Women in Leadership
NATIONAL STUDY

Gender Dynamics in Evangelical Institutions: Women and Men Leading in Higher Education and the Nonprofit Sector

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GORDON COLLEGE

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Introduction

Past research on women in leadership—across a variety of business, nonprofit, and educational sectors—has analyzed some of the obstacles that women face in holding leadership positions. Studies of gender parity within the leadership ranks of a variety of organizations reveal that for women in the United States, the story still remains challenging. Women make up a majority of the workforce within the nonprofit sector, but continue to be underrepresented within leadership positions. They comprise forty percent of the CEOs in nonprofits generally, and forty-eight percent of board members.[1] Within large nonprofits (those with budgets over $25 million), women hold twenty-one percent of CEO positions and one-third of board membership. By best estimates, less than five percent of nonprofit boards are women of color.[2]

Colleges and universities also exhibit a lack of gender parity. Women make up twenty-six percent of all college presidents, ranging from twenty-two percent at doctoral institutions to twenty-nine percent at associate degree granting institutions. Women make up twenty-eight percent of board members at public colleges and universities, and thirty percent of private institutions.[3]

Though research on women in leadership is relatively widespread, little of this research has differentiated between secular and faith-based organizations. We know little about the role that religion plays in the nonprofit and educational sectors despite the presence of significant numbers of faith-based organizations.

We argue that even as women are underrepresented in leadership positions in the church, churches alone are not the only or central religious actors. Religious organizations, especially evangelical Christian organizations—the focus of this study—are numerous and active in everything from providing social services to leadership development to education.

This study attempts to gain a more nuanced understanding of the gender dynamics within

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[1] BoardSource 2010. *BoardSource NonProfit Governance Index 2010*. BoardSource.

[2] Lennon, Tiffani et al. 2013. *Benchmarking Women's Leadership in the United States*. University of Denver, Colorado Women's College.

[3] *Benchmarking Women's Leadership in the United States*

evangelical nonprofits and educational institutions. We hypothesized that women in evangelical nonprofits and educational institutions would be underrepresented in leadership positions. In addition to gender stereotypes and discrimination present in society more generally, evangelical institutions also have unique cultural, theological, and structural realities that may inhibit women's access to leadership roles. Conservative evangelical theology and culture are often connected with stronger beliefs about gendered differences, and ideas about gender difference are a key reason inequality persists within institutions today.[4] Our research also focused on the factors that contributed to exceptions to this pattern, to uncover the practices and strategies of organizations where women were well represented in leadership.

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[4] Ridgeway, Cecilia. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Inequality Persists in the Modern World.* Oxford University Press.

Identifying the Religious Landscape of Evangelical Organizations

The research began with an analysis of women's representation in leadership across a host of organizations.[5] We gathered data from the tax forms of over 1,400 organizations that belong to key evangelical and Christian umbrella groups: ECFA (Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability), the Accord Network (Evangelical relief and development network), CCDA (Christian Community Development Association), and CCCU (Council for Christian Colleges & Universities). As predicted, among the evangelical nonprofit and educational sector, women have lower levels of representation in leadership than those sectors generally. Women held sixteen percent of CEO positions, twenty-one percent of board positions, and nineteen percent of top-paid leadership positions.

Nonprofit Organizations (Excluding Institutions of Higher Learning)

For the purpose of this section, we consider the trends among evangelical nonprofits apart from institutions of higher education. Table 1 provides an overview of the organizations that were included to assess the general landscape of the evangelical nonprofit sector.

As Table 1 reveals, the majority of organizations in our sample were small nonprofits, with fewer than a quarter having budgets over $5 million dollars, and a little over half of the organizations having expenses under $1 million dollars. In terms of the activities of the organizations, the most popular categories were mission/ministry and social service, with over half of the organizations in our sample falling into one of these two main categories.

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[5] For an extensive explanation of the methodology, please see the appendix at the end of this document.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics For Nonprofits

	Percentage of Organizations
Expenses/Budget	
Less than $100,000	3.7%
$100,000 - $250,000	11.0%
$250,000 - $500,000	15.6%
$500,000 - $1 million	18.2%
$1 million - $2.5 million	22.6%
$2.5 million - $5 million	12.1%
$5 million - $10 million	7.4%
$10 million - $25 million	6.1%
$25 million - $50 million	1.0%
More than $50 million	2.3%
Category/Type	
Mission/Ministry	29.8%
Social Service	28.7%
Children/ Recreation	12.5%
Family	9.6%
Training/Bible Education	9.0%
Media/Arts	5.1%
Support (Legal, Financial)	2.1%
Policy and Advocacy	.8%
Women's/Men's Ministries	.7%
Other	1.7%
TOTAL ORGANIZATIONS	1,368

Among the nonprofits in the sample, Table 2 provides statistics on women serving in leadership roles, based on reported organizational expenses. Several trends are evident in the data presented in these two tables. First, with the exception of the largest nonprofits (those with expenses over $50 million), we find that the percentage of women serving in leadership positions – on boards, or as CEOs—decreases as the organization's expenses increase (Table 2).

Table 2: Women in Leadership Positions Based on Organizational Expenses

Expenses	# Board Members	% Female	# Paid Leaders	% Female	# CEOs	% Female
Less than $100,000	285	27.0%	55	25.4%	35	31.4%
$100,000-$250,000	976	27.4%	148	29.7%	119	26.1%
$250,000-$500,000	1,548	25.8%	224	34.8%	185	33.5%
$500,000 – $1 million	2,073	22.6%	324	23.1%	227	19.8%
$1 million – $2.5 million	2,920	21.3%	507	20.1%	297	13.5%
$2.5 million – $5 million	1,627	20.0%	339	16.5%	166	10.2%
$5 million – $10 million	1,097	21.0%	274	19.3%	105	9.5%
$10 million – $25 million	1,033	18.2%	337	15.1%	89	6.7%
$25 million – $50 million	180	12.8%	64	9.4%	18	5.6%
More than $50 million	435	20.7%	244	12.7%	35	0%
TOTAL LEADERS	12,174	22.1%	2,516	20.3%	1,276	17.5%

Second, the percentage of women serving in leadership varies among organizations in our sample according to their purpose and mission (Table 3). Women are best represented in family-related organizations and gender specific ministries, both at the board level and in paid leadership positions. Women are least represented in the leadership of media and art organizations, leadership training, and missions. Regression analyses (not reported here) suggest that category type and expenses, as a measure of organizational size, are significant in predicting the existence of a female CEO and the percentage of women serving on the board.

