

Organizational Perspectives on Stained Glass Ceilings for Female Bishops in the Anglican Communion: A Case Study of the Church of England

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The purpose of this study is to document how glass ceilings, known in an ecclesiastical setting as stained glass ceilings, are being encountered by female clergy within the Anglican Communion. The study applies the stained glass ceiling approach developed by Cotter et al. (2001) to examine the organizational structures and ordination practices in not only the Anglican Communion but various other Christian denominations. The study provides an in depth examination of the history of female ordination within the Church of England through the application of managerial paradigms as the focal point of this research.

INTRODUCTION

In the article, “Women Bishops: Enough Waiting,” from the October 19, 2012 edition of *Church Times*, the Most Rev. Dr. Rowan Williams, then Archbishop of Canterbury, urged the Church of England in its upcoming General Synod scheduled for November 2012 to support legislation that would allow the English Church to ordain women as bishops (Williams, 2012). Williams had been concerned about the Church of England’s inability to pass resolutions that would allow these ordinations. As the spiritual head of the Anglican Communion of approximately 77 million people worldwide, Williams had witnessed the ordination of women to the sacred offices of bishop, priest and deacon in many parts of the communion. Ordinations allowed women in the church to overcome glass ceilings in certain ministries, but also led to controversy and divisiveness in other parts of the church, although the Anglican Communion has expended significant resources in both monetary terms and opportunity costs to deal with the ordination of women to sacred offices, specifically as female bishops. The resolution of female ordination to the episcopate is still ongoing. Problems surrounding the ordination of women have been difficult to define, measure, and resolve.

The purpose of this paper is to document the ordination of women bishops within the Anglican Communion and provide a case study of the situation that the Church of England has faced in attempting to resolve issues surrounding the ordination of females. It compares the experiences of women in sacred spaces with secular business settings. Rixon and Faseruk (2012) demonstrated that parts of the Anglican Communion have been proactive in adopting secular practices, such as strategic management. These

progressive practices have not always been extended to attitudes concerning the ordination and advancement of female clergy.

This paper postulates that a glass ceiling based on gender bias is still being witnessed in certain branches of the Anglican Communion. A history of ordained women in the ministry of various Christian denominations is provided to demonstrate that issues surrounding female vocation or employment in the church do not differ significantly from those of other occupations wherein women have overcome some barriers while encountering others. In certain churches, no attempt has been made to integrate women into ordained ministries, including the Roman Catholic and Eastern/Oriental Orthodox churches. These bodies steadfastly refuse to admit women to Holy Orders. Reasons often cited are based on their interpretation of Scripture and traditions that are firmly entrenched from past practices. For further discussion see Zagano (2008) and Martinez, M. Rodriguez-Entrena and M.J. Rodriguez-Entrena (2012).

Aside from outright refusal to consider ordination is a second church-related experience which is on the opposite side. Some churches have fully embraced women into their ordained ministries with little visible discrimination, including the Salvation Army, several Methodist and Lutheran churches, the United Church of Canada and the American Universalist Church.

A third type of church-experience on female ordination has been exhibited in the Anglican Communion. The Anglican Communion demonstrates great heterogeneity in examining the ordination of women across various jurisdictions. Some national churches have adopted the model for ordination of women at all levels of ministry, while other parts of the communion reject female ordination at all levels, not unlike the Roman Catholic and Eastern/Oriental Orthodox churches. Still others have only partially adopted the model allowing ordinations at some, but not all levels, thereby limiting upward mobility. In some of these churches within the Anglican Communion, the process continues to unfold and is evolutionary, but at a snail's pace; hence the Archbishop of Williams' concern in attempting to overcome the inertia to bring resolution to the issue of the ordination of women bishops in the Church of England sooner rather than later. Lutheran Churches can also display this type of heterogeneity. While some Lutheran Churches, such as Sweden, Denmark and Canada, ordain women to all levels of ministry, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod does not ordain women to any sacred offices. In virtually all branches of the Anglican Communion, resistance in varying degrees has been or is currently exhibited with respect to the upward mobility of female clergy. These barriers, metaphorically speaking, have "stained glass windows" functioning as a glass ceiling.

The study is divided into seven sections in order to examine the path to the ordination of female bishops within the Anglican Communion. This first section has provided an introduction to the issue of female ordination in the Anglican Communion. The second section outlines the methodology for the study. In the third section, a literature review of glass ceiling and stained glass ceiling is undertaken to describe problems of female advancement within secular and ecclesiastical settings. The fourth section describes the organizational structure of the Anglican Communion, while the fifth section documents female ordinations across various Christian denominations. In the sixth section, the discussion addresses ordinations in the Anglican Communion to demonstrate that it is not a homogeneous body as different national churches and dioceses display divergent theologies toward the ordination of women. The intent is to demonstrate how women in the Anglican Communion have encountered glass ceilings as they progress towards the episcopacy with the underlying question, "Why is the stained glass window a glass ceiling?" The orientation in this section outlines particular problems faced by the Church of England. The seventh section concludes the study and provides directions for future research.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this paper is based on a chronological case study approach. This paper draws on the secular glass ceiling framework of Cotter et al. (2001) in order to examine the impact of the glass ceiling on the ordination of female bishops in the Anglican Communion. While the framework of Cotter et al. was based on observations in the secular business world, it can be adapted to explore the advancement of female clergy from entry levels to the pinnacle level of clergy, that of bishop. An

extensive literature review is employed to document the history of advancement of female clergy not only in the Anglican Communion but in various denominations.

LITERATURE REVIEW: GLASS CEILINGS AND STAINED GLASS CEILINGS

Over the past several decades, many organizations, in both the private and public sector, have witnessed the *glass ceiling* for female employees with limitations on upward mobility in organizations. “Glass ceiling” was coined in 1979 by two female employees of Hewlett-Packard, Katherine Lawrence and Marianne Schreiber. They used it to describe the situation that, while on the surface there appeared to be a clear path of promotion for women that, in actuality, women seemed to hit a point beyond which they were unable to progress. It is interesting to note in 1999, upon becoming CEO and Chair of the Board of Directors of Hewlett-Packard, Carly Fiorina, the first woman to lead a Fortune 20 company, proclaimed there was no glass ceiling at Hewlett-Packard. Glass ceiling was subsequently used in a March 1984 *Adweek* article by Gay Bryant and in the March 24, 1986 edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt wrote an article concerning the invisible barriers that impede the career advancement of women in the American workforce.

