(CLUSTER ANALYSIS) /Examples

## Background

Cluster analysis is a method developed by Kenneth Burke to help the critic identify the motive of the rhetor. In this method, the meanings that key symbols have for the rhetor are discovered by charting what symbols cluster around those key symbols in the rhetoric. Burke explains the central idea of cluster analysis:

> Now, the work of every writer [rhetor] contains a set of implicit equations. He uses "associational clusters." And you may, by examining his work, find "what goes with what" in these clusters-- what kinds of acts and images and personalities and situations go with his notions of heroism, villainy, consolation, despair, etc.[1]

In other words, the task of the critic using this method is to note "what subjects cluster about other subjects (what images $b$, $c$, $d$ the poet [rhetor] introduces whenever he talks with engrossment of subject $a$)."[2]

The equations or clusters that the critic discovers in a rhetor's act or artifact generally will not be conscious to the rhetor: "And though he be perfectly conscious of the act of writing, conscious of selecting a certain kind of imagery to reinforce a certain kind of mood, etc., he cannot possibly be conscious of the interrelationships among all these equations."[3] In essence, a cluster analysis provides "a survey of the hills and valleys of the [rhetor's] mind,"[4] resulting in insights that may not even be known to or conscious for the rhetor.

## Process

      The first step in the process of a cluster analysis is to select the key terms or the most important terms used in the rhetorical act or artifact. Generally, no more than five or six terms should be picked that appear to be the most significant for the rhetor; the task of analysis becomes more complex with each term added.

      Significance of terms is determined on the basis of frequency or intensity. A term that is used over and over again by a rhetor is likely to be a key term in that person's thought and rhetoric, so if one term frequently appears in the rhetoric, that term probably should be selected as one of the rhetor's key terms. A second criterion to use in selecting the rhetor's key terms is intensity. A term may not appear very often in a rhetor's work, but it may be extreme in degree, size, strength, or depth of feeling conveyed. It may be a term, for example, that refers to a major turning point in the plot of a film or a poem or that expresses a particularly strong feeling. In many of Geraldine Ferraro's speeches during her vice-presidential campaign, "fairness" could be identified as a key term because it was used as the starting point for many of her arguments and was the focus of the conclusions of many of her speeches. Its intensity, then, suggests that "fairness" was a key term for her.

      Often, the terms selected as key terms are "god" and "devil" terms. God terms are ultimate terms that represent the ideal for the rhetor--the rhetor's view of what is best or perfect. Devil terms are the counterparts of god terms and represent the ultimate negative or evil for the rhetor.[5] In the speeches of Ronald Reagan, for example,

"Communism" might be considered one of his devil terms, while "freedom" seems to be a god term for him. Both probably are key terms in most of his speeches on issues of foreign policy.

If the rhetorical artifact being studied is non-discursive, such as a work of art, then the key terms will be not words but rather visual elements. A particular color, shape, image, or placement, for example, may be seen as a key term. An analysis of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., might suggest that its key terms are its black color, its V shape, and its listing of the names of those who died in Vietnam in chronological order by date of death.

After the key terms have been identified in the rhetoric under study, the critic begins to chart the clusters around those key terms. This involves a close examination of the rhetoric to identify each place in which each key term appears. The terms that cluster around each key term in each context in which it appears are noted. Terms may cluster around the key terms in various ways. They simply may appear in close proximity to the term, or a conjunction such as "and" may connect a term to the key term. Or, the rhetor may suggest a cause-and-effect relationship between the key term and another term, suggesting that the one depends on the other or that one is the cause of the other.

Finally, the critic attempts to find patterns in the associations or linkages discovered. If a rhetor often or always associates a particular word or image with a key term, that linkage suggests that the key term's meaning for the rhetor is modified or influenced by that associated term. If the term, "freedom," for example, usually appears with "security" in a rhetor's speech, that individual's view of freedom is constrained by the notion of security. The critic might speculate that

for the rhetor, freedom is more a feeling of security or freedom from threat than it is a feeling of being unbound and unrestrained.

At this point, an agon-analysis may help the critic discover patterns in the clusters that have been identified. In agon-analysis, opposing terms are examined; the critic discovers what terms oppose or contradict other terms in the rhetoric. In the contexts surrounding the key terms, then, the critic thinks about the terms that the key terms seem to oppose, suggesting what meaning is not a part of and, in fact, is just the opposite of the meaning of the key term. The critic also looks for actual opposing terms that cluster around a key term-- perhaps suggesting some confusion or ambiguity on the part of the rhetor about that term. The critic notes as well whether key terms emerge as opposing terms to other key terms according to the clustering terms associated with them.

The final step in a cluster analysis is to use the patterns that emerge from the analysis to identify the rhetor's motive. At this point, the critic's task is to answer the question, "Given that these terms have these meanings for this rhetor, what was the motive for producing this rhetoric in this way likely to have been?" The critic must inter- pret, speculate, and think creatively here, for motivation for the rheto- ric under study will not pop out and make itself known to the critic obviously and automatically. The critic develops several possible motives for the rhetoric from the meanings attributed to the key terms and then settles on the one for which the best support can be given from the data provided in the artifact and from the analysis.

A cluster analysis of an advertisement for an insurance company,

based on key terms such as "premium," "whole life," and "family" and their associated clusters of terms, for example, could reveal a number of possible motives. The rhetor's motive might be a view that life is tough, and the aim is simply to survive it in a way that is most efficient and economical. Or, the rhetor might be motivated by an acceptance of responsibility or a desire to maintain traditional social structures. Yet another motive might be the belief that the constraints of society must be endured in any way possible. Whatever the critic chooses as the motive for the rhetoric being analyzed through the cluster method, a strong argument must be developed for it as the motive.

