THE CATHOLIC PROJECT

Well-being, Trust, and Policy in a Time of Crisis: Highlights from the National Study of Catholic Priests

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Over the last two decades, the clergy sexual abuse crisis in the Catholic Church has significantly eroded the trust between laity and clergy. In 2002, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops put into place a series of procedures enumerated in the Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People (commonly referred to as the "Dallas Charter") to create safe environments for minors, promptly handle allegations, and discipline offenders.[1] The charter established a zero tolerance policy entailing permanent removal from ministry for a single act of sexual abuse of a minor.

Since the earliest years of the Dallas Charter, there have been concerns that the bishops' understandable eagerness to crack down on abusive priests was coming at the expense of due-process protections for the accused: a *de facto* policy of "guilty until proven innocent."[2] These concerns have been exacerbated by an expansion in the scope of the Church's anti-abuse policies coupled with a perceived double standard in the way allegations against bishops have been handled in comparison to priests.[3] Recent revelations also made it clear that some bishops - not subject to the Dallas Charter - not only covered up such abuse but were active perpetrators themselves.[4]

Twenty years after the implementation of the Dallas Charter, it is therefore important to ask: How has the abuse crisis, and the Church's institutional response to that crisis, affected priests? How has it shaped their relationship and trust for their bishops? Are priests flourishing or struggling? How do priests see the Church's efforts to curtail abuse and hold abusers accountable? **What is the state of the Catholic priesthood in the United States today?**

The present report addresses these questions by summarizing results from the largest national survey of Catholic priests conducted in more than 50 years. This work aims at measuring and genuinely understanding the experience of priests.

- **We surveyed 10,000 Catholic priests, of whom 3,516 respondents across 191 dioceses and eparchies completed our survey (36% valid-case response rate).**
- **We conducted in-depth interviews with more than 100 priests who participated in our survey.**
- **We also conducted a census survey of U.S. bishops, of whom 131 completed it (67% response rate).**

In this brief summary report, we highlight three key themes that emerge from our analysis: well-being, trust, and policy.*

*The present report is intended only as a summary of key highlights and not a comprehensive analysis of our data. We present descriptive statistics on indicators of well-being, trust, and attitudes towards policies. More rigorous statistical testing, in-depth qualitative data analysis, and peer review will be conducted over the coming months. Please note that the margin of error in reported statistics for all priests' surveys (1993, 2001, and 2022) is ± 2 percentage points and for the 2022 bishops' survey is ± 5 percentage points.

Well-being...and its threats

We measure priests' well-being using one of the most comprehensive quantitative measures available, the Harvard Flourishing Index.[5] This instrument is a series of ten questions, each measured on a scale from 0-10, covering key dimensions of well-being such as happiness and life satisfaction, mental and physical health, sense of meaning and purpose, character and virtue, and close social relationships.

Our data reveal an average score of 82 out of 100 for priests and 83 out of 100 for bishops. These averages are relatively high in comparison to the general population.[6] In fact, using the cutoff scoring recommended by the Harvard team, **a full 77% of priests and 81% of bishops can be categorized as "flourishing."** This finding is corroborated by other research on priests, which also finds high levels of well-being.[7]

> *I feel remarkably fulfilled in my life as a priest. I mean, just being able to minister to people, being able to love them. Being able to be Christ for them. It's just, it's such a beautiful life.*
>
> Diocesan priest

Priestly formation equips priests with regular practices to cultivate closeness with God and healthy relationships in their community. Such practices are important contributors to the well-being of priests. In this study and in others, results consistently support this expectation: despite the trials and stressors of their lives, U.S. priests enjoy higher-than-average levels of well-being. As one religious priest told us: *"I'm happy in my life. I find true joy. I love what I do. I love the people. I feel like I'm firing on all cylinders. I every day remind myself how I am incapable on my own power to do this. I say, 'God, this is your Church, you take care of it; where you need me, give me what I need. Don't let me get in the way.' ... What I do is meaningful and impactful."*