Table 3: Women in Leadership Positions Based on Organizational Type

Organization Type	# Board Members	% Female	# Paid Leaders	% Female	#	% Female
Mission/Ministry	3,304	18.5%	749	15.9%	383	11.5%
Social Service	3,734	23.3%	744	20.6%	367	14.2%
Children/Recreation	1,743	20.9%	276	17.0%	163	14.1%
Training/Bible Educ	1,201	18.9%	244	15.6%	112	8.0%
Family	957	39.7%	157	63.7%	115	68.7%
Media/Arts	499	14.2%	172	14.5%	64	7.2%
Support	255	19.2%	77	13.0%	24	8.6%
Policy/Advocacy	125	37.6%	32	25.0%	10	20.0%
Women's/Men's Ministires	89	37.1%	14	35.7%		45.5%
Other	267	13.9%	51	13%	22	9.1%
TOTAL LEADERS	12,174	22.1%	2,516	20.3%	1,276	17.5%

In addition to gender, we attempted to collect data on racial diversity when possible (Figure 1).[6] For cases when such data were present, ten percent of the female leaders were non-white compared with seven percent of male leaders.

Figure 1: Race/Ethnic Identity Among Nonprofit Leaders

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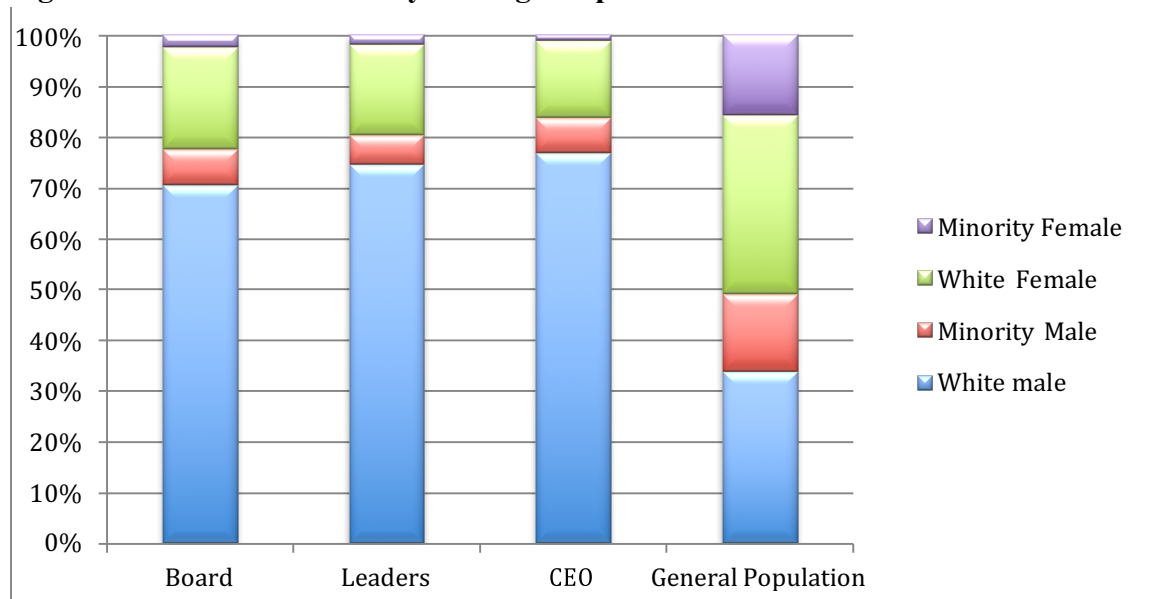
[6] Fifty percent of board members and over three-quarters of paid leaders were coded for race/ethnicity in the nonprofit sample.

The extent of variation in the sample is hidden when only considering averages. A quarter of our sample—twenty-four percent of all nonprofits—had no women serving on their boards (Figure 2). We can only conjecture that this might be due to the theological position of those that oppose women in leadership.[7]

Figure 2: Organizations By Percentage Board Female
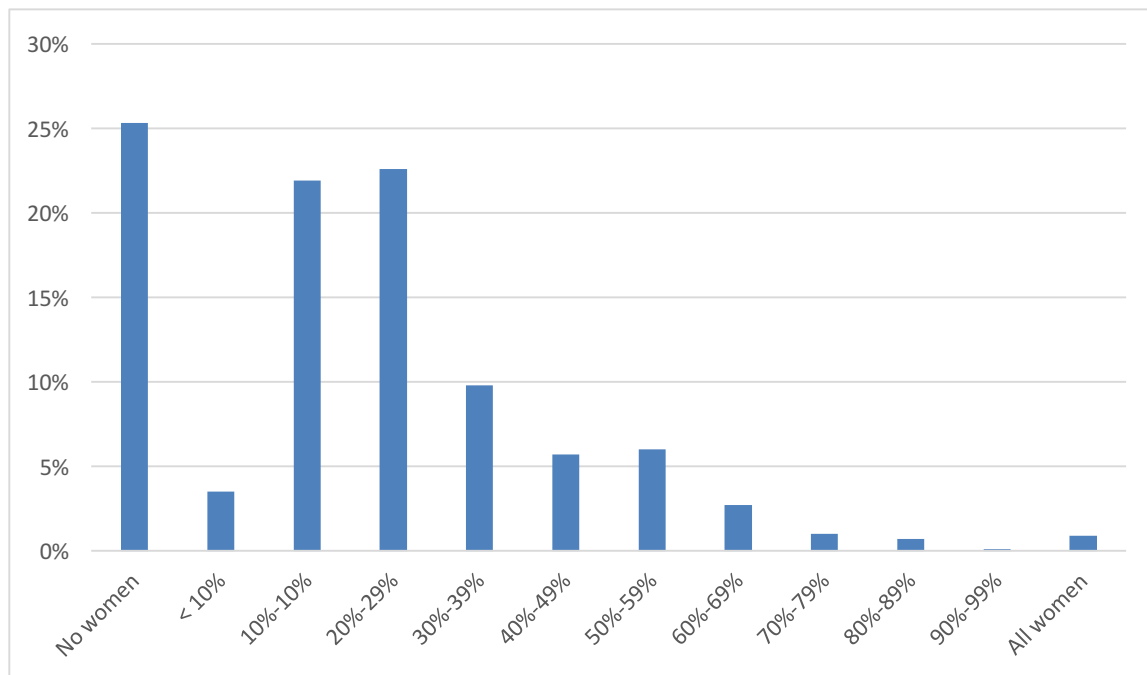
These statistics stand in sharp contrast to the nonprofit world more generally. While women in this sector are underrepresented in leadership, their representation is increasing. Women now comprise close to half of all nonprofit board members (forty-eight percent), and over a third of all nonprofit CEOs. Evangelical organizations are at best doing half as well. However, when controlling for budget size, we find that large evangelical organizations fare the worst in comparison to other nonprofits. In evangelical nonprofit organizations with expenses over $10 million, women compose 17% of the board (versus 40%) and 5% (versus 24%) of CEOs (Figure 3).