~~The four major steps of cluster analysis, then,~~ are: (1) Identification of key terms or symbols in the rhetoric; (2) Charting of terms that cluster around the key terms; (3) Discovery of patterns in the clusters around the key terms to determine meanings of the key terms; and (4) Naming of the rhetor's motive on the basis of the meanings of the key terms. While these steps are not always made explicit in the following sample essays, the authors all used this process to reach their conclusions. In the ~~first~~ essay, cluster analysis is used to provide an explanation of the motivation for those who opposed the admission of women into the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. In the ~~second~~ essay, Avalos identifies the motive of a contemporary feminist, Betty Friedan, through a cluster analysis centered on her use of the term, "power." In the ~~third~~ sample, Berthold not only analyzes the discourse of John Kennedy using the cluster approach, but she provides an explanation of it that will be a useful supplement to the background and process described above.

NOTES

CHAPTER 4

[1] Kenneth Burke, <u>The Philosophy of Literary Form</u>, 3rd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941; reprint ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 20.

[2] Kenneth Burke, <u>Attitudes Toward History</u>, 3rd ed. (n.p.: Editorial Publications, 1937; reprint ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 232.

[3] Burke, <u>The Philosophy of Literary Form</u>, p. 20.

[4] Burke, <u>Attitudes Toward History</u>, pp. 232-33.

[5] Richard M. Weaver, <u>The Ethics of Rhetoric</u> (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953), pp. 55-58.

# WOMEN PRIESTS IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH:
## A CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF ESTABLISHMENT RHETORIC
### Sonja K. Foss

> Incomplete, they call us,
> unrecognizable.
> Because we are eleven
> and not the Magic Twelve
> of your chosen few?
> Because we are female
> (nigger-women)
> and not important enough
> to mention in Matthew,
> Mark, Luke or John,
> our Hebrew sisters present
> at your First Feast?[1]

This portion of a poem by Alla Bozarth-Campbell, written after her "irregular ordination" as a priest in the Episcopal Church on July 29, 1974, summarizes the challenge to the Church and its response concerning a major tenet of its belief system—that women should not be priests. The irregular ordination of eleven women on that date marked a turning point in a conflict within the Church over whether or not to allow women to be priests. A challenge to a tenet of a religious system has the potential to weaken or even destroy the entire system—a system that is often one of the strongest and most influential belief systems that human beings have. Thus, an examination of the Church's response to the conflict perhaps can reveal general strategies for coping with conflict in other contexts.

## BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT

A clear understanding of the history of the issue of women priests must begin with a basic knowledge of the structure of the Episcopal Church in the United States and the means through which change occurs in that structure. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (PECUSA) is part of the Anglican Communion, a voluntary association of national churches originally established in England. Every ten years, bishops from all of the churches in the Communion meet in convocation at Lambeth, England. More frequent meetings are held by the Anglican Consultative Council, an organization of elected bishops, priests, and laity that meets every two years in a different country. Both of these bodies are consultative; they do not make decisions on doctrine or practice that bind the Episcopal Churches.

Establishment of policy and enactment of legislation for PECUSA is accomplished through the General Convention, which is held every three years. The General Convention is comprised of two bodies: the House of Bishops, composed of approximately 200 bishops, and the House of Deputies, composed of more than 1,000 clergy and lay representatives elected from each diocese.

Voting in the House of Deputies at a General Convention may be done by a simple majority of all present or by orders in which the clergy and the laity vote separately; the latter process generally is used for controversial issues. In this case, the majority of votes within each delegation representing a diocese must be affirmative in order for the delegation to cast an affirmative vote. When the four members of a delegation are divided two and two, all four votes are considered negative, and the delegation registers a negative vote. As a result, a minority can overrule a majority vote, and as much as an 89 percent majority may be needed to pass a resolution.[2]

While the possibility of allowing women to be ordained clergy first arose in the Episcopal Church in 1920 at a Lambeth conference, the contemporary debate on the issue began in 1970. Meeting in Houston, the General Convention voted to allow women to be ordained as deacons on the same

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basis as men. The Houston convention also saw the first vote on the issue of women priests. A commission appointed to study the position of women in the ministry presented a resolution that would have interpreted "bishop," "priest," and "deacon" as including both males and females. The resolution lost in a close vote by orders.[3] At their meeting in October 1971, the bishops appointed a committee to study the issue further. In response, several women organized the Episcopal Women's Caucus, declared their refusal to participate in any more studies, and urged women to "make no peace with oppression."[4]

A year later, in November 1972, the House of Bishops, meeting in New Orleans, voted to approve the ordination of women as priests and bishops. At the 1973 General Convention in Louisville, however, the resolution lost in a vote by orders. As at the Houston convention, a majority of the voters supported the resolution.