While sexual discrimination in employment was outlawed in the United States through the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964, gender barriers have nonetheless persisted. In 1972, the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP) was founded to document the career progression of women in economics. This committee monitored the progress of women in professional activities and engaged in undertakings that would help to further the process of female advancement in economics. Glass ceiling was used by the Department of Labor in the United States in response to a study of nine *Fortune 500* companies. The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) confirmed that women and minorities encountered considerable glass ceiling barriers in their careers. These barriers were often encountered earlier than previously thought.

Cotter et al. (2001) postulated that the glass ceiling effect implies that gender or other disadvantages to advancement within an organization are stronger at the top of a hierarchical structure than at lower levels. Further, these disadvantages become worse at a later stage in a person’s career progression, which is consistent in many parts of the Anglican Communion for Episcopal ordination which is at the top of the organizational structure for a diocese. Cotter et al. (2001) outlined four specific criteria for a glass ceiling to exist:

1. A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial difference that is not explained by other job-relevant characteristics of the employee.
2. A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial difference that is greater at higher levels of an outcome than at lower levels of an outcome.
3. A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial inequality in the chances of advancement into higher levels, not merely the proportions currently at those higher levels.
4. A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial inequality that increases over the course of a career.

Cotter et al. (2001) using random effects models and data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics examined gender and income inequalities at the 25th, 50th and 75th percentiles of white male earnings. Although they found evidence of a glass ceiling for women, racial inequalities among men did not follow a similar pattern. The data demonstrated the existence of a distinctive gender pattern. References to these criteria are made implicitly throughout this study.

A similar term to the stained glass ceiling effect, the “stained glass ceiling” first appeared in a *Time* magazine article on July 17, 2000. While this study is concerned with documenting a stained glass ceiling relationship in the Anglican Communion, it should be noted that a glass ceiling is not the only potential impediment to upward mobility if the culture pervades the entire organization. Myerson and Fletcher (2000, p. 136) summarized their assessment of organization culture by arguing:

It's not the ceiling that's holding women back: it's the whole structure of the organizations in which we work: the foundation, the beams, the walls, the very air. The barriers to advancement are not just about women, they are all around them.... We must ferret out the hidden barriers to equity and effectiveness one by one.

Stained glass ceilings refer to the difficulty for women who seek to gain a role within church leadership. This term is metaphorical indicating a certain level of power or authority within church structures that impede women from advancing above a certain level within the church hierarchy. In the extreme, women could be barred from obtaining entry into ordained ministry, such as not being able to obtain access to requisite educational institutions. Another barrier could be the religious group's barring of women through tradition, canon law or rubrics from ordained positions.

Longman and Lafreniere (2012) proposed the use of education to overcome the stained glass ceiling. While this is one remedy to a specific segment of the problem, it cannot be a panacea to solve all problems surrounding ordination. There are additional barriers that frustrate women in attempting to be fully integrated as ministers of a church. The problems include ordination itself, experiencing impediments to the performance of ministry post-ordination, and difficulties that become increasingly more prevalent as one moves further in the hierarchy of the church, which is consistent with Cotter et al. (2001). Anderson (2010) demonstrated that in many Lutheran churches, male pastors were more likely to preside over larger churches, which she refers to as megachurches (more than 2,000 congregants), than their female counterparts who are often relegated to minichurches. Megachurches would presumably have larger salaries for pastors and endowments along with clearer paths for career progression.

External forces can attempt to place a stained glass window in a church. Zagano (2008, p. 135) recounts how Pope Paul VI, out of fidelity of safeguarding Apostolic Tradition and removing a new stumbling block placed in the way of Christian unity, reminded Anglicans of the Roman Catholic position, when the Anglican Communion was initially considering the ordination of women. The Pope wrote to F.D. Coggan, Archbishop of Canterbury on November 30, 1975:

She holds that it is not admissible to ordain women to the priesthood, for very fundamental reasons. These include: the example recorded in the Sacred Scriptures of Christ choosing his Apostles only from among men; the constant practice of the Church, which has imitated Christ in choosing only men; and her living teaching authority which has constantly held that the exclusion of women from the priesthood is in accordance with God's plan for his Church.

It is ironic that in the preceding quote the Church is referred to in feminine terms while denying women admission to the sacred orders of the Roman Catholic Church. In addition to warning Anglicans against the admission of women to Holy Orders, Hunt (2011, p. 87) recounts that three recent popes have made pronouncements against the ordination of women: Pope Paul VI in 1977 in *Inter Insigniores*; John Paul II in *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* in 1994; and Benedict XVI in 1995 (as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger) in *Responsum Ad Dubium*.

When national churches in the Anglican Communion were considering the ordination of women, some adopted conscience clauses that allowed dissenting bishops to not accept women into Holy Orders or to not license them to fulfill clerical responsibilities following ordination. These clauses effectively allowed a barrier to entry if the aspirant were on the outside peering in through a stained glass window. Once inside, it became a stained glass ceiling. For example, in 1975 the Anglican Church of Canada approved the ordination of women but allowed bishops in Canada a conscience clause. It was subsequently rescinded in 1986.

There have been incidences of bodies reversing their stance on the ordination of women after female ordinations were allowed, such as the Presbyterian Church in Australia and the Southern Baptist Convention in the United States. The Anglican Communion reversed its stance on whether ordinations of

deaconesses actually constituted a valid ordination. The three situations are expanded upon in subsequent sections of this study as examples of stained glass windows postulated by Cotter et al. (2001). In ecclesiastical circles, a barrier has the ability to be put back up after it had been taken down.