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[7] For example, ECFA member organization CBMW (Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood) suggests that a lack of women serving on their board is due to "a need for men to lead and teach on theological issues." (Banks, Adelle. October 22, 2014. "In evangelical nonprofits, women leaders lag behind their peers in the general market." Religion News Service.)

Figure 3: Comparison of Female Leadership in Evangelical Nonprofits and All Nonprofits[8]
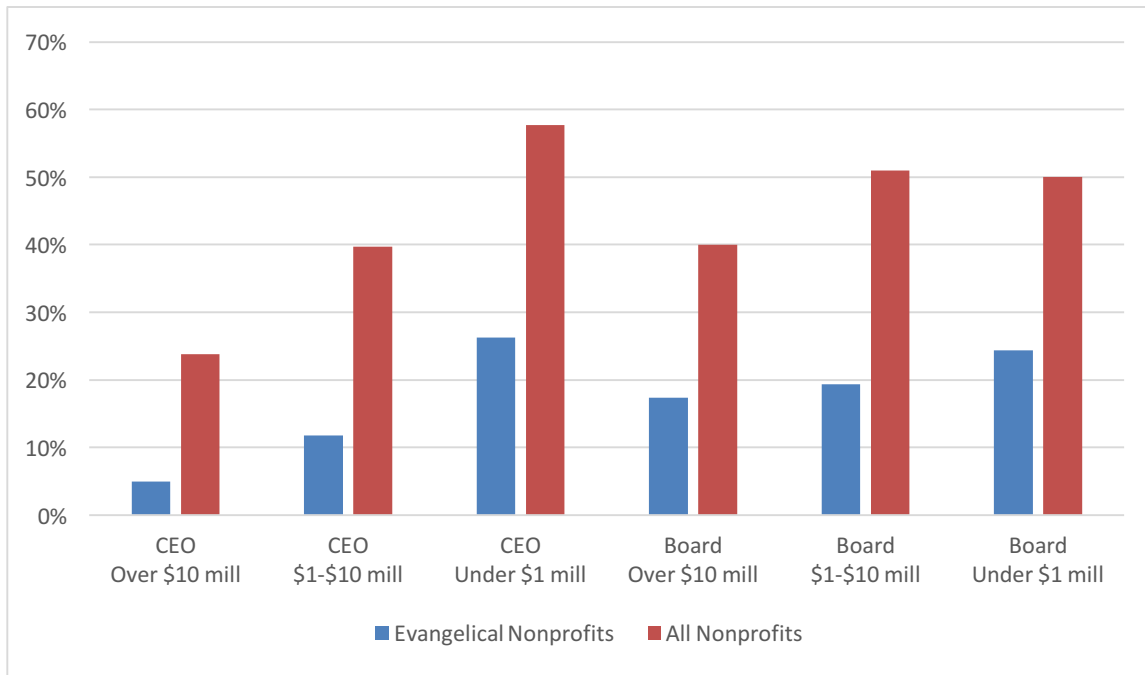
[8] Comparison data is based on *BoardSource NonProfit Governance Index 2010* (board data) and *Benchmarking Women's Leadership in the United States* (CEO data).

Higher Education

Educational institutions in our sample were more clearly tied to denominational groups or specific theological traditions (Table 4).

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for Educational Institutions

	Percentage of Colleges/Universities
Members of the CCCU	91.9%
Theological Tradition	
Anabaptist	8.1%
Baptist	24.2%
Wesleyan	7.3%
Pentecostal	5.7%
Holiness	13.7%
Reformed	12.1%
Other	8.1%
Nondenominational/Ecumenical	21%
Stance Regarding Women in the Church	
Does ordain	48.4%
Does not ordain	27.4%
Unclear/no official stance	24.2%
TOTAL ORGANIZATIONS	**124**

The association of institutions with theological traditions allowed us to analyze data on women serving in leadership roles (board members, presidents, and vice presidents) based on theological traditions (Table 5).

Table 5: Women in College Leadership based on Theological Tradition

Theological Tradition	# Board Members	% Female	# VP	% Female	# Presidents	% Female
Anabaptist	254	24.8%	46	21.7%	10	10%
Baptist	944	23.2%	134	24.6%	31	0%
Wesleyan	222	20.7%	43	16.3%	9	22.2%
Pentecostal	218	9.6%	28	14.3%	8	12.5%
Holiness	554	15.3%	57	12.3%	16	12.5%
Reformed	442	20.8%	59	18.6%	15	0%
Other	243	16.5%	37	21.6%	11	0%
Ecumenical	569	17.4%	122	16.4%	28	0%
TOTAL LEADERS	3,446	19.3%	526	19.0%	128	4.7%

Table 6: Women in College Leadership based on Ordination Stance

Ordination	# Board Members	% Female	# VP	% Female	# Presidents	% Female
Ordination						
Does	1,734	19.0%	249	19.3%	61	11.5%
Unclear	732	20.0%	113	20.4%	32	0%
Does not	980	19.2%	164	17.7%	35	0%
TOTAL LEADERS	3,446	19.3%	526	19.0%	128	4.7%

Religious tradition itself does not seem to be a predictor for the presence of women in leadership. This may be in part because the approach towards women in leadership can vary greatly within a given tradition. In each tradition, we found women in leadership roles. However, in only half of these traditions are women serving as presidents: Pentecostal, Holiness, Wesleyan, and Anabaptist. These traditions might be united in their emphasis on the Holy Spirit. Of the colleges with a woman as president, all of them are part of denominations or traditions that ordain women. We found no women presidents within colleges that identified mainly as evangelical and ecumenical, without ties to a particular religious tradition.