In 1974, women deacons wanting ordination to the priesthood began to protest their exclusion during ordination ceremonies of men. They read statements of protest when the congregation was asked if there were any objections to the ordination of the men, stood behind the male candidates and answered with them the questions of the examination, and received the laying on of hands—which is given by the bishop to the individual receiving ordination—by groups of women supporters.[5]

The impetus for immediate action on the part of the Church regarding women priests came on July 29, 1974. Eleven women deacons were ordained to the priesthood in the Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia. Although no canon specifically prohibited the ordination of women, canons did state that a deacon must be recommended by the standing committee of the diocese before ordination to the priesthood; none of the women met this requirement. In an open letter to their supporters, the new priests declared: "We know this ordination to be irregular. We believe it to be valid and right. . . Our primary motivation is to begin to free priesthood from the bondage it suffers as long as it is characterized by categorical exclusion on the basis of sex."[6]

Two days later, Presiding Bishop John M. Allin called an emergency meeting of the House of Bishops in Chicago. There the members passed a resolution invalidating the ordination of the women on the grounds that the necessary conditions for valid ordination had not been fulfilled and censuring the bishops who had performed the ordinations. In response, Charles Willie, who had preached the sermon at the irregular ordination ceremony, resigned his position as vice-president of the House of Deputies, calling the actions a "blatant exercise of male arrogance."[7]

At the regular meeting of the House of Bishops in October 1974, in Oaxtepec, Mexico, a resolution was passed stating that the irregularly ordained women were "not recognizable but not incompletable" and reaffirmed support for the principle of the ordination of women to the priesthood. That same month, the eleven irregularly ordained women began to celebrate communion, and they continued to do so in Episcopal and nondenominational churches throughout the country into 1976. Among them were the churches of William Wendt in Washington, D.C., and L. Peter Beebe in Oberlin, Ohio. As a result of their invitations to the women to celebrate communion, Wendt and Beebe were tried in eccesiastical courts and found guilty for disobeying their bishops' orders.

On September 7, 1975, four more women deacons were ordained to the priesthood at the Church of St. Stephen and Incarnation in Washington, D.C. In April 1975, one of the eleven irregularly ordained women, Merrill Bittner, left the Church with this declaration: "The journey I am on is one of affirming life. I now find that it is impossible for me personally to be about that task within the Episcopal Church, because of the pain I have suffered from a brutally negligent institution in its refusal to fully accept and affirm the women in its midst."[8] She was the second of the eleven to leave the Church; Marie Moorefield had quit to join the United Methodist Church.

September 16, 1976, marked formal approval for the ordination of women to the priesthood by the Church. The House of Deputies, at the General Convention in Minneapolis, approved a resolution that ordination to the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons be equally applicable to men and women. The House of Bishops had approved the resolution a day earlier. The House of Bishops then adopted a resolution describing the process for the regularization of the irregularly ordained women—a public event at which communion would be celebrated and at which the women would recite an oath of loyalty to the Church. The last of the "completion" ceremonies for the irregularly ordained women was held in November 1977.

# CLUSTER ANALYSIS

To gain insights into the process of and motivation for the events and actions that occurred in the development of this controversy, Kenneth Burke's method of cluster analysis will be used to examine the discourse of the establishment concerning the question of women priests in the Episcopal Church. Cluster analysis is a method of "noting what subjects cluster about other subjects"[9] in an effort to discover what goes with what and why.

The method involves selecting the key terms in the discourse, using as criteria high frequency and high intensity. Terms of high frequency are simply terms that frequently are repeated in the discourse, while terms of high intensity are those that are naturally charged or that are particularly significant in the works being studied. The next step is an examination of each context in which those key terms implicitly or explicitly appear. By discovering what is repeatedly associated with these key terms in various contexts, the critic is able to formulate an equation to help explain the meanings of the key terms. As Rueckert explains, cluster analysis "is a way of finding out what the term is associated with in the poet's [or rhetor's] mind."[10] As a result of a cluster analysis, the critic is able to locate the conflict or opposition in the principles and images of the discourse. Agon analysis, then, allows the critic to interpret the results of the cluster analysis in order to discover how the symbols function for the rhetor.[11]

In an attempt to understand the response of the Episcopal Church to those who wanted to see women become priests, that is, the challengers, I examined samples of discourse of the establishment, or those who did not want to see women priests,[12] prior to the resolution of the issue in September 1976. I looked for terms that clustered around four key terms, identified as such because of their intensity and frequency of appearance: "Church," "priest," "male," and "female." The clusters that emerged around these terms then were used as the basis for an attempt to understand the conflict from the establishment's perspective and the functions of the discourse for it. The clusters of terms around each key term will be examined in turn.

## "CHURCH"

A major group of terms that formed around the idea of the Church concerned the Church as authority because of its connection with the highest possible authorities—God and Christ and their various manifestations. The Church is the "Body and Bride" of Christ[13] and has "divine authority in Christ."[14] The authority is revealed through the "holy Gospel,"[15] "the Bible,"[16] or "that Holy Scripture."[17] "Canon" seemed to be a synonymous term with the authority derived from God and the Bible; it was broad enough, too, in its clustering around the concept of the Church to encompass theological thinking and documents based on these two sources of supreme authority. The Church, then, was seen as based on a "canonical structure,"[18] and "these canons can only be altered by...all the Catholic Churches."[19]

A cluster of terms that directly opposed this authority of God, Christ, the Bible, and the canons emphasized the essential connection of the Church with this authority. Terms such as the "rejection of the authority of Scripture" in the Church,[20] the Church as "formed or reformed by majority votes and decisions,"[21] the Church as "a parliamentary democracy,"[22] or "the vote of a church legislature,"[23] when used as the basis for Church authority, were viewed with dismay because opponents saw authority as deriving only from God.

Also closely associated with the Church in the establishment's rhetoric were terms dealing with tradition and history. To members of the establishment, the Church was an institution with a long history and well-established patterns and practices. The "long life"[24] and the "irreversible history"[25] of the Church emphasized the importance of the past and the notion that the past must be retained currently in "agelong practice"[26] that is "unvarying"[27] and "governed by...tradition."[28] Once again, we find that negatives that opposed tradition were used to link the Church more firmly to this tradition, and practices and principles that run counter to the nature of the Church were portrayed vividly as undesirable. Being "modern,"[29] following "every wind of doctrine," "following fashion,"[30] and accommodating "changes taking place in the world"[31] were seen to introduce into the Church "idols,"[32] to dilute "in tepid and polluted waters the ever-fresh mainspring of Christianity" (the Church),[33] and to result in "a loss of power"[34] for the Church.