In addition to gender discrimination being exhibited at the national and diocesan level, it can also be exhibited at the local congregational/parochial level by refusing to appoint/accept a woman as part of the ministerial team, which may be a basic employment equity issue. Even if a woman were to become part of a parish's ministerial team, discrimination through the imposition of glass windows can take place via other means, some of which are subtle. Consider a parishioner leaving the congregation, altering pattern of monetary giving or selective non-attendance at liturgical celebrations when the female minister presides at liturgies. A phenomenon which is often identifiable in congregations is *church-shopping* wherein potential congregants "check out" the various activities surrounding a church, such as the ministerial team, Sunday School activities, youth groups, Bible studies, Christian fellowship and social activities, prior to joining a congregation. Sometimes the cost of search in church-shopping can be very extensive, whereas, on the opposite extreme, no monetary or time costs are incurred as others do not move regardless of what happens in a congregational setting. Conversely, a change in ministers can also give rise to congregants following a minister from one parish to the next.

In some cases, the acceptance of an ordained woman can be confined to a certain level within the hierarchy. For example, a congregation could accept a female deacon, but would not accept a female priest. Alternatively, career progression could stop at the level of priest, as some national churches may ordain women as priests, but will not ordain them as bishops. Women may not always be willing to accept other women in roles of authority, as argued by Buchanan, Warning and Tett (2012). This concept of women in authority in church-settings has been debated by Radford-Ruether (2011), Via (2011) and Hunt (2011). As such, glass ceilings are evidenced by ordained women in the Anglican Communion, which is consistent with Cotter et al. (2001).

The term stained glass ceiling is employed in this study to refer to a particular aspect of a broader trend of gender discrimination in religious communities through defined social roles and barriers justified by tradition, dogma or doctrine within a segment of the church. The first part of the phrase "stained glass" refers to the frequent use of stained glass artwork in places of Christian worship. It is ironic that an art form used for many centuries to edify Christians can be construed as an inhibiting factor to the advancement of women within Christian organizations. The stained glass ceiling, at its highest point, is encountered by a woman who aspires to be a bishop in the Anglican Communion. A bishop is the focal office in the Anglican Communion, as this person is at the apex within the hierarchic organizational structure for a diocese.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The bishop is the head of a diocese, the basic reporting unit within the Anglican Communion. A bishop ordains and licenses clergy. A diocese is divided into various parishes and congregations. The diocese can include chapels, theological colleges, hospitals, book stores, church newspapers, groups of men and women (e.g. ACW-Anglican Church Women), youth groups and many church-related functions. The bishop of one diocese is linked to bishops of other dioceses through a shared tradition, sacraments and church meetings, such as the House of Bishops and Synods. Synods, beyond one diocese, are formed by several dioceses coming together to form a province, which is linked to others through canons and constitutional law. The Anglican Communion does not have a highly codified canon law like the Roman Catholic Church and, while being hierarchical, tends to be much more decentralized than the Roman Catholic Church.

A bishop may have an assistant bishop which can either be a Suffragan Bishop (an assistant bishop without the right of succession when the diocesan bishop retires, dies, becomes incapacitated or is removed (deposed) from office), or a Coadjutor Bishop (an assistant bishop with the right of succession) or Area Bishop (a bishop exercising Episcopal functions over a designated geographic area, such as the Diocese of Toronto which has a diocesan bishop who is assisted by four area bishops). Bishops need not

have a diocese as there can be missionary bishops sent to a particular geographic region to engage in founding a diocese or they can serve special interests within the church. The Anglican Church of Canada appointed Mark MacDonald as bishop to the First Nations People of Canada, effectively a trans-diocesan bishop. The Church of Nigeria ordained several missionary bishops to establish new dioceses, primarily in the northern part of Nigeria.

Succession planning in the church is not readily observed in the Anglican Communion (outside of the Coadjutor Bishop), as the incumbent bishop cannot designate a successor. The next bishop is elected by an electoral synod of the diocese either when the See becomes vacant or the planned retirement of the bishop. For example, in the Anglican Church of Canada, bishops are required to retire at 70. An interesting situation may arise in certain provinces if a legal challenge is made to the canon that requires compulsory retirement. Several civil jurisdictions have eliminated legally enforceable compulsory retirement. It is conceivable that a legal challenge could be made to determine which has greater effect, civil law or canon law. It may be ironic that a court could enforce prohibitions against ageism while not being able to deal with sexist policies in the church. The canons or constitution of a diocese or province specify the eligibility of the electors and the qualifications that candidates for bishop must meet.

In terms of corporate governance, the bishop is elected by and is answerable to the synod of the diocese and houses of bishops within the church. A diocesan synod consists of ordained ministers and laity. The House of Clergy consists of priests and deacons. They perform a variety of roles, such as rectors or assistants in parishes or congregations, diocesan administrators, hospital chaplains or seminary/theological college professors. The House of Laity consists of the laypeople that sit on parish councils, serve as Eucharistic Assistants, sing in choirs or serve on the many committees associated with the activities of the parish or diocese. Diocesan synods usually meet on an annual or biennial basis. For resolutions to pass, they must gain a majority of the votes in both houses and receive the pleasure of the bishop. If a bishop withholds pleasure, the resolution is vetoed. There is no provision for the override of a veto, but defeated and vetoed resolutions could be reintroduced at subsequent synods. Issues, including the ordination of women, can be debated over several synods and remain unresolved for long periods of time.

Bishops can be deposed from office (equivalent to firing or termination of employment contract in the business sector), but the process is long and cumbersome. It is very infrequently undertaken. One example of a bishop being deposed was the Robert Duncan, the former Bishop of Pittsburgh, who was deposed in 2008 by a vote of 88 to 35 with four abstentions to remove him from all ordained ministry in the church “for abandonment of the communion of this church.” Duncan turned against The Episcopal Church after it elected an openly gay bishop, which he considered defiance of scripture and tradition.