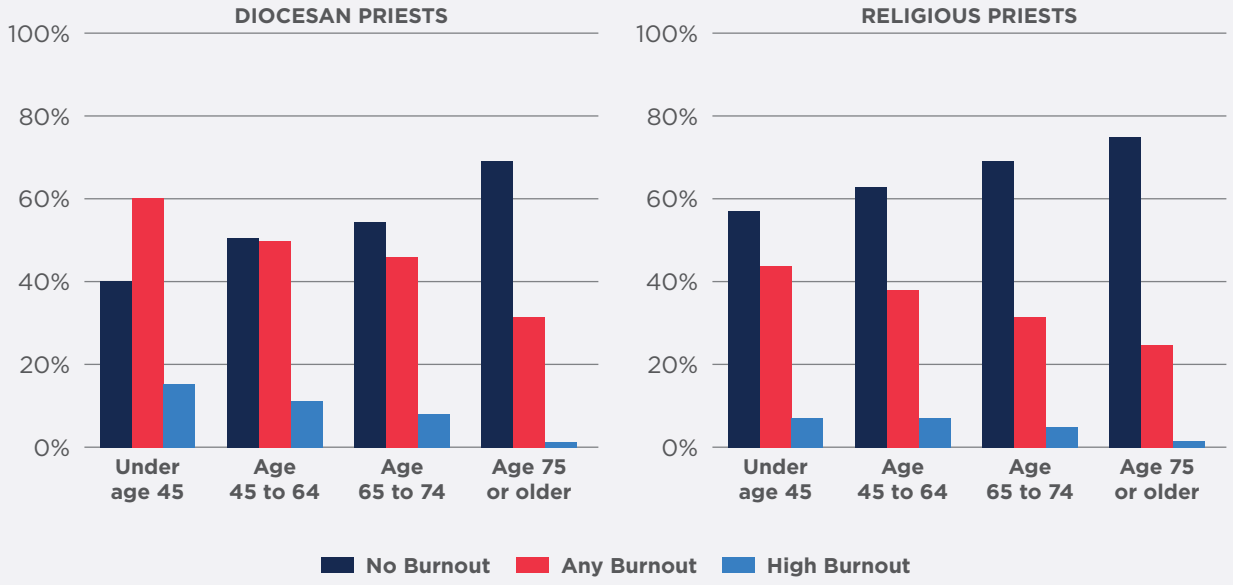
The sense of meaning and purpose that priests find in their vocation is a key contributor to their well-being. Only 4% of priests report that they are thinking of leaving the priesthood. However, possessing this sense of purpose does not mean that priests do not suffer, or that their well-being cannot be eroded. Among priests' very real professions of contentment and fulfillment in our interviews, we found ample evidence of their challenges and stresses. Some of these stressors contribute to burnout in priestly ministry.

Priestly burnout

We measured burnout in priests using three ministry burnout indicators, replicated from the Flourishing in Ministry study by Notre Dame psychologist Matt Bloom.[8] Our study finds that **45% of priests report at least one symptom of ministry burnout**, which is unevenly distributed between diocesan (50%) and religious (33%) priests, and only 9% exhibit severe burnout.

Age is also a significant factor: younger priests are significantly more likely than older priests to experience burnout (Figure 1). Gaining a better understanding of causes of burnout among younger priests is crucial for improving priestly formation and clergy retention.

Figure 1. Burnout among priests



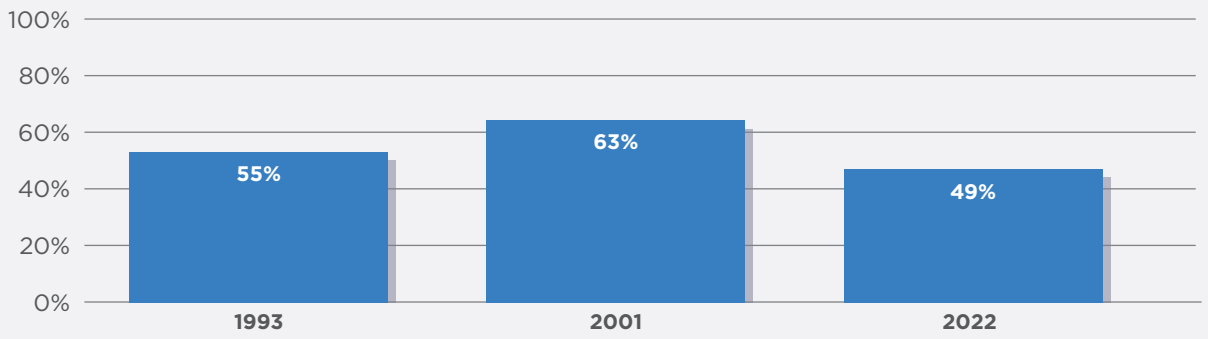
Note: Graph shows the proportion of priests who reported burnout in ministry (cynicism, feeling emotionally drained, or feeling worn out after ministry work). Indicators replicated from the Flourishing in Ministry survey (2018).