As a result of connection with tradition, the Church became closely aligned with the concept of order. The "ordered life of the Church"[35] could be seen in all aspects of the life of the Church, including "the temporal order," "the hierarchical order,"[36] and "the supernatural order."[37] This order, of course, was viewed as a "good order"[38] and a "divine order."[39]

Unity was closely associated with the Church in the discourse of the establishment, but there was some confusion about the nature of that unity. For some, the identification of the Church with unity meant unity within the Episcopal Church, exemplified in linkages such as "the Church as unity in diversity,"[40] "the unity of the Church,"[41] and the Church acting "with a common mind."[42] Others saw unity in connection with the Church as a much broader concept that included unity with the Catholic Church. In these instances, the Episcopal Church was shown as "part of the whole Catholic Church,"[43] and the Episcopal Church had to be concerned that it maintained the "right to be called Catholic."[44]

Still another sense of unity in this view of the Church as seen in the descriptions of the Episcopal Church as "a bridge-Church between two poles"[45]—between Protestant and Catholic churches— because its heritage is rooted in both. In this meaning of unity, the Episcopal Church was seen unifying all churches because of the special role it could play as a "mediator between the Catholic and Protestant Ways."[46] The Church as "divided,"[47] "fractured,"[48] or "acting separately from the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church"[49] was a strong negative image that suggested the breaking of an essential association between the Church and unity.

The last major group of terms that clustered around the "Church" equated the Church with the feminine; members of the establishment often formulated images that suggested that the Church is female. One writer suggested a physical basis for the image because the Church congregation is "preponderantly feminine."[50] In most instances, however, the image was a metaphoric one. The Church was seen as "the Bride," in relation to the priest as bridegroom, making the Church "feminine towards" the priest.[51] Others connected the two terms by suggesting that "woman is [a symbol] of the Church,"[52] while others did so simply by referring to the Church with feminine pronouns, as in "what she is doing" and "what she understands."[53].

## "PRIEST"

Around the term "priest" clustered several terms that operationalized the term for the establishment. One such cluster concerned the exclusiveness of the priesthood; it was viewed as a select group to which only some could be admitted. This notion of an elite group emerged from a juxtaposition of the priesthood with "divine choice,"[54] "inherent character," and a vocation that "is more than a profession";[55] as a result, not everyone "has a right to be a priest."[56] Further evidence of the select nature of the priesthood came from its differentiation from "other forms of Christian ministry." As one writer explained: "The congregationally oriented ministry in Protestant denominational churches is, therefore, something quite different from the priesthood."[57] The essential nature of the priesthood as "exclusive"[58] was developed further as the opponents created negative images of a ministry that was not characterized by elitism. "Religious professionals,"[59] for example, were not seen as the same as Episcopal priests.

The exclusiveness of the priesthood derived in part from a view of the priest as a symbol of God and Christ. The discourse of the establishment included a conception of the priest as a "God symbol,"[60] "the steward of God's symbols," "'an earthenware pot' containing the transcendent power of God,"[61] and a "copy of God."[62] The priest's relationship to God was considered analogous to that of Jesus to God; thus, the priest also became linked with Christ. In "the priesthood of Christ,"[63] the priest was "the symbol of Christ's presence among the flock,"[64] "Alter Christus,"[65] "the commissioned agent of Christ,"[66] or an "icon of Christ."[67] Simply, then, the priest represented "Christ to the Church."[68]

A third cluster of terms around "priest" created a clear view of the priest as male. "Male priesthood," "masculine priesthood,"[69] "priesthood of men,"[70] and "the priesthood...as a male vocation"[71] are statements that did not leave room for conceptions of priests as women. The definition of a priest as male was developed further when the possibility of a female priesthood was seen only in the context of heresy: "The only examples of a female priesthood in ancient times are those found in heretical sects."[72]

Descriptions of the priest's activities tended to emphasize qualities that traditionally have been regarded as appropriate male behaviors, thus further cementing the priesthood to maleness. The priesthood, the establishment argued, is an expression of "the rites of initiation and direction";[73] it is "generative, initiating, giving"[74] as the priest "sows the seed of the Word into the earthed community."[75] Supplementing the allusions to the male role in the sex act were descriptions of the priest's characteristics that conformed to the stereotyped male role. The priest "guards the temple"[76] and has "vigour," "energy," "aggression," and "objectivity."[77] Although these qualities certainly could be used to describe many women, the establishment saw them as male characteristics only, furthering the development of their view that priests are male.

## "MALE"

Not only the clusters surrounding the term "priest" pointed to maleness as an essential nature of the priest, those surrounding the terms "male" and "man" reinforced that definition of the priest. Definite ideas of what a man is emerged from three basic clusters that connected the man with God, superiority, and bold activity, and thus ultimately with the priesthood.