This same effect does not seem to matter for board service and other top leadership positions, suggesting that ordination of women, or theological concerns about the role of women in church leadership, may not always be the main obstacle preventing women from obtaining leadership positions within colleges and universities. However, it is worth noting that the colleges where

women serve as presidents have an explicit and strong stance of ordaining women. Racial and ethnic data were also collected, when possible, on individuals in leadership at colleges and universities (Figure 4).[9] Given that women, who make up a majority of college students, are quite underrepresented in leadership, women of color are doubly disadvantaged.

Figure 4: Race/Ethnic and Gender Make-Up of Educational Leadership
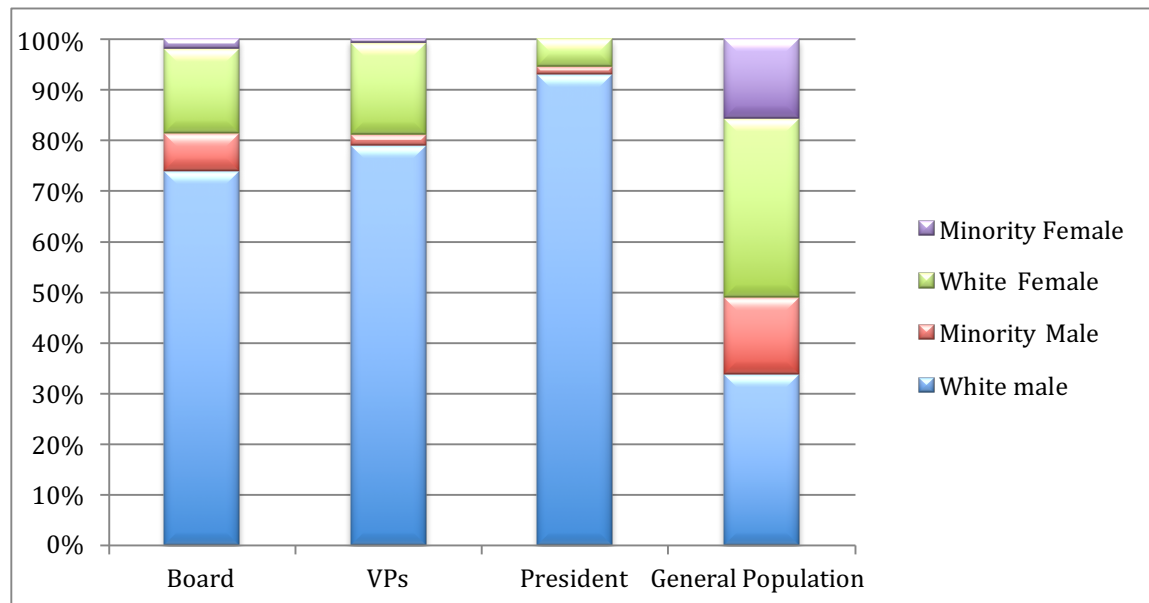
Minority men made up seven percent of board positions, even as their representation at the college level and in the general population is twice that figure. For white women, who account for over a third of the general population and slightly more of the college population, their representation is less than half their numbers, at sixteen percent. Both of these groups are underrepresented in leadership. Where they are best represented—college boards—their numbers are about half of what they are in the general population. However women of color hold only two percent of board positions, compared with sixteen percent in the general population. White men, meanwhile, are more than doubly represented on boards than they are in the general population.

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[9] For educational institutions, two-thirds of board members and eighty-eight percent of paid leaders were coded for race/ethnicity.

Figure 5: Percentage Women in Leadership within Colleges and Universities
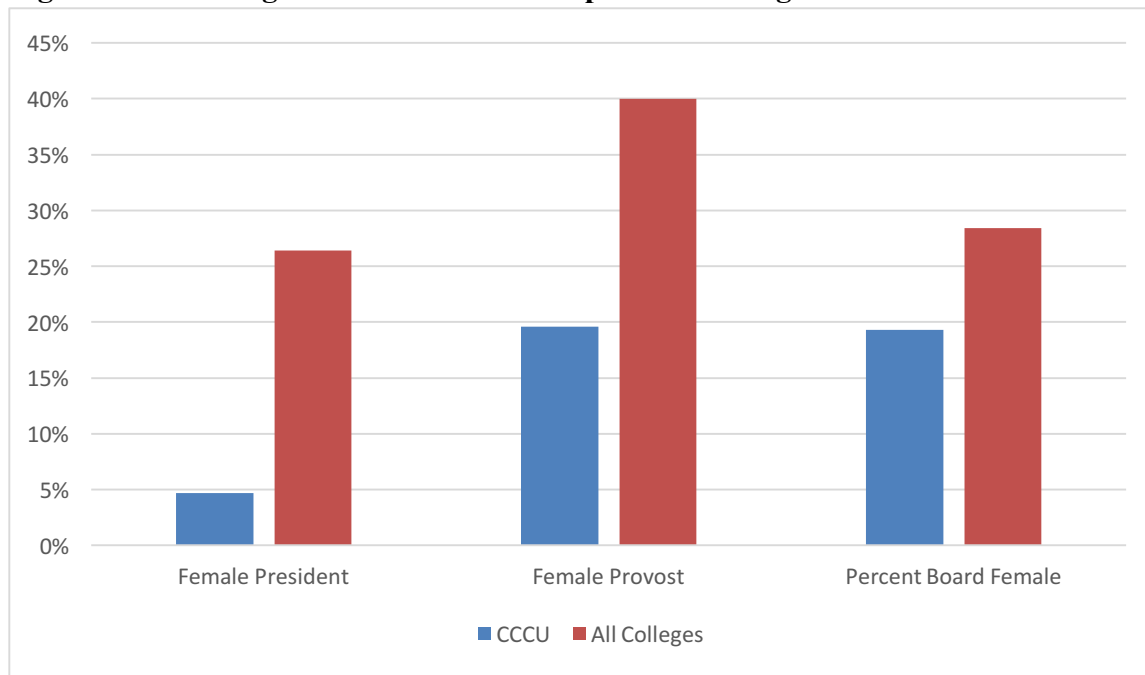
When compared with colleges and universities generally (Figure 5), we find that Christian colleges and universities often fare significantly worse in measures of gender equity. While women hold five percent of the presidencies in Christian colleges, they hold twenty-six percent of college presidencies more generally. Even in the academic sector where women struggle the most to hold the top position—doctoral granting institutions—they comprise twenty-two percent of presidents.[10] To put it in a different perspective, the percentage of board positions held by women (nineteen percent) among evangelical colleges in 2010 is equivalent to the performance of other private colleges (twenty percent) in 1985.[11]

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[10] *Benchmarking Women's Leadership in the United States*

[11] Lapovsky, Lucie and Deborah Larkin, eds. 2009. *The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership*. The White House Project.