In this study, we assess various threats to priests' well-being and contributors to burnout. As it turns out, a major factor in priests' well-being is trust in one's own bishop. As one diocesan priest puts it: *"Not only is the diocese just looking at me … to fill a hole in a parish, just be a cog in a machine, but there's also like, I'm expendable on the level of PR. Like, if it's convenient, they will totally throw me under the bus."*

A crisis of trust

Trust is vital to relationships both personal and professional. For diocesan priests, who make promises of obedience to their bishop, trust in one's bishop is especially important. Priests' trust in their bishops, however, has declined significantly in the last two decades. On average, **49% of diocesan priests today express confidence in their bishop** (Figure 2); mean levels of trust vary considerably across dioceses.

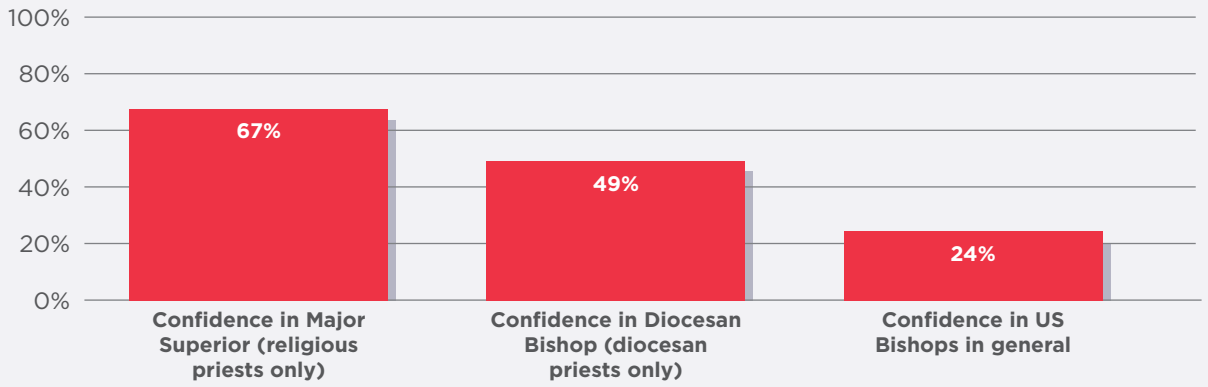
Figure 2. Trust in diocesan bishops over time



Note: Graph shows percentages of diocesan priests who expressed a "a great deal" or "quite a lot" when asked "How much confidence do you, yourself, have in the decision-making and leadership of your diocesan bishop?" The question was replicated in the Survey of American Catholic Priests (1993), Survey of American Catholic Priests (2001), and National Survey of Catholic Priests (2022).

Diocesan priests report significantly lower levels of trust in their bishops than religious priests do in their major superiors. Trust in the US bishops as a whole is low among priests overall, with **only 24% expressing confidence in the leadership and decision-making of the bishops** in general (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Priests' confidence in their leaders



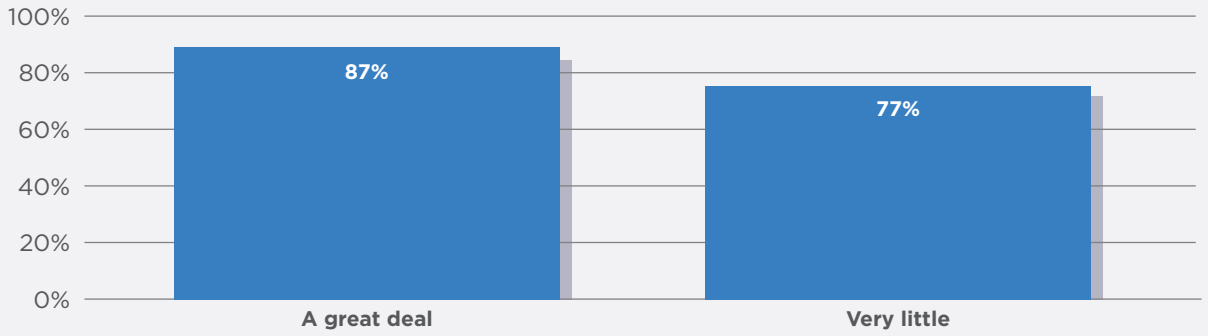
Note: Graph shows the percentages of priests who expressed a "a great deal" or "quite a lot" when asked "How much confidence do you, yourself, have in the decision-making and leadership of the superiors of your religious order/institute" (religious priests only), "... your diocesan bishop" (diocesan priests only) or "... of the US. Bishops in general" (all priests).