The Anglican Communion is Episcopally led, but synodically governed in order to maintain some checks and balances within the church. These are, however, not in perfect balance with more weight given to the bishop. When the synod is at the provincial level, a third house is introduced, the House of Bishops. For resolutions to pass at this level, a majority would need to be obtained in all three houses. A super or two-thirds majority may be required on certain issues. A bishop would appear *prima facie* to have wide latitude of power, but it would be inappropriate to superimpose a chief executive officer (CEO) model on this office. Infrequent references to bishops as having “chief” are usually only found in liturgical sources or as an administrative officer in diocesan constitutions. Consider the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (p. 183), “As chief liturgical officer it is the bishop’s prerogative to preside at the Lord’s Table and to preach the Gospel.” In many ways, the bishop’s role is more of a regional vice-president in the administration of franchisors or branches on behalf of a segment of the church.

A province is under the direction of an archbishop which can be either a metropolitan or primate (also referred to in some provinces as a primus or a presiding bishop). There is some confusion in usage of the term province, as it can mean a sub-division within a national church or the national church itself. For example, Canada consists of four ecclesiastical provinces (British Columbia and the Yukon, Canada, Ontario and Rupert’s Land). Canada refers to both an ecclesiastical province as a subdivision within the Anglican Church of Canada, (the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada consists of seven diocese in the eastern part of Canada, namely Central Newfoundland, Eastern Newfoundland & Labrador, Fredericton,

Montreal, Nova Scotia & Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Western Newfoundland), but also to the Anglican Church of Canada which is one of the 38 provinces in the Anglican Communion with other national/regional churches. For a listing and official title of the churches see www.anglicancommunion.org.

Often the national church bodies function like the government of their national state. For example, The Episcopal Church in the United States functions in a similar fashion to Congress, whereas in England, the synods function very much like the British Parliament. The British constitution is an unwritten constitution which has evolved based on precedents and common law, but often precedents can take significant time to evolve. As well, laws can take a long time to be enacted. The American constitution is more formalized contained largely in a single document, which can be amended through a laborious process. The Church of England as an established church is the official national church for England. The Episcopal Church is but one of many churches in a country which holds the doctrine of separation of church and state. Moreover, the Supreme Court in a rare 9-0 ruling upheld in *Hosanna-Tabor EEOC* (2012) that the rules of diversity, Title VII, etc. did not apply to religious institutions because religious faith and practice operated outside the normal boundaries of legal paradigms. While many churches in the Anglican Communion have become more open, accountable and democratic and sought to become more inclusive, it is often contingent upon the ecclesiastical polity of the various national churches given that these characteristics and movements in the church are not universally accepted.

The bishops of the Anglican Communion meet on a decennial basis in the Lambeth Conference, hosted by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England. The last conference took place in 2008 with the next scheduled for 2018. Resolutions at Lambeth are generally non-binding on the national churches that come together and, while the Archbishop of Canterbury functions as the convening and presiding officer, the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury is more of moral suasion as the *primus inter pares*, the first among equals. While the Archbishop can use statements from his office to persuade delegates, his statements are not binding on delegates, including other bishops. Again, a corporate governance model based on CEO would appear to not be well applied to bishops, or even archbishops, in the Anglican Communion.

While appreciating how the hierarchy of the Anglican Church operates at and above the diocesan level, one should note that the majority of church activities take place within the diocese. To understand how glass ceilings function at the diocesan level, it is important to understand the various functions within the diocese. Assisting the bishop would be the priests and deacons who work largely in the parishes of the diocese. Each parish usually has a priest who is referred to as rector if the parish is economically self-financing or priest-in-charge if problems impede the financial viability of the parish. Each cleric in the diocese must have a license from the bishop to perform the duties required of the office. A priest presides at the Eucharist, performs baptisms and sundry rites, thereby functioning as a pastor to the flock within a parish. The bishop is often referred to as the pastor to the pastors. The rector is also responsible for remitting an assessment or percentage of parish income to the diocese. Given this licensing arrangement and assessment of income (akin to a franchise fee), the corporate model that would work well in explaining the activities of the church would again appear to be a franchise or branch manager model. A bishop can have a very small span of control when the diocese has few parishes and few administrative personnel. On the other extreme, the diocese could be divided into several administrative areas with several assistant bishops, regional archdeacons and administrative officers. With a small span of control comes a flat organizational structure with potentially ready access to the bishop; whereas, with a larger span of control comes a more elevated hierarchy with limited access to the bishop. More staff relationships arise in dioceses with elevated hierarchies.

The rector may also be assisted by other priests referred to as Associate Priest, Assistant Priest, Curate or Honorary Assistant. In addition to other priests assisting the rector, the rector could be served by a deacon(s). A deacon has liturgical functions, such as the proclamation of the Gospel, setting the altar, dismissal of the congregation and leading various prayers. Deacons may be either a vocational (permanent) deacon (those called to remain in the order for their lives) or transitional deacons (those

called to the diaconate for a temporary period prior to being ordained to the priesthood, usually one year). In the latter, case the individual functions in an apprenticeship for the priesthood; whereas in the former case the vocation is expected to be permanent. As outlined in subsequent sections, the office of deacon, initially deaconess, paved the way for women to be ordained to the subsequent orders of priest and bishop within certain parts of the Anglican Communion. In other parts of the Anglican Communion women are still denied access even to the entry level position of deacon; whereas, in still other parts, the office of deacon is the glass ceiling being both the entry level and the highest level attainable by a woman.

FEMALE ORDINATIONS IN NON-ANGLICAN DENOMINATIONS

Until the nineteenth century women were routinely denied access to the ordained ministry by almost all Christian denominations. It was not until the early nineteenth century that the first ordinations were made by the Society of Friends (Quakers). Part of their belief system was that there is an existence of an element of God's spirit in every human soul. The initial justification was proposed by Margaret Fell (1614 - 1708) in a pamphlet that sought to justify equal roles for women and men in her denomination. In 1853, Antoinette Brown was ordained by the Congregational Church, but her ordination was not recognized by her own denomination. So, she quit that church and later became a Unitarian. In 1863, Olympia Brown was ordained by the Universalist denomination despite a last moment case of cold feet by the seminary that she attended. She later became a Unitarian. The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) underwent a struggle in the late 1990s which ended in a fundamentalist victory and a prohibition against future female ordinations. At that time, the SBC had about 1,600 ordained women in their 41,099 churches and 16 million congregants. The existing female pastors were allowed to remain, but no new female pastors will be ordained. These instances of cold feet, waffling and leaving/joining different denominations represent a pattern of behavior that persists in various forms surrounding the ordination and advancement of women within various religious denominations, including female bishops in the Anglican Communion, which is again consistent with Cotter et al. (2001).