Evaluating Gendered Opportunities within Evangelical Organizations

The second stage of the study focused on gaining more insight into the perspectives of the men and women serving in leadership capacities within evangelical organizations. Leaders within over one hundred organizations were surveyed (Figure 6).[12] Colleges and universities were similarly represented in the full sample and the survey subset. The nonprofits that completed the surve were larger than those that did not, in part due to the fact that we purposefully sampled the largest organizations to ensure mature leadership structures with multiple paid leaders. The nonprofits that completed the survey were more likely to have women serving in leadership, although the colleges that completed the survey are similar to those who did not (Table 7).

Table 7: Comparison of Survey Organizations with Full Sample

	Nonprofit-full	Nonprofit-subset	College-full	College-subset
Average size of nonprofit	$6.98 million	$26.9 million	$51.6 million	$59.4 million
% Board female	21.6%	27.0%	18.9%	19.9%
% Leaders female	22.0%	25.6%	15.2%	16.3%
Number of respondents		237		437

Views about Gender and Leadership

One of the significant findings of the survey was that most of the six hundred female and male respondents affirmed that women and men should both hold leadership positions within society (Figure 6; Table 8). Table 8 provides the same information as Figure 6, but breaks down responses for individuals in over fifty nonprofit and sixty educational institutions. Females were overrepresented in the survey sample. As detailed in the appendix, CEOs prodived us with the list of leaders to survey in their organization. Of those who completed the survey, 48% were female, suggesting that either female leadership levels have increased since 2010 or that the criteria for selecting leaders yielded different respondents for the survey when compared with tax forms. We hypothesize that this difference is largely due to different criteria, as it was explicitly stated that this was a survey on women in leadership. Ten percent of the leadership in our survey was non-
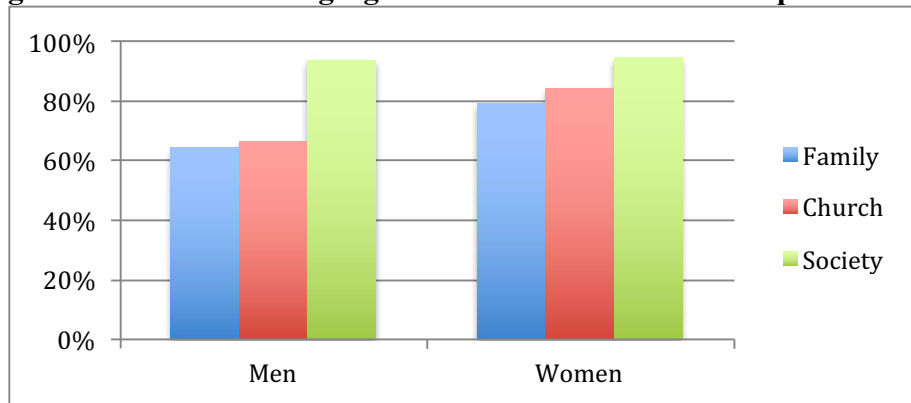
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[12] See the appendix for more information on how organizations were selected for the second phase of the study.

white, compared with three percent of college leadership and seven percent of nonprofit leadership in the full sample.

Figure 6: Percent Holding Egalitarian Views in Different Spheres

Table 8: Agreement that "Men and Women Should Share Leadership Roles in ____"

	"Society"	"Church"	"Family"
All Men	**94%**	**66%**	**64%**
Nonprofits	95%	59%	57%
Colleges	93%	70%	68%
All Women	**94%**	**84%**	**79%**
Nonprofits	90%	82%	73%
Colleges	97%	86%	83%

Both men and women overwhelmingly agree that leadership should be shared among genders, especially in society. To put it a different way, only six percent of both women and men agreed that men should hold distinctive leadership roles within society. However, men and women differ when it comes to how leadership should be shared in the family and in the church. Significantly more women than men believed that women should share leadership with men in the church and in the family. Those within college settings also affirmed egalitarian stances towards women across the board. Gender and arena (educational institutions versus other nonprofits) were significant in predicting attitudes towards women leading in the church and family. That is, women and college leaders were more likely to affirm that women and men should share leadership in the family and in the church.[13] Respondents were also asked to indicate which, if any, of the following terms

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[13] Logistical analysis run on these results confirmed the significance of gender and sector in predicting egalitarian attitudes in the family and in the church.

reflected their identify: feminist, egalitarian, complementarian, or hierarchical. Respondents were allowed to select multiple terms with which they identified (Table 9). Women were much more likely to adopt a feminist label—a quarter of all women selected such an option, and two-thirds identified as egalitarian. Very few (four percent) identified with the language of hierarchy. Men were unlikely to use either extreme—feminist or hierarchical—and were equally likely to adopt an egalitarian or complementarian identity. It appears that women are more likely to have gender equality and equity as labels and goals with which they can be identified.

Table 9: Percent identifying with different gendered terms

	Feminist	Egalitarian	Complementarian	Hierarchical
Men	**8%**	**51%**	**49%**	**5%**
Nonprofits	3%	48%	54%	8%
Colleges	10%	53%	46%	4%
Women	**23%**	**65%**	**34%**	**4%**
Nonprofits	14%	61%	40%	5%
Colleges	29%	67%	30%	3%

Perceptions of Leadership and Gender Climate

Leaders were asked to evaluate the views that other leaders held within their organization. Such questions measured the perceptions that respondents had regarding their peers' attitudes toward women in leadership. We can compare these perceptions with the individual's own statements, allowing us to measure how leaders rank themselves compared to their peers with regard to women's leadership in both society (Table 10) and the church (Table 11).