In the words of one diocesan priest we interviewed: *"I don't really trust most of the bishops, to be honest with you. I'll show them all a great amount of respect. And if I was in their diocese, I would really serve them and try. But just looking across the United States and looking across a lot of bishops … I would say I have an overall negative opinion of bishops in the United States … They're really not leaders or they're just kind of chameleons… looking to climb up the ladder."*

Prior research has shown that a low-trust organizational climate (i.e., an environment in which others in your organization express low trust in organizational leadership) negatively affects individuals within the organization, beyond the importance of one's own trust level.[9] For many priests, this is the current state of affairs in the Church.

> *"I think most priests don't trust 'The Bishops'. … They can seem imperious, you know, operating from hubris, you know, think they're above the law. … I do think there's some validity to those assertions."*
>
> Diocesan priest

Figure 4. Levels of flourishing by diocesan priests' trust in their bishop

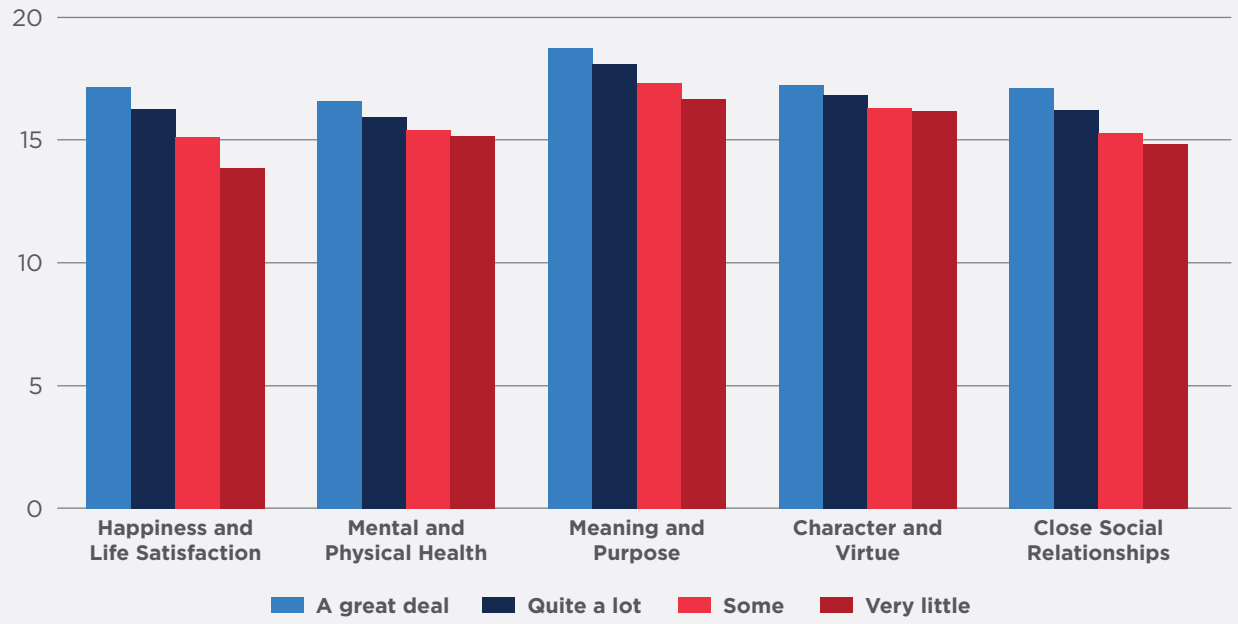


Note: Graph presents differences on the Harvard Flourishing Index (a 0-100 multi-dimensional measure of well-being including mental health, physical health, purpose, character, and social relationships) by extent of trust in one's bishop, among diocesan priests only.

Among priests who have little trust in their *own* bishops, the average level of well-being is significantly reduced. Essentially, **an erosion of trust between a priest and his bishop is associated with an 11.5% reduction in that priest's level of well-being** – a drop of more than 10 points on the Harvard Flourishing Index (Figure 4).