Many images were developed in the rhetoric of the establishment that portrayed an essential linkage between God and the male. The masculinity of God was shown as having "matched and mastered the compulsive and seductive qualities of the Great Mother."[78] That God is male (which gives special respect for the male) could be seen in the facts that "God taught us to call Him...Father" and that "God...thought it best to become a man."[79]

The man derived authority from his special connection with God, making him superior to the woman, according to the second cluster of terms that developed around "male." The man was seen "to represent...the Head",[80] in other words, "the 'authority'...is normally understood to be that of the man."[81] Because "supreme authority in both Church and home has been divinely vested in the male,"[82] masculinity "rules"[83] and demonstrates "powerfulness, domination, and control."[84]

Finally, we see a cluster in which the male was identified with bold activity—the same type of activity we saw as essential to the priest role. The male, of course, "has the initiative in creation,"[85] which made "initiative...a male rather than a female attribute"[86] and made "the conscious, active pole" that of the male.[87] Images associated with masculinity included "assertiveness,"[88] "aggression and ruthlessness,"[89] qualities that put the man on the "cutting edge"[90] of "social, cultural, and religious advance."[91] Concomitant with these qualities was responsibility for the "protection and guardianship of the family and the home,"[92] in which the man protected the family "from the fiery dragon,"[93] slew "dragons" and cast out "devils," and generally played the role of "the saviour-figure."[94]

## "FEMALE"

The images that clustered around the term "female" tended to be negative ones. One such cluster focused on woman as defined by "the body,"[95] which made sexuality central in this view of the woman. "The feminine, as woman,...receives and *actively* holds within itself whatever of the masculine is poured in—ideas, words, man's lower animal nature";[96] thus, woman represented "eros, physical love."[97] Woman's association with physical love generally was not positive. She was seen as nudging us "into world, flesh, and even, sometimes, the territory of the devil."[98] In this context, the woman was associated with "prostitute,"[99] a "charming, seductive" exterior,[100] and "adultery and 'adulteration.'"[101] To step out of the feminine sphere in which woman is essentially sexual, however, was far worse in its consequences for her sexuality. For in a masculine role, woman "will become incurably frigid,...incurably promiscuous,...or destructive."[102] Woman's sexuality made her a "feared female,"[103] someone who could "bedevil"[104] and who was "experienced as a threat."[105]

Other negative terms clustered around the image of the woman to create an unflattering view of the female. Linked to woman were qualities such as "bitchy and greedy,"[106] violent,[107] and an association with "disease."[108] Women were portrayed as being primarily interested in "play,"[109] as "dithering" and causing "real confusions,"[110] as "vehicles for guilt and disillusionment,"[111] and as causing an abundance of troubles associated with "Pandora's Box."[112] And, of course, women

were viewed as emotional. In one such description, "the archetypal mermaid" was seen "slipping through the stone and deepening it with emotion."[113] Other descriptions pointed to emotionality as essential to motherhood, associating woman with the "flood tide of maternal emotion,"[114] with being "equipped emotionally. . .to nurture and shape children's lives,"[115] and "to mediate to the child/man all those emotions which will energize him into mature manhood."[116] On the whole, women's emotions were not viewed as positive. The opposition maintained: "Emotions are apt to rule" the direction of their discussions,[117] making women "unpredictable,"[118] "compulsive,"[119] and apt to "meet any attempt at sober argument by leaving the room in a temper, often slamming the door for emphasis."[120]

A less negative quality connected with women—but still one that was portrayed as less effective than men's qualities—was that women rely on intuition as a major source of their knowledge. Women were considered "more in tune than men with these inner dimensions":[121] "to feel something in one's bones. . .is profoundly feminine."[122] Their tendency to "listen to the world of dream and nature and to follow such personal instincts"[123] meant that they were "not clothed with institutional authority"[124] and represented "the unconscious. . .*pole of mankind.*"[125]

The most positive portrayal of the female came in her association with motherhood, which also was the strongest image to cluster around the woman. She was associated with "the mother of Messiah,"[126] the "mother-archetype,"[127] "motherhood,"[128] "a potential mother,"[129] "maternal function," "maternal instinct,"[130] and "maternal rhythm."[131] Terms that associated the woman with children and the process of child bearing further developed this view of woman. She "carries these embryos,"[132] waits "nine months for a child to come,"[133] "bears a child,"[134] and then finds her "energies are largely absorbed in nourishing and tending."[135] Woman's role as a mother—in particular her fertility—linked her to the earth, a connection that was developed in the opposition's rhetoric. Because "all life depended upon her bounty"[136] and her "fecundity," the "cult of fertility and the feminine" became linked with "woman and earth."[137] When the "earth divinity is feminine," any symbolic interaction of a woman with the process of burial in the earth—the "earth-tomb-womb equation"[138]—was viewed as "cosmic Lesbianism,"[139] a strong image that conveyed not only a connection with the earth but also a focus again on woman's sexuality.

But even the motherhood cluster around "woman" sometimes was seen as negative, for there is a "dark side of the Mother. . .which is, in the last analysis, hostile to growth."[140] Here we see the mother as "devouring or destructive"[141] and connected with "domination"[142] and "tyranny."[143] In fact, in this cluster, "a good mother, like a bad mother, must in the end be 'bad' for her child."[144]

The wide array of generally negative characteristics associated with the female led naturally to the final cluster around this term—that of "the inferiority of woman,"[145] the "subjection of women,"[146] or "female subordination."[147] This definition of woman as inferior meant that "femininity. . .submits";[148] "the wife must 'reverence' her husband, placing herself in subjection to him"; and "woman must place a greater or lesser dependence upon the man."[149] Such is the proper natural order since "the image of God is in man directly, but in woman indirectly."[150]

## CONCLUSION

A cluster analysis of the rhetoric of the establishment concerning the issue of women priests reveals that in the minds of the establishment, the Episcopal Church was a traditional, orderly, and unified structure based on the highest possible authority, God. It was a feminine structure in its proper relation to the priest who, because he symbolized God and Christ, belonged to an exclusive male group. Men were defined by a special connection to God and energetic activity, both of which made them superior to women. Women's inferiority resulted from a focus on their bodies and sexuality as a central feature of their being. The negative qualities that they were seen to possess included their emotionality and their reliance on intuition as a source of knowledge. Their potential as mothers, because it could be negative as well as positive and required women to focus their attention on child rearing, provided further support for their inferiority.