When the Salvation Army was founded in 1865, it ordained both women and men with married couples sharing the same rank. Notable dates and events in the ordination of women are:

- 1866 Helenor Alter Davisson became a circuit rider in Indiana of the Methodist Protestant Church as the first ordained Methodist. Later church conferences challenged the ordination of women
- 1871 Celia Burleigh became the first female Unitarian minister
- 1888 Fidelia Gillette first ordained woman in Canada in Universalist Church in Bloomfield, Ontario
- 1889 Cumberland Presbyterian Church ordained Louisa Woosley
- 1889 United Brethren Church ordained Ella Niswonger
- 1892 Church of the Nazarene ordained Anna Hanscombe
- 1909 Church of God (Cleveland TN) began ordaining women
- 1911 Mennonite Church ordained Ann Allebach
- 1914 Assemblies of God was founded and ordained its first female clergy
- 1917 Congregationalist Church (England and Wales) first ordained women
- 1920s some Baptist churches in the United States
- 1920s United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom
- 1930 Presbyterian Church (USA) ordained its first female as an elder
- 1936 United Church of Canada
- 1947 Czechoslovak Hussite Church
- 1948 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark
- 1949 Old Catholic Church (in the United States)
- 1956 The General Conference of the United Methodist Church approved full clergy rights for women
- 1960 Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sweden

- 1964 Southern Baptist Convention ordained Addie Davis but later the “Baptist Faith and Message” doctrinal statement was modified in 2000 to prevent future female ordinations.
- 1967 Presbyterian Church in Canada
- 1968 Metropolitan Community Church is founded and will accept female ministers with Freda Smith ordained in 1972.
- 1970 Lutheran Church in America (LCA) ordained Elizabeth Platz and later that year American Lutheran Church (ALC) ordained female ministers. The LCA and ALC later merge to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.
- 1972 Swedenborgian Church
- 1974 Methodist Church in the United Kingdom
- 1974 Presbyterian Church of Australia but stopped ordinations in 1991
- 1976 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada ordained Pamela McGee
- 1984 Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
- 1988 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland
- 1995 Seventh Day Adventist in Virginia ordained three women in violation of the denomination’s rules
- 1998 Guatemalan Presbyterian Church
- 1998 Old Catholic Church in the Netherlands
- 1999 Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil
- 2000 The Baptist Union of Scotland voted to allow their churches to either allow or prohibit the ordination of women
- 2000 Church of Pakistan ordained its first female deacons
- 2007 The Worldwide Church of God decided to allow women to serve as pastors and elders

Some denominations have ordained women as bishops. Included in these would be:

- 1980 United Methodist Church
- 1989 The Episcopal Church in the United States of America
- 1994 Anglican Church of Canada
- 1996 Lutheran Church in Sweden
- 1997 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark
- 1997 Anglican Church in New Zealand
- 1998 Presbyterian Church in Guatemala
- 1998 Moravian Church in America
- 1999 Czechoslovak Hussite Church
- 2002 Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada
- 2008 Anglican Church of Australia
- 2009 Lutheran Church of Great Britain (first female bishop in Great Britain)

The history of women in ordained ministries has been well documented through: “ELCA Gathers Power-Filled Women for a Power-Filled Church” (2004); United Methodist Church in “Growing Churches Led by Clergywomen” (2012); Houseal (2003) on Nazarene Clergy Women; Presbyterian Church (USA) “Clergywomen’s Experiences in Ministry: Realities and Challenges” (2003); Roebuck (2012) in Pentecostalism, “I have done the best I could: Opportunities and limitations for women ministers in Church of God-a Pentecostal denomination.”

THE STAINED GLASS CEILING IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The Anglican Communion encompasses 77 million people worldwide under the Archbishop of Canterbury as its spiritual head. The Archbishop is the *primus inter pares* for 38 provinces or

national/regional churches around the world. The Anglican Communion started as the Church in England which dates from 597 when St. Augustine of Canterbury became the first Archbishop of the Church. For almost a millennium, the Church of England functioned as a branch of the Roman Catholic Church, but it became detached during the Reformation. In 1534, the English Parliament passed the *Act of Supremacy*, which provided autonomy of the Church of England. While Roman Catholic authority over the Church of England was briefly restored during the reign of Mary I, it was rescinded following the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. Parliament passed a second *Act of Supremacy*, (1558). This document, which reflected the doctrine of the Elizabethan Settlement, sought to structure the Church of England as both Catholic and Reformed often being referred to as the *via media* or middle way between the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand and Protestantism on the other.

The Church of England is catholic insofar as it views itself as part of the universal church in unbroken continuity with the early apostolic church. This belief is expressed in its emphasis on the teachings from the Patristic Era of the Church and reliance on formalized creedal statements, such as the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. This unbroken chain is recognized through the office of bishop within the church, who through the sacrament of ordination or the laying on of hands maintains this chain. Ordination is an ancient rite of the church to admit candidates to Holy Orders, which in the Anglican Communion is the prerogative of bishop. As previously demonstrated, the entry level position in ordained ministry is as a deacon. To be admitted to the priesthood a second ordination is required. Ordination as a bishop requires a third ordination with a minimum of three bishops performing the ordination, one of whom is the metropolitan bishop of the ecclesiastical province. Part of the problem with ordaining women to the episcopacy has been canon law which establishes various requirements to be elected bishops. In the Canadian church, the usual requirements are that the candidate be a priest with a minimum of six years in Holy Orders, over 30 years of age and be nominated by a minimum number according to the diocesan constitution. Moreover, simply because candidates meet the minimum requirements, it does not necessarily make them viable candidates. However, as more women become priests, more women will become eligible for election as bishop, once they meet the requirements.

The Church of England is reformed insofar in that it has been shaped by some of the doctrinal principles of the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation with the development of additional theological expressions, such as the Thirty-Nine Articles which expanded upon ancient creedal statements and liturgical practices. These articles broke with previous Roman Catholic practices and were outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549.

