that seeks to maintain the Church's patriarchal culture like other gender traditionalists, and the actions they reported would provide their female colleagues with extended networks and access to other forms of capital necessary for shaping habitus in a way conducive for appointments to senior posts in the CofE.

6 | DISCUSSION

I have explored how male clergy from theologically conservative traditions behave toward their female colleagues and the implications of this for gender inequality within the CofE. The above analysis highlights that such male clergy often act in ways that foster inequality by withholding social and spiritual capital from women priests, denying them opportunities to develop their professional networks and habitus in a way conducive to professional progression. That is, they evince the Bourdieusian approach to capital. Data were not collected to answer the question of whether this process of cultural production has yielded the results that Bourdieu would expect, namely symbolic domination. However, analysis suggests that this is likely and has shown that inequality is nevertheless manifest because women are denied equal opportunities to men for obtaining a senior position within the CofE. In

fewer cases, capital is extended to women, evincing a sharing approach that is associated with professional progression and thus possessing the potential to undermine male domination.

The phenomenon of withholding or extending capital is shaped by the religious traditions of the institutional actors. The traditional Anglo-Catholics withhold capital in distinct ways from the conservative evangelicals. Amongst both groups the question of embodiment and thus habitus is key. Female priests are a priori excluded from the professional networks of these clergy in several ways because they cannot readily be either a traditional Anglo-Catholic or a conservative evangelical priest. The traditional Anglo-Catholics also share capital in ways distinct from the charismatic evangelicals. On the occasions where the former work with their female colleagues, it is in a limited capacity, whereas the latter are happy to do so in multiple ways, even if they have reservations about women's ordination. However, they inhabit a religious tradition that has historically afforded women greater ministerial opportunities (see Guest et al., 2012). In this respect, my charismatic interlocutors reported the behaviors that are inherent in their particular expression of Anglicanism (see also Fry, 2019a).

The distinctions in how capital is withheld or shared between these three traditions highlights the importance of contextualizing religious-professional groups in seeking to understand the role that capital plays in (in)equality. Whilst participants belong to the same institution, inequality is either perpetuated or challenged in keeping with the wider subcultures of the CofE. Analyses of social and spiritual capital within institutions thus need to be able to incorporate an understanding of the polyphony of institutional subcultures if they are to be fully understood. Equally, an analysis employing social and spiritual capital as an interpretive lens can enhance understanding of the impact of institutional subcultures within the wider institution. On the face of it, the second and third themes suggest that the avoidance of collaboration with those outside of participants' traditions applies equally to all. However, because Bourdieu's approach to capital pays specific attention to the embodied nature of interaction, that women are excluded over and above men is foregrounded. As a result, the fact that female clergy do not access the necessary habitus (obtained through capital) required for senior offices within the CofE on the same terms as men becomes more apparent.

Therefore, both the traditional Anglo-Catholic and conservative evangelical narratives indicate that important resources are often withheld from female clergy. Hence, whereas previous studies on social capital have shown that religious communities and institutions can provide access to such resources, I have shown that they can also prevent access to capital, highlighting its more negative implications within the Church. Such resources enable persons to progress in their ordained roles, meaning that not only are there barriers to gender equality in the CofE at the macrolevel (such as the two integrities), but that these barriers also occur at the microlevel. The fact that such discrimination occurs locally serves to undermine any changes to promote greater equality at the institutional level. If women are not provided with the same opportunities to gain social or spiritual capital in their ministries, there will likely always be a higher proportion of women than men who are unable to fulfill their professional potential within the Church's hierarchy. It is thus imperative that the Church seeks to address the refusal to share capital with women clergy at the micro-level if it is to successfully allow women to flourish within its structures.

Analysis of the charismatic evangelical narratives has led to a more developed understanding of spiritual capital. With its roots in cultural capital, it has often been understood as an acquired set of resources for achieving and/or maintaining privilege in religious settings. Nonetheless, whilst such notions of cultural capital can include the acquisition of skills and knowledge for employment (Guest, 2007), this has not been the focus of research on spiritual capital which has explored, for example, clergy husbands (Page, 2017) and children (Guest, 2007). Page (2017) has shown that employment outside of the CofE can be effective for accruing spiritual capital within a religious context. My analysis, however, shows that symbolic domination in the CofE would rely on denying others experiences that provide knowledge and skills required to inform one's embodied state in a way that is conducive to consideration for holding senior offices. In other words, the accrual of spiritual capital within the Church's hierarchy requires the acquisition of capital in a manner akin to the accrual of skills and knowledge necessary for advances in employment beyond the religious sphere.