A structure that emerges from the clusters established around the key terms suggests that the rhetoric of the opposition revolved around a system of polarities. While formal Episcopal theology recognizes God and the potential for good in all of its members, the rhetoric of the opponents seemed to ignore this shared substance and established in its place a series of oppositions, with

one set valued as positive and the other rejected as negative.

We find, then, that the clusters around the Church were good, while their opposites were evil:

| View of Church revealed in cluster analysis | Opposites |
|---|---|
| institutional authority | personal authority |
| tradition | modernity |
| order | chaos |
| unity | dissension |
| feminine | masculine |

The concepts viewed as negative—those in opposition to the establishment's view—were precisely the concepts introduced into it by the women who wanted to be priests and their supporters. They argued that they were called to the priesthood by their own consciences—their own source of authority—that challenged the institutional authority of the Church. Their demands also introduced modernity, chaos, and dissension into a Church that was supposed to be the epitome of history, order, and unity. In essence, the women stated that through their demand to be priests the Church was something very different from what the establishment believed it was.

In contrast to the other oppositions established, "masculine" as the opposite of the feminine was not viewed as a negative. As we have seen in the clustering of terms around "priest" and "male," the masculine was highly valued by the establishment. The masculine was negative in the sense that a male-male relationship between the Church and the priest would be improper.

By operationalizing the definition of "priest" through the clusters selected, the establishment again posited a duality in which its terms were positive and the opposites introduced by the challengers were negative:

| View of priest revealed in cluster analysis | Opposites |
|---|---|
| exclusive | popular |
| symbolic of God and Christ through maleness | symbolic of God and Christ through humanness |
| male | female |

Again we see that the women who believed that they should be allowed to be priests contradicted the very notion of what a priest was in the minds of the establishment. To allow women priests would be an action approaching heresy, for anyone then could claim the right to be a priest, even though that individual was a woman who could not represent properly "God the Father" and "Christ the Son."

The positive and negative implications of the polarity organized in the rhetoric of the opponents became even more clear in the clusters that defined male and female and their opposites. The characteristics of men were seen as positive; their opposites were qualities that made their possessors less valuable:

| View of male revealed in cluster analysis | Opposites |
|---|---|
| God | void |
| superior | inferior |
| active | passive |

What comes through clearly was that women were seen as endowed with less God spirit and as less capable than were men. Women's negative qualities continued to add up when they were viewed in terms of the clusters around "female" and their opposites:

| View of female revealed in cluster analysis | Opposites |
|---|---|
| body | mind |
| intuition | rational knowledge |
| mother | father |
| inferior | superior |

Now we begin to see the entire framework that the rhetoric of the establishment constructed. The qualities opposite those that defined the female were precisely those that defined the male and more important, corresponded closely to the qualities that defined the priest. The priesthood was considered exclusive or superior and emphasized a rational manifestation of the authority of the Church and its basis in God and Christ. Even the term "father" was more highly valued than "mother" in that it is used as a name for God and for priests and is not limited in its application only to the biological father.

The polarities and the values evident in the clusters around the terms "Church," "priest," "male," and "female" were used as the basis for an entire ideology or world view that was

constructed by the establishment. This world view took the form of a hierarchy based on the degree to which entities possessed what were considered to be positively valued qualities. Thus we find that the Church held the top position in the hierarchy because it had the most direct link to the source of the most positive quality possible: God. This association gave the Church the right and the responsibility to manifest God through tradition, order, and unity. At the second level of the hierarchy was the priest, who also possessed several positive traits—a connection with God, a special nature that set him apart, and maleness. The priest ranked below the Church because the Church provided the larger structure in which the priest functioned and from which he derived authority.

Maleness was higher on the hierarchy than femaleness, not only because of the interrelationship between the male and the priesthood, but because of man's special connection to God and his active, assertive nature. At the lowest level on this hierarchy was the woman, who earned her inferior position because she was seen as having fewer of those qualities that were regarded as important. Her concerns, the opposition believed, were with her body and motherhood, and her source of knowledge was intuition, none of which were traits positively valued in this particular hierarchy.

The challenge to the Episcopal Church concerning women priests, then, really was about the legitimacy of the established hierarchy and the authority on which it rested. Although there was an unequal distribution of power and resources within the hierarchy because all entities did not share the valued properties to the same degree, it was viewed as legitimate and was maintained as long as it served the needs of the entities. When, however, members of the system—in this case, women—felt their needs were not being met and wanted the same rewards accorded to members higher up in the system, the legitimacy of the hierarchy was questioned. The women who challenged the Episcopal Church on the issue of women priests were demanding an alternative hierarchy or authority based on new definitions of what is positive, valuable, and worthwhile, that is, qualities seen as exact opposites of those presented as such on the old hierarchy.

In response to the challenge, the Episcopal Church continued to argue out of a context of the traditional hierarchy and tried to maintain what Burke would call the mystery[151] within the hierarchy. In this case, the mystery not only was serving spiritual needs but also was helping to hide the inequalities of the hierarchy in terms of resources and respect accorded individual members. When the discourse of the challengers exposed the great differences between the classes on the hierarchy, destroying the mystery, change became possible in the system.