The ordination of women in the Anglican Communion has become increasingly accepted since the first ordinations of women to the priesthood more than 35 years ago. The Anglican Communion in its ordained ministry uses the ancient orders of deacon, priest and bishop, as does the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern/Oriental Orthodox Church.

Some provinces within the Anglican Communion, such as The Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Cuba (as an extra-territorial diocese under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Council of The Episcopal Church, the Church of the West Indies and the Anglican Church of Canada), the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Anglican Church of Australia and, the Church of Southern Africa ordain women as deacons, priests and bishops.

Several other provinces ordain women only as deacons (Southern Cone, Congo, Pakistan): still others ordain only up to priests [Burundi, England, Indian Ocean, Jerusalem and the Middle East, Kenya, Korea, Melanesia, Rwanda, South India, Wales, West Indies, West Africa, Ceylon (extra provincial to Canterbury)]. Some provinces allow for the ordination of women as bishops, but have not yet consecrated any: Bangladesh, Brazil, Central America, Hong Kong, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, North India, Philippines, Scotland, Sudan, and Uganda.

Some provinces do not allow Holy Orders of any sort to be conferred on women: Central Africa, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, South East Asia and Tanzania.

The road to ordained ministry for women in the Anglican Communion had its origins in 1855, when the Bishop of Maryland set apart two deaconesses and followed by the Bishop of London in 1862. In 1885, ceremonies were conducted in Alabama and New York. In 1889, the General Convention adopted a

Canon on Deaconesses, which was followed by training programs for deaconesses instituted in New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. In 1919, the General Convention recommended the inclusion of deaconesses in the Clergy Pension Fund, but the Board refused, saying that they were not clergy.

The 1920 Lambeth Conference concluded that the laying on of hands for deaconesses was in fact ordination and that Holy Orders have been conferred on deaconesses. The 1930 Lambeth Conference rescinded its 1920 decision and in 1948 refused to hear Hong Kong's request for experimentation with the ordination of women. During the war, Hong Kong had ordained Li Tim-Oi, a deacon from Macau, as a priest on January 25, 1944. As her ordination was considered controversial, she resigned her license, but not her priestly orders, following the war. It was not until 1971 that she was officially recognized as a priest in the diocese when Hong Kong ordained two further female priests.

In 1958, Episcopal Theological School admitted women to the Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) program [now known as the Master of Divinity (M.Div.)]. This decision to allow women to study theology was significant as this was the usual basic educational requirement for ordained ministry. Admission to theological colleges removed a significant barrier to entry for subsequent ordinations. In 1964, the General Convention in the United States changed the canon on deaconesses to read "ordered" rather than "appointed." Deaconess Phyllis Edwards was then recognized as a deacon by Bishop James Pike of San Francisco. In 1966, the House of Bishops in the United States asked the Lambeth Conference to consider ordaining women to the priesthood.

In 1968, the Lambeth Conference agreed that deaconesses are part of the diaconate, but referred the issue of the ordination of women back to national churches for further study. Hong Kong, Kenya, Korea and Canada began ordaining women to the diaconate and suspended using the term deaconess. At the General Convention in 1970, women were admitted as lay delegates after a 50 year struggle. The canon on deaconesses was eliminated with women included in the canon on deacons. Women thereby became eligible for the pension plan.

Over the next few years, the American Church faced enormous debates on whether or not to ordain women to the priesthood and whether the ordinations were valid. The debate often became acrimonious. People, both clergy and lay, left the church. Eleven women were ordained as priests by three retired bishops in Philadelphia in 1974. Four more ordained in Washington in 1975. These early ordinations were considered irregular until the 1976 General Convention which normalized the ordinations. Since that time women in the United States were well on their way to becoming ordained to all three orders of the Church. In 1989, Barbara Harris was ordained as the first female bishop. To date, The Episcopal Church has ordained 17 female bishops including Mary Glasspool, an openly gay woman as Suffragan Bishop of Los Angeles in 2010, and Katharine Jefferts Schori who became the Presiding Bishop for a nine year term in 2006.

While Episcopalians in the United States have overcome many problems associated with glass ceilings for female ordination, there are often other issues that are addressed together. While churches have been contending with the issue of female ordination, it has also encountered issues dealing with the concurrent issue of same sex marriage. While this issue has, of course, been a notable national issue for secular authorities, it has also been prominent within the Church. Pless (2010) asked the question in his article, "The Ordination of Women and Ecclesial Endorsement of Homosexuality: Are they Related?" Gene Robinson, an openly gay male priest, was elected Bishop of New Hampshire in 2003 and married his partner, Mark Andrew in 2008. When Mary Glasspool was elected bishop in 2010, she had been a relationship with her partner for the preceding 19 years. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to provide quantitative evidence, many opponents of ordaining women in The Episcopal Church would also oppose same-sex marriages.

Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia

The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia was among the first provinces in the Anglican Communion to ordain female priests in 1977. In 1989, it elected Penny Jamieson as Bishop of Dunedin. In 2008, the Diocese of Christchurch elected Victoria Matthews, former Bishop of Edmonton in the Anglican Church of Canada, as their diocesan bishop.

Anglican Church of Canada

It was 17 years following the first ordination of female priests in 1976 that a woman was elected as a bishop in the Anglican Church of Canada. In November 1993, Victoria Matthews was elected a suffragan bishop in Toronto and was consecrated in February 1994. In 1997, she became the first woman elected as a diocesan bishop in Canada when she was elected Bishop of Edmonton. She held that office for 10 years until she resigned in 2007.

Since Bishop Matthews' election, six more women have been elected as bishops in the Anglican Church of Canada. They are Ann Tottenham (Suffragan of Toronto, 1997), Sue Moxley (Suffragan of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island 2004; diocesan 2007), Jane Alexander (diocesan, Edmonton 2008), Linda Nicholls (Area Bishop of Toronto, 2009), Barbara Andrews (Suffragan to the Metropolitan with responsibilities to the Parishes of the Central Interior, 2009) and Linda Mamakwa (Area Bishop for Northern Ontario in the Diocese of Keewatin, with special responsibilities for the predominantly aboriginal parishes of the diocese, 2010).