Table 10: Self Attitudes and Perceptions of Peer Attitudes for Women Leading in Society

	Peers and respondent affirm only men should lead	Peers affirm both men and women in leadership; respondent affirms only men	Peers and respondent affirm both men and women in leadership	Respondent affirms both men and women in leadership; Peers affirm only men
Men	**4%**	**3%**	**87%**	**7%**
Nonprofits	3%	2%	86%	9%
Colleges	4%	3%	87%	6%
Women	**4%**	**2%**	**74%**	**20%**
Nonprofits	8%	2%	69%	21%
Colleges	3%	2%	82%	12%

The contrasting perceptions of men and women are clear: women are more likely to be serving in places where they do not believe women are supported in leadership. Twenty percent of the women, compared to seven percent of the men, said that they believed women and men should lead together, while they believed *their work colleagues and fellow leaders* thought men should hold distinctive leadership roles.

Table 11: Self Attitudes and Perceptions of Peer Attitudes for Women Leading in the Church

	Peers and respondent affirm only men in Church leadership	Peers affirm both men and women in leadership; respondent affirms only men in Church leadership	Peers and respondent affirm both men and women in Church leadership	Respondent affirms both men and women in leadership; Peers affirm only men in Church leadership
Men	**21%**	**12%**	**54%**	**13%**
Nonprofits	24%	18%	48%	11%
Colleges	20%	9%	57%	14%
Women	**12%**	**3%**	**54%**	**30%**
Nonprofits	15%	3%	57%	24%
Colleges	11%	3%	53%	33%

Given that evangelical nonprofits and Christian colleges exist at the boundary between church and society, we also compared the views of leaders regarding women serving in leadership positions within the church.   Here, thirty percent of women both affirm women's leadership in the church and say their organizational colleagues do not affirm women in leadership roles (Table 11). While most men and women are likely to be serving in places that support women in the church at all levels, for women, there is a significant chance that they will be serving in an organization where they believe their colleagues have a more limited view of their ability to provide leadership (in their religious community) than they themselves hold. A visual representation of these four quadrants of attitudes, for both women and men, helps to clarify the complexity of lived experience (Figure 7).

Although a majority of both men and women in our sample are working in organizations where they perceived that colleagues supported women and men in leadership, a significant percentage of women are also in places where they do not perceive such support (lower right quadrant).

Figure 7: Perceptions of Women Leading in the Church (Self and Colleagues)
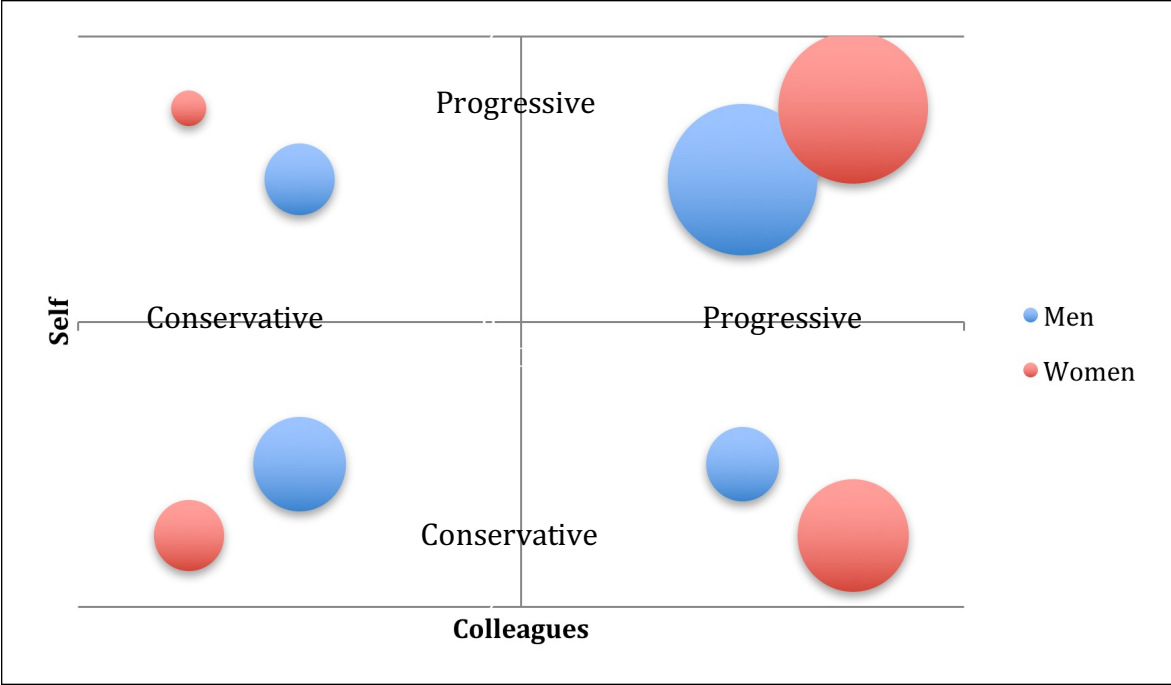
We also asked men and women leaders to evaluate the opportunities available for women on a scale of 0 to 100. On average, men in both nonprofits and colleges/universities ranked opportunities for women at 79/100, while women ranked opportunities ten points lower (70 for nonprofits generally, and 67 at the college/university level). Gender was the most significant variable in predicting estimated opportunities. Looking at organizational level characteristics, we also found that those at organizations with a higher percentage of women on the board evaluated the opportunities for women as higher than those places with lower percentages. These numbers, alongside comparisons of individual attitudes with perceived attitudes of peers, reveal that women perceive less support in the workplace and more gendered inequality than do their male peers.

In addition to leaders' assessments of the gender climate at work, we also measured how leaders' views of women in church leadership compared with the views of their churches. Respondents were asked to identify whether a complementarian view of gender (i.e., men should hold distinct leadership roles in the church) or an egalitarian view of gender (i.e., men and women should share leadership roles in the church) was more dominant in their church community (Table 12).