The Episcopal Church, upon seeing its world view shattered through the demand for change, continued to support for a time the original hierarchy, trying to maintain the orientation it offered and reaffirming belief in it. Such action, Burke says, is motivated by "piety" or "the yearning to conform to the 'sources of one's being.'"[152] Through the selection of particular clusters to group around its key terms and thus define them, the establishment attempted to hold the Church within the context of the hierarchy of Church-priest-male-female.

Once the challengers' rhetoric opened up an alternative world view with a new hierarchy, however, the arguments against women priests based on the original hierarchy no longer were accepted as the only possibility; other views became possible and thus legitimate. These views generated movement within the Church and an eventual reorganization of the old hierarchy as a result of the successful challenge to the establishment. Although there are some members of the Episcopal Church who have not accepted the new hierarchy, in which male and female are viewed as equally positive and personal authority based on God's direction is as valid as institutional authority derived from God, the Church no longer can remain pious to its original hierarchy. Instead, it has had to fit the pieces of its world together in new, more adaptive, and more egalitarian ways.

Not every established institution or belief system that is so challenged, of course, will adopt a new hierarchy, with new definitions for its key terms. It may decide to retain its old hierarchy and make no changes. A number of factors appear to be influential in whether a change is made or not, factors such as the strategies of the challengers, the establishment's need for external support and its perception of the amount of external support it has, precedents in the history of the establishment for the types of changes being urged, and the strength of the meanings of the clusters around key terms in the rhetoric of the establishment. Further investigation into these types of variables should clarify the type of resolution that is likely to occur in a conflict such as the one examined

here. But whether or not any overt change in the hierarchy occurs, small increments in growth are likely that make the next challenge more apt to succeed. One of the eleven irregularly ordained women priests summarized well this growth process:

> Because I never left the institutional Church through this process, it's been forced to deal with me, to redefine itself in relationship to me, as I have had to redefine myself in relationship to it. We—the institutional Church and I—have helped each other to grow by standing with and against one another at the same time.[153]

## NOTES

[1] Alla Bozarth-Campbell, *Womanpriest: A Personal Odyssey* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 125-26.

[2] Ibid., p. 112.

[3] Shirley Sartori, "Conflict and Institutional Change: The Ordination of Women in the Episcopal Church (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1978), p. 55.

[4] Ibid., p. 62.

[5] A description of one such "nonordination" ceremony is contained in Ibid., pp. 95-100.

[6] Ibid., p. 124.

[7] Cheryl Forbes, "The Episcopal Church: When Is a Priest Not a Priest?" *Christianity Today*, 13 September 1974, p. 70.

[8] "Briefs: 2d Woman Priest Quits Church," *Chicago Tribune*, 3 April 1976, sec. 1, p. 14.

[9] Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes Toward History*, 2 vols. (New York: New Republic, 1937), 2:76.

[10] William H. Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 86.

[11] More detailed explanations of the method of cluster analysis can be found in Ibid., pp. 83-111; Burke, 2:76-78; and Carol A. Berthold, "Kenneth Burke's Cluster-Agon Method: Its Development and an Application," *Central States Speech Journal* 27 (Winter 1976): 302-309.

[12] The discourse examined through cluster analysis came from religious journals, including *Anglican Theological Review, Theology, Journal of Dharma, The Ecumenical Review, The Modern Churchman, Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Churchman: A Quarterly Journal of Anglican Theology, Nashotah Review,* and *Communio*; religious magazines and newspapers, including *Christianity Today, The Christian Century, Christianity and Crisis,* and *The Episcopalian*; books by women and bishops involved in the controversy; and collections of essays in support of or against women priests. A complete list of the sources considered in the analysis is available from the author.

[13] E. L. Mascall, "Some Basic Considerations," in *Man, Woman, and Priesthood*, ed. Peter Moore (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 26.

[14] Peter Moore, p. 167.

[15] Ibid., p. 164.

[16] Harold Riley, "Women as Priests?" in *Sexuality-Theology-Priesthood: Reflections on the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood*, ed. H. Karl Lutge (San Gabriel, Calif.: Concerned Fellow Episcopalians, n. d.), p. 8.

[17] John Paul Boyer, "The 'Open Mind' and the Mind of Christ," in Lutge, p. 55.

[18] Robert E. Terwilliger, "A Fractured Church," in Peter Moore, p. 142.

[19] George William Rutler, "Speech to the Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania," in Lutge, p. 59.

[20] Roger Beckwith, "The Bearing of Holy Scripture," in Peter Moore, p. 62.

[21] Peter Moore, p. 164.

[22] Mascall, p. 18.

[23] Robert E. Terwilliger, "Foreword," in Lutge, p. 5.

[24] Albert J. duBois, "Why I Am Against the Ordination of Women," *The Episcopalian*, July 1972, p. 21.

[25] Susannah Herzel, "The Body is the Book," in Peter Moore, p. 102.

[26] Riley, p. 8.

[27] Kallistos Ware, "Man, Woman, and the Priesthood of Christ," in Peter Moore, p. 22.

[28] Paul Moore, Jr., *Take a Bishop Like Me* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 22.

[29] Louis Bouyer, "Christian Priesthood and Women," in Peter Moore, p. 66.

[30] Rutler, p. 59.

[31] Elisabeth Elliot, "Why I Oppose the Ordination of Women," *Christianity Today*, 6 June 1975, p. 12.

[32] Bouyer, p. 66.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Elliot, p. 12.

[35] Paul Moore, p. 25.