A trusting relationship with one's bishop is robustly associated with every dimension of priests' well-being. In Figure 5, the higher the bar, the better the priest is doing: priests who have greater trust in their bishops are doing far better than any others.

Figure 5. Domains of flourishing by diocesan priests' trust in their bishop

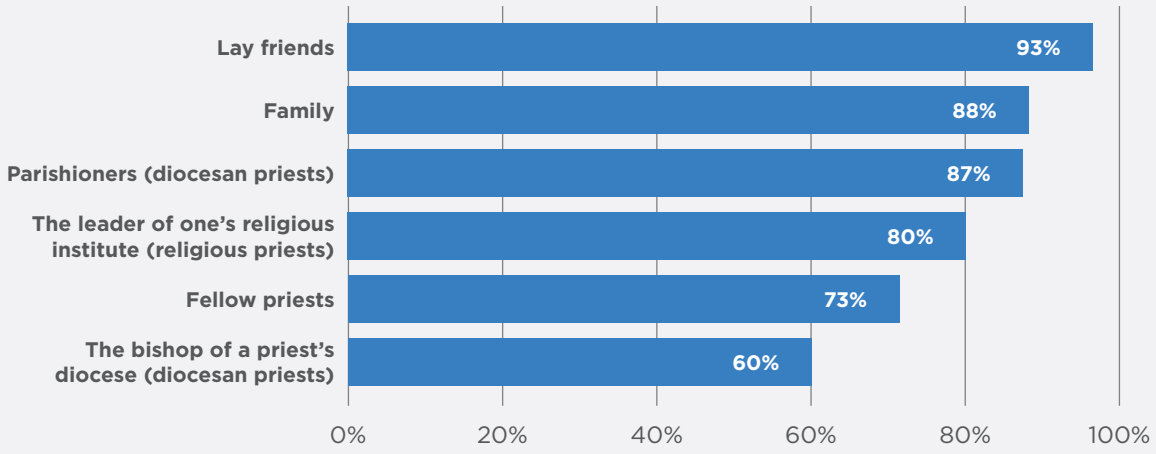


Note: Y-axis presents total score along each of the five dimensions of the Harvard Flourishing Index. X-axis presents diocesan priests' response to the question "How much confidence do you, yourself, have in the decision-making and leadership of your diocesan bishop?"

In need of shepherds

Every member of the Church needs to be able to turn to his or her spiritual support system when needed, and for the laity, this is often a priest. It would seem to make sense, then, for priests to seek support from their bishop; yet, priests, among their various sources of social support, rank their bishop the lowest (Figure 6).

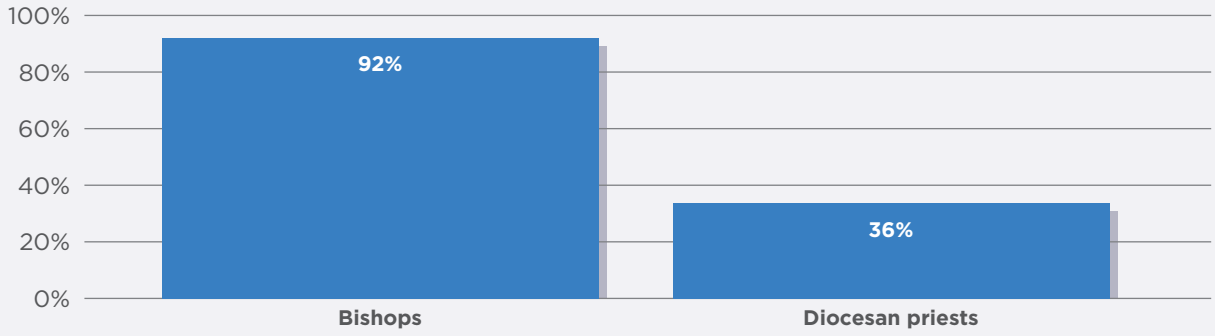
Figure 6. Priests' sources of social support



Note: Graph shows the percentages of priests who reported the sense of support from these sources as "strong" or "somewhat"

While more than 90% of bishops claimed that they would help a priest who approached them for help with personal struggles "very well," only 36% of diocesan priests said this of their bishop (Figure 7). As one diocesan priest told us: *"We've been saying for a decade now that bishops see their priests as liabilities. And we know it... We feel it, you know?"*

Figure 7. Differing perceptions of whether bishops would help priests with personal struggles



Note: Bishops were asked "How well would you help your priests with their personal struggles if they asked for help?"; Priests were asked "How well would your bishop help you with your personal struggles if you asked for help?" Graph reports percentages who responded, "Very well".