Table 12: Self Attitudes and Perceptions of Church Attitudes for Women Leading in the Church

	Church and respondent affirm only men in leadership	Church affirms both men and women in leadership; respondent affirms only men	Church and respondent affirm both men and women in leadership	Respondent affirms both men and women in leadership; church affirms only men
Men	**28%**	**6%**	**43%**	**23%**
Nonprofits	33%	9%	36%	22%
Colleges	25%	4%	46%	23%
Women	**14%**	**2%**	**56%**	**28%**
Nonprofits	18%	1%	51%	30%
Colleges	11%	3%	58%	27%

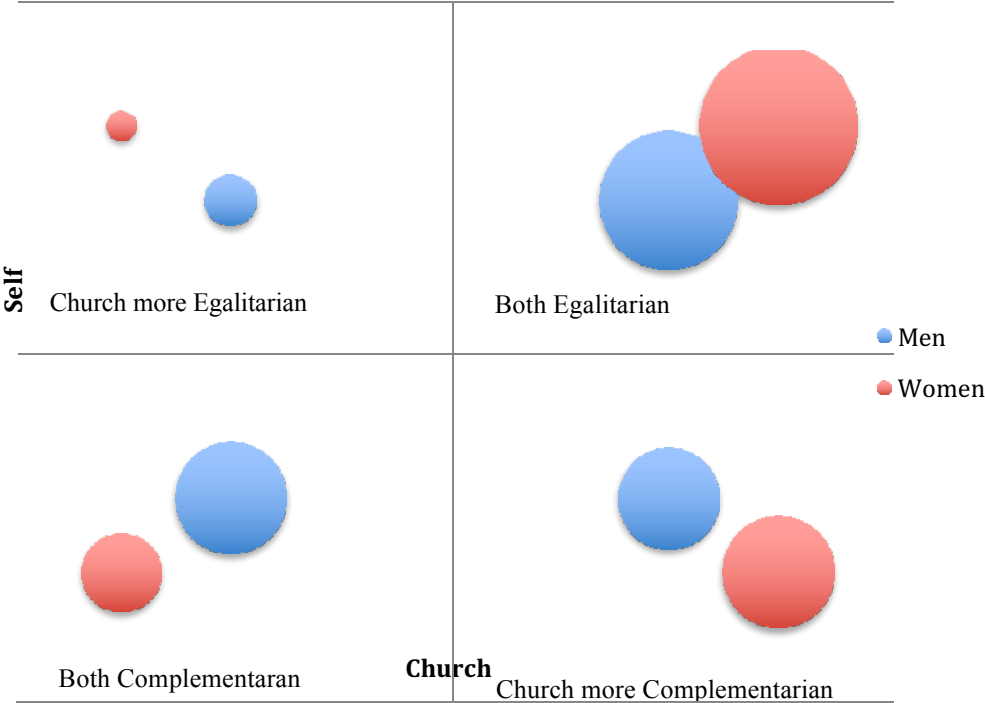**Figure 8: Church and Leader Positions on Women in Church Leadership**

Figure 8 mirrors the same dynamics that appeared in Figure 7. A majority of men and women attend churches that hold similar views as they do (upper right and lower left quadrants), with both men and women being more likely to attend egalitarian churches than complementarian ones. Very few men and women are in churches that are more egalitarian than they are (upper left quadrant). The lower right quadrant reveals that over a quarter of respondents (twenty-three percent of men and twenty-eight percent of women) were egalitarians in churches that restricted the leadership gifts of women. Put differently, more than a third of all egalitarians did not attend churches where women could fill all leadership roles. It is possible that this is part of the reason that leaders have a hard time correctly identifying the positions their peers hold when it comes to women in leadership, because peers' stated positions often do not match with the church they attend.

Women and Men in Leadership: Individual Variance

Our subset oversampled women, especially those at lower leadership levels. Some of the gender differences we found may be due to the fact that men hold more powerful positions than the women in our sample (Table 12).[14] Men who completed the survey were more likely to be the top leader than women who were surveyed. This is most likely a result of key leaders submitting the names of more women who were not direct reports compared with men who were not direct reports. This is important to keep in mind when considering the applicability of the results. That said, there were significant differences among female and male leaders.

One difference between male and female leaders surrounds their marital relationships. Ninety-seven percent of all male leaders were married—compared with just seventy-four percent of female leaders. Being a male leader seems to be synonymous with being a male married leader. Yet a significant minority of female leaders are single. Men have an average of one more child than do female leaders.

Table 12: Description of Men and Women in Leadership Responding to Survey

Description	Female	Male
Average number of children	1.6	2.6
Percentage with children	71%	94%
Average number of children *among those with children*	2.3	2.8
Average age	50	52
Married	74%	97%
Top leader	5%	15%
White	87%	92%
Years with organization	11.6	13.4
Years in current position	5.1	6.8

The men in our sample also appeared to stay with their organizations longer and to have held their particular leadership position longer. While we cannot analyze why this is the case, it would be interesting to investigate if it is linked to the perception of support in the workplace—which as previously reported, is lower for women than men as measured in a variety of ways.

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[14] Given the low number of women who occupy the very top ranks within our study (only six percent of women), we are unable to run analysis that compares only those women with top-ranking men.

Conclusion

Several key conclusions emerge from this study.

First, religion matters when discussing women in leadership within nonprofit organizations and higher education institutions. That is, women are underrepresented in evangelical institutions, even more so than in the broader nonprofit and educational sectors. In fact, evangelical institutions perform about half as well on certain measures of gender parity, and even worse when it comes to the highest positions of authority.

Second, we find that there are high levels of variation among nonprofits and among colleges. Even as a quarter of the nonprofits had no women serving on their boards, in sixteen percent of organizations, women held at least 40% of the board seats. Regarding the role of theology in Christian colleges, we find that some denominations and traditions have a history of affirming women in leadership, and those are the places where women have a greater chance of occupying the presidential role.

Third, women and men alike overwhelmingly support women holding leadership positions. While not all evangelical organizations are interested in higher levels of gender parity within leadership, many are. This finding suggests that the theological barriers in the evangelical world to women serving in leadership roles may be overstated. At the same time, leaders are divided over what restrictions should be placed on women's leadership capacities. Men in particular seem to be divided about evenly when it comes to women leading in the church or the family, while women largely support the ability of women to lead across arenas.

Fourth, it is unclear where organizations actually stand when it comes to gender parity. Even as almost all the leaders surveyed affirmed women in leadership within society, many respondents perceived that their peers did not affirm women leading. Organizations need to be more explicit about their positions on women in leadership, given than many of the nonprofits are ecumenical. This issue is particularly important for women, many of whom feel unsupported by peers when it comes to their leadership roles.