The charismatic evangelical narratives also demonstrate that the bridging/linking approach to social capital articulated by Putnam (2000) may be applied to spiritual capital. Whilst the theory of spiritual capital was developed from distinctly Bourdieusian notions, which viewed capital in exclusivist terms, my analysis indicates that spiritual capital can be shared with other social groups, reflecting Guest's (2007) insight that it can be used positively and beyond self-interest. In contrast to the other traditions examined, therefore, this group evinced the potential for enabling greater gender equality in the CofE; by mutually embracing opportunities for shared capital with their female colleagues, women are more likely to accrue the experiences that will likely afford them greater opportunity to develop habitus in a way that can aid their advance within the CofE's hierarchy, in tandem with increasing their likelihood of becoming known to those influential in the appointment processes.

Engagement with research on institutional work has informed the relationship between this body of knowledge and capital within the CofE: participants' institutional work has the efficacy to either provide or prohibit access to the types of capital required for professional progression in the CofE. Such analysis also extends understanding of the institutional literature, which has identified the relationship between bonding and bridging capital and an agent's ability to prevent or bring about change, in two ways. First, it has demonstrated that spiritual capital has the potential to disrupt or maintain institutional cultures. Second, the literature on institutional work has foregrounded the purposive agency of those conducting institutional work for maintaining and disrupting institutional cultures. However, analysis of the charismatic evangelical narratives shows that institutional work can happen without such intentions.

Future research could focus on the relationship between spiritual capital and institutional work in other religious traditions. Debates around gender equality are present in other churches (e.g., see Franco Martínez et al., 2012; Niemelä, 2007; Stroda, 2008; Todd, 1997), not least in other branches of the Anglican Communion (e.g., see Porter, 2011), and so there is scope for advancing understanding in institutional work and gender inequality in other religious contexts. Future enquiry could also be directed toward an analysis of institutional work that is not born out of intentions to maintain or disrupt institutional cultures. Such lines of enquiry could focus on the historic context of that culture and the impact this has on unintended institutional work. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the charismatic evangelicals interviewed inhabit a tradition that has historically been more affirming of women's ministry and reported behaviors that can foster greater levels of gender equality, particularly given that the history of a religious tradition shapes it in the present (see Fry, 2019a, 2021; Vasey-Saunders, 2015).

Regarding the effectiveness of my interlocutors' institutional work, no group evinced all three of Hargrave and van de Ven's (2009) contradictions. In particular, exploiting the gap between espoused and actual values is missing from all groups and the establishing of a network for mutually reinforcing institutional work is never fully adhered to. Given that, according to Hargrave and van de Ven, all three aspects of this method are necessary for effectively maintaining the status quo or bringing about change, my interlocutors' approach to prohibiting or facilitating institutional change is likely to be less effective than it would otherwise be.

However, this does not preclude some effectiveness in their resistance to women's ordination/consecration. I have established that women are more vulnerable to lack access to capital than men within the CofE. The above findings add weight to the existing evidence that power can remain with those who have historically wielded it, despite attempts at institutional reform. The allowance of alternative professional networks within the CofE has evidently helped foster male privilege within it. Hence, a further contribution to the institutional literature may be made: institutional subcultures can prevent reforms from fully taking effect within the wider institution and thus possess the potential to buttress male domination. Future research will need to explore this in other contexts to fully appreciate the extent to which this pervades other professions.

From this discussion, a more general theorization may be made beyond the immediate context. The above shows the presence of what I am terming “irresolute equality reform.” This is where the actions of an institution attempting to reform inequality limits its own potential to do so because other priorities within it lead to compromise, particularly in order to appease groups already high in social resources. More specifically, it legitimates the resistance to change of such groups in a way that limits access to social resources for those who need

them to benefit from the reforms. In such instances, the institution helps facilitate the institutional work carried out by groups high in social resources aiming to maintain the status quo, allowing them to deny different forms of capital to the intended beneficiaries of institutional reform, limiting opportunities to develop networks and habitus. This increases the likelihood of symbolic domination by the group already high in social status whilst ensuring that others within the institution do not access social resources on equal terms with them.

In the present case, the CofE wanted to introduce women into its ordained hierarchy on more equal terms with men whilst maintaining unity with those who opposed this development. It therefore admitted female clergy with a number of caveats that favored the preferences of male clergy opposed to women's ordination. These gender traditionalists were male in a male-dominated institution, with professional networks, providing them with different forms of capital and enabling them to act in ways that maintained their privileged position, whilst limiting the opportunities for women to accumulate similar resources. This would help facilitate existing sociocultural hierarchies and, therefore, is likely to maintain the symbolic domination of male clergy within the CofE. Regardless of whether such domination is maintained, this process of cultural production means that the capital necessary for becoming archdeacons or bishops are not accessed by women on the same basis as men.