> *There is a morale problem in our archdiocese right now for the priests, for the people. I don't think they feel that there's a shepherd right now. I personally have no confidence in [my bishop]. I would no more call him about something than a stranger on the street.*
>
> Diocesan priest

In the midst of a crisis in the Church, support for priests is needed more than ever. Bishops themselves partially acknowledge the difficulty in being able to provide their priests with the level of support they would like to offer. Our survey of bishops shows that 52% of them agreed either "strongly" or "somewhat" with the statement "I am too busy to personally counsel and pastor all the priests of my Diocese," but 92% also "strongly" or "somewhat" agreed with the statement "I take great efforts to know each of my priests personally." However, many priests do not feel that their bishop is the father figure to them that they wish he were.

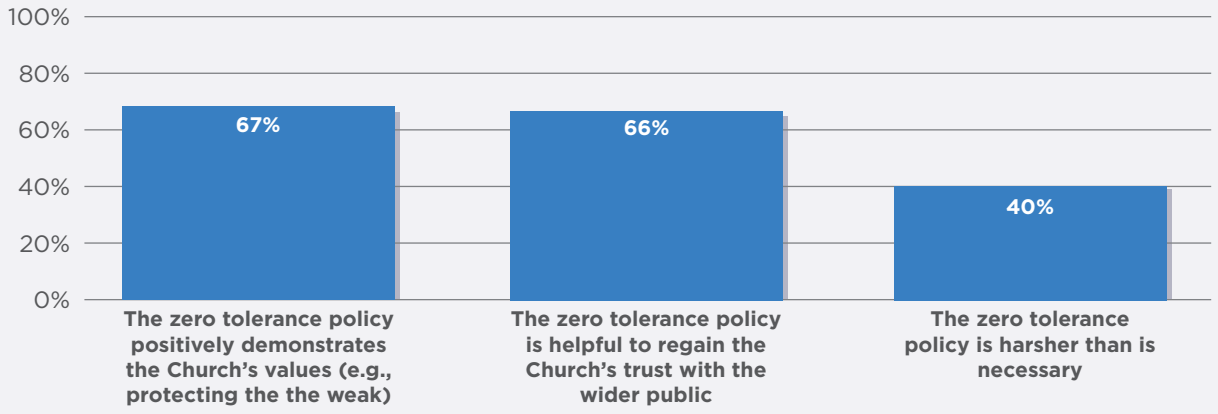
> *But instead of the bishop really being a father, he has just become like a slave driver and just an administrator who just wants to cover his own rear end and not really care about the priests.*
>
> Diocesan priest

At least some of this mistrust of bishops stems from priests' experiences of the application of policies created in the wake of the abuse crisis.

Living in a state of fear

When we asked priests about their opinions of the Dallas Charter and the zero tolerance policy, we found most of them to be supportive. Fully 90% of priests see their dioceses as having a strong culture of child safety and protection and nearly 70% of diocesan priests see the policy as positively demonstrating the Church's values and important for rebuilding trust with the wider public. Yet 40% of priests see the zero-tolerance policy as too harsh (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Priests' views on the zero-tolerance policy

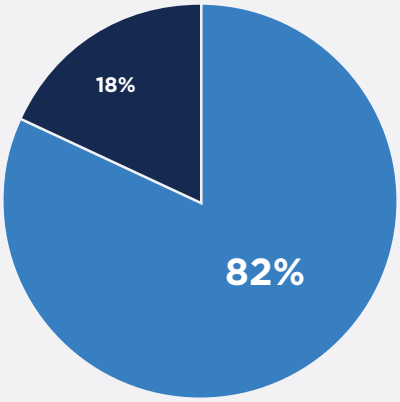


Note: Graph shows the percentages of diocesan priests who "strongly agree" or "agree" with each item

Nevertheless, many priests fear that in the present climate, it has become all too easy for someone to falsely accuse priests of abuse. A single allegation, even if proven false, can destroy a priest's reputation permanently. Notably, **82% of priests regularly fear being falsely accused of sexual abuse.** As one priest told us:

> *Living in constant fear of a life-ending accusation definitely puts a cloud over the priesthood. And honestly, I think most priests have that. Because the life-ending accusation doesn't have to be based in any reality. You know, it can just come out of somebody's three years of recovered memory, therapy, and have no ground in anything that ever really happened, but you're still doomed when it happens. And everybody knows that.*
>
> Diocesan priest

Figure 9. Priests' fear of false accusation of abuse



Priests who "strongly agree" or "agree" that they regularly fear being falsely accused of sexual abuse

Priests who either "strongly disagree," "disagree," or "neither agree nor disagree" with the statement

Note: Graph shows percentages of priests' responses to the statement "I regularly fear being falsely accused of sexual abuse."