Cotter et al. (2001) demonstrated that glass ceilings could occur over the course of a career. A glass ceiling may be observed in the Anglican Communion in higher elections. Victoria Matthews twice won elections: first as a suffragan bishop in Toronto and later diocesan bishop in Edmonton. But, she may have faced a glass ceiling in subsequent elections. She lost the election for Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land in 2003 and for Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada in 2007. Matthews had also been a candidate for Primate in 2004, but withdrew before the election owing to treatment for breast cancer.

The Anglican Church of Canada is in full-communication with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. In 2007, Susan Johnson was elected as the National Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. She was consecrated in Winnipeg by not only her fellow Lutheran bishops, but also by several Anglican bishops. In the Anglican Church of Canada, she is afforded all the rights and privileges that would be given to an Anglican bishop.

Anglican Church of Australia

The Anglican Church of Australia was comparatively late when it ordained its first female priests in 1992 and in the late 1990s began a protracted and acrimonious debate over the ordination of women as bishops. The issue was finally decided by the Anglican Church of Australia's Appellate Tribunal which ruled on September 28, 2007 that there is nothing in the church's constitution that would prevent the consecration of a woman priest as a bishop. Following the April 2008 Bishop's Conference of the "Women in the Episcopate" protocol for the provision of pastoral care to those who cannot in good conscience accept the ministry of a woman bishop, Australia had ordained three female bishops, Kay Goldsworthy (Assistant Bishop of Perth, 2008), Barbara Darling (Assistant Bishop of Melbourne, 2008) and Genieve Blackwell, Regional Bishop of Wagga Wagga, 2012).

On November 23, 2012, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Australia, Archbishop Phillip Aspinall, during ceremonies to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the ordination of women priests in Australia said, "I am pleased to see the journeys of women priests [are] now reaching into some of the highest levels of clerical offices in Australia." He further went on to say, "These include Bishops Barbara Darling from Melbourne, Genieve Blackwell from Wagga Wagga and Kay Goldsworthy from Perth, all of whom exercise greatly value ministries and are excellent role models." (Anglican Communion News Service, November 26, 2012). On December 5, 2012, Archdeacon Alison Taylor had been selected to lead the Southern Region of the Diocese of Brisbane as Queensland's first woman bishop and fourth female bishop in Australia. (Anglican Communion News Service, December 5, 2012).

Scottish Episcopal Church

The Scottish Episcopal Church ordained its first female deacons in 1985 and priests in 1994. In 2003, the Church provided for the ordination of women as bishops. To date, no female priests have been elected although in 2010 Canon Dr. Alison Peden was a nominee for Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. Although not elected, her nomination was regarded as very significant for Anglicanism in the United Kingdom.

Church in Wales

On April 2, 2008, the Governing body of the Church in Wales considered, but did not pass a bill allowing women to be ordained as bishops. Though the bill was passed by the House of Laity (52 to 19) and unanimously by the House of Bishops (6-0), it failed by three votes (27 to 18) to secure the minimum two-thirds majority in the House of Clerics.

Church of Ireland

The Church of Ireland approved the ordination of women as priests and bishops in 1990 and ordained its first women as priests that year. No women have been elected as bishop.

Church of Southern Africa

During 2012, the Diocese of Swaziland, Anglican Church of Southern Africa elected Ellinah Wamukoya as its diocesan bishop on July 18, 2012 (Anglican Journal Staff, July 19, 2012) and later that year on October 3, Margaret Vertue was elected diocesan bishop of False Bay (Anglican Journal Staff, October 9, 2012). Vertue was one of the first two women priests ordained by Archbishop Desmond Tutu 20 years ago at the close of Apartheid in South Africa.

Other National Churches in the Anglican Communion

Two other churches have ordained women as priests, but have yet to ordain a female bishop, the General Assembly of Nippon Sei Ko Kai (Anglican Church in Japan) in 1998 and the Diocese of Mombasa of the Anglican Church of Kenya in 2000.

The Diocese of Uruguay, which has been part of the Province of the Southern Cone since its formation in 1988, has applied to leave this Province in order to join the Church of Brazil, which it feels is more compatible in terms of theology, mission and philosophy. In 2010, the Diocese voted to seek another jurisdiction after a proposal to allow dioceses to individually permit the ordination of women to the priesthood. This request was turned down by the Tenth Synod of the Southern Cone. The Southern Cone includes dioceses in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Peru. Uruguay, which currently has female deacons, had been requesting the ordination of women for more than a decade. The request to change provinces was also turned down in 2012 by the Standing Committee of the Anglican Consultative Council resulting in feeling “abandoned and unsupported” (Sisson, November 22, 2012).

Extra Provincial

In addition to the 38 provinces of the Anglican Communion, there are six extra provincial Anglican churches which function semi-autonomously under limited oversight of a metropolitan. They are largely self-determining when matters of ordained ministry arise. Some of these extra-provincial churches have allowed for the ordination of female priests for several years, but the Episcopal Church of Cuba is the only extra provincial church to have ordained female bishops. The first was in 2007 when Nerva Cot Aguilera was appointed as a suffragan bishop by the Ecclesiastical Authority for the Episcopal Church of Cuba. The Authority appointed her as bishop as the election was deadlocked and unable to elect a candidate. This authority also appointed Griselda Delgado Del Carpio as coadjutor bishop to Miguel Tamayo-Zaldivar in 2010 for the same reason of a deadlocked election following the death of the suffragan bishop. These female bishops were the first two female priests ordained in Cuba in 1986.