The first two phases of this study reveal that while many evangelical organizations are not doing well at promoting women in leadership, some are, and many are open to having increased female leadership. In the upcoming third phase of this study, we will interview leaders at those organizations that perform well in a variety of gender-related measures in order to better understand the organizational, cultural, and theological variables that influence gender climate and the promotion and retention of women in leadership.

Appendix: Methodology

In defining evangelical organizations, we included those that belong to large umbrella evangelical groups. Our primary group was the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability (ECFA), an accreditation organization with over 1,800 evangelical nonprofit organizations as members. We also included smaller coalitions of certain subpopulations, such as the Council for Christian Colleges & Universities (CCCU), the Accord Network (evangelical relief and development organization), and the Christian Community Development Association (CCDA). There were two main phases of this research project.

In Phase One, to provide a general landscape of the gender environment within evangelical organizations, we used 990 tax data, which most nonprofits (with the exception of certain mission groups and churches) file. Organizations are required to list trustees, directors, officers, key employees, and the highest compensated employees. Specifically, organizations must list the five highest paid employees (who make over $100,000) and all employees making over $150,000 (which are considered key employees for tax purposes). We collected data on 1,481 organizations that filed a 990 in 2010. This included 126 colleges/universities, 79 development groups, and 16 student ministries. Of the remaining nonprofits, 115 had budgets over $10 million, and 1,144 had budgets under $10 million. We have 3,296 paid leaders in our database, in addition to 15,818 individual board members. These data were coded primarily by researchers at the Center for Social Research (Calvin College), as well as one of the principal investigators (Reynolds) and several undergraduate research assistants at Wheaton College.

This measurement of leadership presents some concerns, yet finding a way to operationalize leadership consistently across organizations was a challenge. We recognize there may be leaders who are not listed on 990s, especially in large organizations, who would be important to consider. However, given the large set of organizations, we were looking for a metric that would be consistent across organizations and across time (this study is the first attempt at better understanding the religious landscape, and follow up studies are expected based on 2015 tax data).

To code leaders, we first listed all of the people that paid individuals listed on the 990-forms, a total of 3,755 individuals. However, a number of these people listed did not hold positions of interest to our study. Accordingly, we coded all 3,755 people into one of four categories: Tier 1, Tier 2, Other Leader, and Not a Leader. Tier 1 was restricted (normally) to one leader within an organization, although there were exceptions with shared leadership, and change of leader. Titles included CEO, director, executive director, president, chairman, and chancellor. For Tier 2, we included all chief officers (Chief Academic Officer, Chief Operating Officers), with the exceptions of CEOs who were already verified as Tier 1. This also included all Vice Presidents, Investment Managers, Treasurers (when they seemed to serve the role of Chief Financial Officer), Founders who were highly paid, and Presidents or Directors who appeared to report to the Tier 1 leader. Tier 3 included Deans (colleges/universities), Associate VPs, key Directors, Finance Managers, and Chaplains. All others (including some Directors and most Managers) were coded as non- leaders.

We used web searches and name recognition to code the gender and race/ethnicity of those listed on 990-forms. Cases where gender was still unknown after searching (mostly for board members) were excluded from the analysis. 99% of board members and paid leaders were coded male or female for gender. An attempt was made to code all paid leaders and over half of the board members for race/ethnicity. This included board members from the colleges, development groups, and large nonprofits, as well as a sample of the smaller nonprofits. Coding for race/ethnicity was more difficult, and arguably, a more flawed process. Given the important ways that race/ethnicity intersects with gender, we looked at images of respondents to try and categorize into main ethnic/racial categories: White, African-American, Asian-American, Latino/Latina, American Indian, Bi-racial, Non-white international, and other. Given the time intensity of this project, about half of the board members remain unknown; however, given that coding was largely done at random, we have no reason to believe that these numbers are not representative. Fifty percent of board members and seventy-seven percent of key leaders of nonprofits were coded for race/ethnicity. Sixty-seven percent of board members and eighty-eight percent of key leaders of colleges/universities were coded for race/ethnicity.

In Phase Two, we requested that leaders of a subset of 450 organizations complete a survey on organizational leadership. This survey was carried out by the Center for Social Research at Calvin College, after having been developed and reviewed by the principal investigators and research group. Given our interest in the educational and development sectors, we included all colleges and universities, development groups, and student ministries. Past research on the nonprofit sector reveals that women are most underrepresented in large nonprofits; we included all ECFA members with budgets over $10 million and a random sample of five percent of the remaining ECFA organizations. The top leaders were asked to provide the name and contact information for the members of those serving in leadership, who were then contacted with a survey request. Responses were received from thirty percent of organizations, with named leaders then being asked to participate in the survey. The institutional response rate was best among educational institutions (over fifty percent). Responses were also received from twenty-six percent of the student ministries, thirty percent of Accord/CCDA, and seventeen percent of other ECFA groups.

The yield was 674 completed surveys from individuals holding leadership positions within these 113 organizations—62 colleges/universities and 51 additional nonprofit organizations. A disproportionate number of women were nominated to fill out the study, even as top leaders were simply asked to name their leadership team. We also suspect that organizations that completed the survey were more sympathetic to gender parity than other organizations, although the percent of women leading in these organizations was comparable to the broader sample.

Survey respondents were asked to identify their denominational affiliation, their religious identity (in addition to that of their peers in the organization), and the faith traditions that had most shaped them (in addition to those of their peers in the organization). Survey respondents were also asked to identify the three most influential individuals within their organization (with corresponding gender and reason for influence). They were also asked a number of demographic variables, including their age; gender; race; number, gender, and ages of children; and educational degrees.

We also asked questions regarding their participation on other boards, their time at the organization, and their level of authority within the organization.

Finally, in terms of the key areas of analysis surrounding gender climate, respondents were asked three questions, similar in form, to evaluate their beliefs about gender dynamics.

They were asked to select one of two statements that best described their beliefs. Choice one was "Men and women have freedom to pursue their gifts and callings without regard to gender roles. Men and women should share leadership roles within [the family/the church/society]." Choice two was "Distinct gender roles are ordained by God, with men and women serving in ways that complement one another. Men should hold distinctive leadership roles within [the family/the church/society]." They were asked to select one of t h e two statements (in each of these three areas) for the leaders of the organization, and for the dominant beliefs of their church/faith community. In addition to these statements of belief, respondents were also asked to select which of the following terms they identified with (as well as how they evaluated their institution): hierarchical, complementarian, egalitarian, and feminist.