This means that work advocating for gender equality needs to be attuned to the various goals that an institution has in order to understand how attempts at reform might be limited. Failure to do so could mean that such attempts prove less effective if the proposed route toward equality contravene other institutional goals because they are less likely to be adopted. Rather, advocates for change could work toward paths for gender equality that are unlikely to be perceived as contrary to other institutional priorities, if such priorities do not in themselves preclude equality. In what follows, I will demonstrate that this is possible in the CofE. However, by drawing on literature from beyond this specific institution to support my suggestions, the possibility for such an approach in other institutions will become apparent.

6.1 | Implications

In light of the above, I propose two ways of more fully addressing gender inequality within the CofE. These suggestions are made without compromising the CofE's desire for unity in order that the avenues toward greater gender equality proposed be more readily incorporated into the Church's practices. Despite the clear shortcomings of the existing arrangements, this need not compromise the pursuit of equality because maintaining unity and pursuing equality need not be mutually exclusive, as will become evident in the below. Moreover, to preclude the pursuit of unity would mean side-lining the values of gender traditionalists. Problematic though they are, the marginalization of gender traditionalists through demarcating them from the wider CofE risks bolstering such beliefs (see Fry, 2019a; see also; Robin, 2018; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Trepte, 2006). Given the male-dominated nature of the CofE, this could do more harm than good for gender equality. Instead, my proposals seek to avoid this pitfall whilst improving on the limitations of the current ecclesial arrangements by maximizing women's access to capital. What I outline below also promotes a sharing approach to capital rather than a more exclusivist one so as to move away from a model associated with symbolic domination for progressing within the CofE's hierarchy.

One approach is to highlight those who express a traditionalist theology of gender, yet clearly share capital with women who are either discerning a vocation or are ordained. The fact that my charismatic evangelical interlocutors did so demonstrates that this is possible. It can be achieved by placing newly ordained gender traditionalists with more experienced priests (i.e., training incumbents) in the first few years of their ministry—as is customary for new clergy in the CofE (see Formation criteria, 2014)– who hold similar perspectives but nonetheless share social and spiritual capital with women. Training incumbents and new clergy are often paired on the grounds of a shared religious tradition, as was the case for the majority of my interlocutors.

Having a shared tradition is indicative of a shared religious identity, and gender traditionalist participants from the traditional Anglo-Catholic and conservative evangelical wings of the CofE interact with those in their

tradition in a manner that is consistent with this (Fry, 2019a). Further evidence that new clergy are likely to share a religious identity with training incumbents is found when considering that shared identity fosters greater willingness to share capital (Kramer, 2006) and that social and spiritual capital form a significant component of the training incumbent–trainee relationship. The CofE's guidelines for appointing training incumbents stipulate that such clergy are to be appointed based on clear evidence that they will nurture and collaborate with those they are responsible for training (Ling, 2017). Equally, clergy in this stage of training have found that support from their training incumbent has allowed them to develop and progress as ordained ministers, qualifying them to lead churches, and that training incumbents intentionally facilitate this process (Perrin, 2016). In fact, the sharing of capital is reciprocal in this relationship because training incumbents often learn from those whom they are training (see Perrin, 2016). Such support regularly includes the training incumbent modeling their way of working (Perrin, 2016).

This is significant. When an individual perceives themselves to share an identity with another, their values and related behavior are modified to mirror them (e.g., see Haslam et al., 2011). This is particularly the case when behavior is intentionally modeled (see Bandura, 1977). Whilst this is not necessarily a straightforward process, not least because group identities and associated values and behaviors are negotiated rather than fixed (see Sani, 2005), research in this area has found that "the mere act of individuals *categorizing themselves* as group members… [is] sufficient to produce group behavior" (Haslam et al., 2011, p. 52, emphasis original). In other words, shared identity leads to shared behavior. It is those in leadership amongst a group with a shared identity that particularly influence group behavior (Haslam et al., 2011) and so one ought to expect the training incumbent to shape the behavior of the trainee. By deliberately modeling behaviors of shared capital with their female colleagues, training incumbents are well placed to influence greater levels of shared capital between gender traditionalist clergy and their female colleagues.

There are two benefits of this approach. First, it adopts existing structures within the CofE and so would be relatively simple to implement. If this is adopted, one can expect to see an increase in gender equality in the short-term, alongside better long-term prospects for female clergy as the sharing of social and spiritual capital will lead to increased opportunities for professional advancement, and will be bolstered by the fact that women are being ordained in increasing numbers (see Ministry Statistics, 2020).