Church of England

The Church of England has been among the slowest moving of the national churches in the developed world to allow the ordination of women. Many glass ceilings have been encountered over the years. This process has taken place in three distinctive steps. In the first step, the Church of England allowed for the ordination of women as deacons in 1986 with the first being ordained in 1987. There was not a great deal of dissent at this stage as many perceived this level to be a glass ceiling as many felt that women would remain solely at the level of deacon. The second step was the provision for female priests in 1992, effectively raising the glass ceiling. The first female priests were ordained in 1994. This second step was

much more divisive with more rhetoric and acrimonious debate. Many priests left the Church of England or became Roman Catholic priests. Many laypeople also either left the church or simply stopped attending. In the third step, which the Church of England is currently debating, would allow for the ordination of women bishops and the removal of the last glass ceiling. The process has, however, encountered several obstacles. The last process has sought to find compromises to minimize the fallout should female ordinations to the episcopacy be allowed.

In 2005, 2006 and 2008, the General Synod of the Church of England voted in favor of removing the legal obstacles preventing women from becoming bishops. The process is currently underway but is not progressing quickly due to problems in providing appropriate mechanisms of those who cannot accept this development. On July 7, 2008, the Synod, following an extensive debate, narrowly voted in favor of a national statutory code of practice to make provisions for opponents, though more radical provisions (such as separate structure or overseeing bishops) proposed by opponents of the measure, failed to win the majority required in the three houses.

The responsibility of taking this task further fell largely to a revision committee established by the Synod to consider the draft legislation on enabling women to become bishops in the Church of England. In October 2009, this revision committee released a statement indicating its proposals would include a plan to vest some functions by law in male bishops who would provide oversight for those unable to receive women as bishops or priests as there was widespread concern both within and outside the Church of England about the appropriateness of such legislation. In light of the negative reaction to the proposal, the revision committee subsequently announced abandonment of this recommendation. Part of the problem for the Church of England may have to do with the simultaneous debate concerning what to do about same-sex marriages or blessing of the civil union between same-sex couples. As was outlined earlier, Pless (2010) asked the very basic question whether the ordination of women and ecclesiastical endorsement of homosexual marriage are related. To some the two issues need to be resolved simultaneously, while to others the issues are completely unrelated. The varying perceptions make resolution of ordination problematic as some people are confused over the actual issue being addressed. In February 2013, the British Parliament voted in favor of allowing same sex marriage. The Church of England signified its opposition to this legislation.

In July 2010, Synod again endorsed the ordination of female bishops. These measures included provisions for individual bishops to allow alternative oversight for traditionalists who object to serving under a female bishop. Opponents to this compromise situation argue for even stronger measures. A further plan put forth by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York involved the creation of a mechanism providing for what they termed a "co-ordinate" jurisdiction in parishes unable to receive the ministry of a female bishop. In these cases a male bishop would fulfill the Episcopal functions. This resolution was endorsed by the House of Bishops and the House of Laity, but failed to be endorsed by the House of Clergy by a narrow margin of 90 against to 85 in favor. The motion was redrafted with minor amendments and passed in all three houses and then by 42 of the 44 individual dioceses of the Church of England.

This process is not unlike the procedure to amend the American constitution wherein following a two-thirds majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate the constitutional amendment is sent to the states for ratification which requires a three-fourths majority. The Nineteenth Amendment, which was sent to the states in 1919 to allow for female suffrage, was only ratified by Florida in 1969 and North Carolina in 1971. In 1984, Mississippi became the last state to ratify having voted against in 1920. Change particularly with respect to gender issues can be slow. With the slow moving process in the Church of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury wanted to remove a legislatively induced glass ceiling to allow women bishops to be ordained (Anglican Journal Staff, September 13, 2012) and (Williams, 2012). On November 20, 2012, the vote was held in the Synod of the Church of England with the results:

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
House of Bishops	44	3
House of Clergy	148	45
House of Laity	132	74
Total	324	122

Despite the fact that 72% of the delegates voted in favor of the motion and 42 of 44 dioceses of the Church of England supported the legislative changes, the motion was defeated. In order to pass at Synod, the resolution must be approved in all three houses with a two-thirds majority. Six more votes were required for passage in the House of Laity.

On a go forward basis, this issue for the Church of England will be addressed by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby who replaced Rowan Williams. As an anecdote, on March 21, 2013, Welby was led into the Cathedral of Canterbury, throned and installed as Bishop of the See of Canterbury by the Venerable Sheila Watson, Archdeacon of Canterbury. The installation as Bishop of Canterbury by the Archdeacon merely follows the recent traditions which have been observed in that diocese. Following installation as diocesan bishop by Archdeacon Watson, Welby was then led to the Chair of St. Augustine by the Very Rev. Robert Willis, Dean of Canterbury, who installed him as Primate of All England. It is ironic that a woman can install a bishop but cannot herself be a bishop in the Church of England. The issue of the ordination of women as bishops in the Church of England will undoubtedly be debated past March 2013 under the leadership of Archbishop Welby.

CONCLUSION

This paper has outlined that stained glass ceilings exist within the Anglican Communion by utilizing the glass ceiling arguments of Cotter et al. (2001). It contributes to the literature on the ordination of female bishops by documenting the issues and history of organizational changes in the Anglican Communion with specific reference to the Church of England. This study adapted the seminal work of Cotter et al (2001) in examining the secular framework of the glass ceiling to a sacred context. The experience of other denominations was juxtaposed to display the Anglican experience within a multid denominational framework.

The church is almost two thousand years old and as a consequence brings a large amount of history and tradition to its decision-making processes. Some traditions are based on precedents from Scripture, while others are based on practice. Events, such as the construction of a church, can literally take centuries. Consider some of the great cathedrals of Europe which were constructed over several centuries or the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City which is often referred to as “St. John the Unfinished” given its continual construction or reconstruction. Traditions and organizations can change over time, but often the process can be slow and cumbersome, involving considerable friction. What is also problematic is dealing with an organization that is not homogeneous and displays great heterogeneity, not only in the entire Anglican Communion, but also at the national, diocesan and even parochial level. Nonetheless, there are certain common themes that have been demonstrated over time as the Anglican Communion struggles with female ordination to all offices within the church. The current process of the Church of England in attempting to adopt legislative rules to allow for the ordination of women to the episcopacy is still unfolding and will be revisited by the church. The concept of a stained glass ceiling has been and will continue to be useful in helping to understand this process to provide future fruitful areas for further research including the evolution in not only the Anglican Communion but also other Christian denominations.

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