[36] Elliot, p. 14.

[37] Peter Moore, p. 166.

[38]Edwin G. Wappler, "Theological Reasons Against the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood and Episcopate," *Nashotah Review* 15 (Fall 1975): 323. Joint issue with *Saint Luke's Journal of Theology* 18 (September 1975): 461.

[39]Peter Moore, p. 165.

[40]Ware, p. 85.

[41]Terwilliger, "A Fractured Church," p. 150.

[42]John MacQuarrie, "Women and Ordination: A Mediating View," in Lutge, p. 45.

[43]Riley, p. 8.

[44]Rutler, p. 57.

[45]Peter Moore, p. 1.

[46]Herzel, p. 107.

[47]Terwilliger, "A Fractured Church," p. 151.

[48]Ibid., p. 160.

[49]Paul Moore, p. 90.

[50]Elizabeth R. Noice, "Priesthood and Women: A Lay View," *Anglican Theological Review* 55 (January 1973): 53.

[51]Gilbert Russell and Margaret Dewey, "Psychological Aspects," in Peter Moore, p. 96.

[52]Boyer, p. 55.

[53]Urban T. Holmes, III, "Priesthood and Sexuality: A Caveat Only Dimly Perceived," *Anglican Theological Review* 55 (January 1973): 64.

[54]C. Kilmer Myers, "Should Women be Ordained?" *The Episcopalian*, February 1972, p. 8.

[55]Riley, p. 8.

[56]Rutler, p. 58.

[57]duBois, p. 22.

[58]Herzel, p. 102.

[59]Boyer, p. 55.

[60]Myers, p. 8.

[61]Holmes, p. 64.

[62]duBois, p. 23.

[63]O. C. Edwards, Jr., "The Failure of the Anti-Nicene Church to Ordain Women and Its Significance Today," *Nashotah Review* 15 (Fall 1975): 212. Joint issue with *Saint Luke's Journal of Theology* 18 (September 1975): 350.

[64]John R. Sheets, "The Ordination of Women," *Communio* 3 (1976): 12.

[65]duBois, p. 23.

[66]Myers, p. 8.

[67]Russell and Dewey, p. 96.

[68]Boyer, p. 53.

[69]Wappler, p. 322 [460].

[70]duBois, p. 30.

[71]Terwilliger, "Foreward," p. 5.

[72]Riley, p. 9.

[73]Herzel, p. 101.

[74]Myers, p. 8.

[75]Herzel, p. 101.

[76]duBois, p. 22.

[77]Herzel, p. 101.

[78]Russell and Dewey, p. 95.

[79]Rutler, p. 58.

[80]Bouyer, p. 65.

[81]Beckwith, pp. 51-52.

[82]Elliot, p. 14.

[83]Ibid., p. 16.

[84]David H. Fisher, "Symbol, Myth, and Parable," *Nashotah Review* 15 (Fall 1975): 291. Joint issue with *Saint Luke's Journal of Theology* 18 (September 1975): 429.

[85]duBois, p. 22.

[86]Myers, p. 8.

[87]Holmes, p. 66.

[88]Fisher, p. 291 [429].

[89]Russell and Dewey, p. 95.

[90]Herzel, p. 119.

[91]Russell and Dewey, p. 95.

[92]duBois, p. 22.

[93]Herzel, p. 121.

[94]Russell and Dewey, p. 98.

[95]Herzel, p. 120.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ibid., p. 113.

[98]Ibid., p. 116.

[99]Ibid., p. 120.

[100]Russell and Dewey, p. 92.

[101]Herzel, p. 119.

[102]Ibid., p. 120.

[103]Ibid., p. 112.

[104]Russell and Dewey, p. 97.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Herzel, p. 103.

[107]Holmes, p. 66.

[108]Russell and Dewey, p. 100.

[109]Herzel, p. 114.

[110]Ibid., p. 106.

[111]Ibid., p. 103.

[112]Ibid., p. 116.

[113]Ibid.

[114]Russell and Dewey, p. 93.

[115]duBois, p. 21.

[116]Herzel, p. 121.

[117]duBois, p. 21.

[118]Herzel, p. 118.

[119]Russell and Dewey, p. 95.

[120]duBois, p. 21.

[121]Herzel, p. 105.

[122]Ibid., p. 111.

[123]Ibid., p. 117.

[124]Russell and Dewey, p. 97.

[125]Holmes, p. 66.

[126]Elliot, p. 13.

[127]Russell and Dewey, p. 92.

[128]Mascall, p. 24.

[129]M. E. Thrall, The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood: A Study of the Biblical Evidence (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 102.

[130]Ibid., p. 103.

[131]Ibid., p. 102.

[132]Herzel, p. 120.

[133]Ibid., p. 106.

[134]Thrall, p. 105.

[135]duBois, p. 23.

[136]Russell and Dewey, p. 95.

[137]Ibid., p. 94.

[138]Holmes, p. 66.

[139]Ibid., p. 65.

[140]Russell and Dewey, p. 98.

[141]Ibid., p. 92.

[142]Herzel, p. 119.

[143]Russell and Dewey, p. 93.

[144]Ibid., p. 94.

[145]duBois, p. 23.

[146]Elliot, p. 14.

[147]Thrall, p. 17.

[148]Elliot, p. 16.

[149]duBois, p. 23.

[150]Beckwith, p. 57.

[151]For an explanation of Burke's notion of mystery, see Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950; reprint ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 114-24, 176-80.

[152]Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose (New York: New Republic, 1935; reprint ed., Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 69.

[153]Bozarth-Campbell, p. 222.

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