Secondly, it reflects the method of contradiction articulated by Hargrave and van de Ven (2009) for effecting institutional change. First, there is incorporating the actions of those seeking to maintain the patriarchal status quo by realizing that clergy will seek out like-minded training incumbents and identify more readily with those in their particular tradition. Second, my approach can also facilitate the exploitation of gaps between espoused and actual values. As the role of women in the Church's hierarchy is a salient matter for gender traditionalists, they are likely to realize when their training incumbent interacts with women in a way that facilitates the sharing of capital if they do not. In this scenario, given that values and related behaviors are adopted through the process of group identification, newly ordained gender traditionalists are likely to perceive this to be a gap between their espoused and actual values which—as Hargrave and van de Ven (2009) argue—is a motivator for behavioral change. In this case, the likely direction would be toward the embrace of their training incumbent's behaviors. Third, this approach also facilitates the creation of mutually reinforcing practices across the CofE because it will lead to the sharing of capital with those of different Anglican traditions and with different levels of seniority.

With respect to the second approach, the existing processes for filling senior posts have been seen to benefit men over women. Key aspects of the appointment procedures rely on accrued social and spiritual capital that are not equally accessible to all. A change may be made here. Developments in appointment processes are overseen by the CofE's Development and Appointments Group. However, this group, which consists of nine individuals from across the Church's ordained hierarchy and from the laity, does not have a gender balance. Only three are women and only one of them is a bishop (Archbishops' advisors, 2020). In other words, women are a minority in this group and within this minority, an even smaller number occupy a senior position in the Church' ordained hierarchy. I have argued that the gender inequality in the CofE is embodied and so the current make-up of the group thus risks

facilitating its continuation through insufficient female representation in the processes that shape appointment procedures. The way that this group is selected thus also requires reform to include a better gender balance, including an equal number of women holding senior Church offices. A benefit of this second approach lies in the fact that there is already a consciousness of the merits of embracing diversity within the priesthood (see Criteria for selection, 2014). My suggestion would thus formalize something that has already been acknowledged by the CofE.

With respect to archdeacon and suffragan bishop vacancies, meaningful changes can be made to ensure a fairer process. For archdeacon vacancies, all positions could be advertised nationally rather than internally only, to reduce the influence of specific, pre-existing networks. Also, interviews for both types of posts can be conducted with those in the diocese who possess different intersectional identities (and thus habitus) to the diocesan bishop. The process could then become more democratic with some weighting given to the diverse range of persons partaking in the recruitment process. Decisions on appointments would then consistently benefit from a wider perspective. Importantly, this suggestion is also in keeping with the stated ethos of the selection guidelines for archdeacons, which recognizes the importance of diversity within the Church's senior leadership (The appointment process, 2016). It is also consistent with the acknowledgement that bishops may wish to obtain advice from a range of people in the appointment of suffragan bishops and reflects the fact that bishops already work with advisory groups to assist them in appointments (The nominationappointment process, 2016). Therefore, this approach would reduce the privileging of certain habitus by extending and formalizing existing processes. To do this effectively, future research will need to explore how best to ensure greater levels of diversity amongst those responsible for making senior appointments.

7 | CONCLUSION

I have explored the ways in which male Anglican clergy from theologically conservative traditions interact with their female colleagues. In doing so, I have demonstrated that those with traditionalist gender values tend not to work closely with their female colleagues, withholding social and spiritual capital, particularly the types that provide clergy with the necessary networks and habitus that effectively function as prerequisites for being appointed to senior positions. By contrast, those who possess egalitarian gender values work collaboratively with women in a way that affords them opportunities to accrue social and spiritual capital. This is not to suggest that individual women are unable to rise within the Church's hierarchy due to pre-existing inequality. The fact that 25 women bishops have been consecrated since 2014 clearly demonstrates that this is not the case. Rather, in the process of cultural production, women are given fewer opportunities than men to develop the type of habitus, or cultivate the networks, necessary for attaining senior offices. This means that women do not access opportunities for climbing the ecclesial hierarchy on the same basis as men and so the scales of probability for professional advancement are tilted in favor of the latter, a phenomenon likely to help facilitate male domination in the CofE.

However, this can be stunted by implementing changes that would create a more level playing field for clergy regardless of sex. These are not exhaustive and therefore cannot be exclusively relied upon to eliminate gender inequality in the CofE. Nevertheless, these suggestions do respond directly to the sources of inequality identified in my analysis and would therefore challenge inequality caused by limited access to social and spiritual capital. It would be appropriate for future research to build on previous findings by exploring additional sources of gender inequality within the CofE since the introduction of women bishops and propose a series of actions that can directly respond to these. Inevitably, this must include a study of how women priests experience social and spiritual capital if a fuller picture is to be provided. By doing so, the pursuit of equality within this institution will become more readily realized because responses to inequality will be directly geared toward addressing its specific manifestations.

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The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

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