Embedded in this worry, again, is priests' fear that they will not be supported by their dioceses or bishops should they be falsely accused.

> *Among the priests, there is this general sense, first, that the bishops don't have our backs.... There's this sense... that the bishops are against a priest who's been accused, rather than doing what the bishop must do but still supporting the priest.*
>
> Diocesan priest

Uncertainty about the process once an accusation is made against a priest, and the reliance on hearsay that this inevitably generates, further compounds this fear. Many priests told us in the interviews they did not have a clear understanding of the process in their diocese for how allegations against a priest would be handled.

> *We as priests have no idea what that process is inside that review board. And so there's a lot of mistrust about that... we don't know what standard we're going to be judged by.*
>
> Diocesan priest

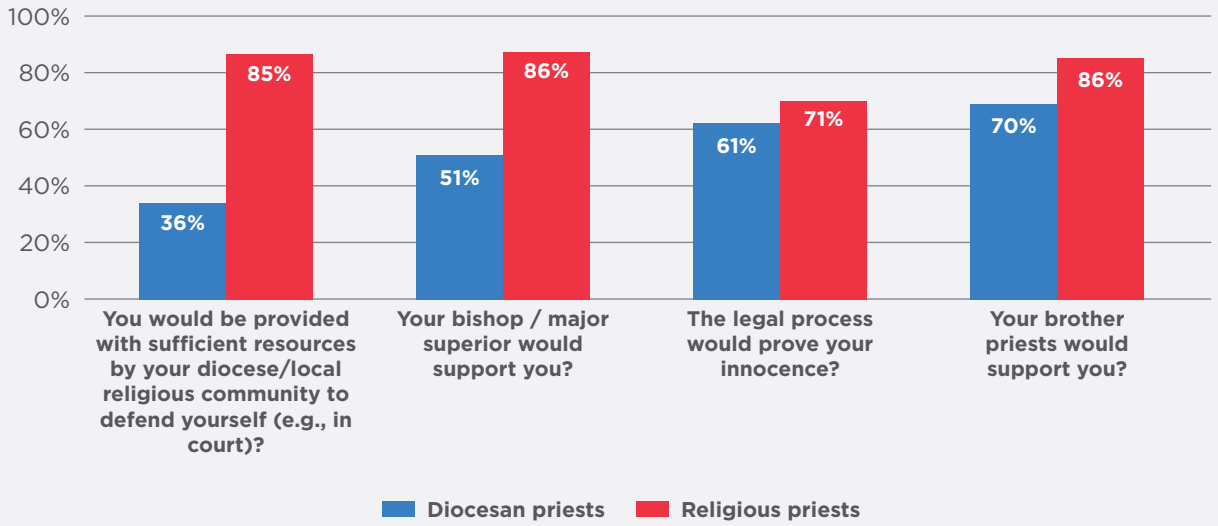
Many others, while expressing full support of zero tolerance for abuse of minors, expressed concerns that new procedures to combat the sexual abuse of "vulnerable persons" more broadly, coupled with a perceived absence of due process, amounted to a violation of justice. As one diocesan priest told us: *"I get zero tolerance for priests abusing children, okay. But we've got zero tolerance for priests doing anything wrong at this point."*

> *This concept of "vulnerable adults"... is so, so very broad just to be almost undefined.*
> Diocesan priest

> *Hard and fast rule of zero tolerance, like ... somewhere you're going to have to draw a line! ... Just saying any priest with any whiff of anything is gone, ... that just isn't just!*
> Religious priest

The fear of improper application of these policies in a circumstance of alleged abuse deeply worries the majority of priests. Many diocesan priests in particular fear they will not be adequately supported by their dioceses and bishops in the case of a false accusation (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Priests' expectations in case of false accusations of abuse



Note: Graph shows percentages of priests who reported being either "very confident" or "moderately confident" on each item

Diocesan priests fear being abandoned by their diocese and bishop should they find themselves falsely accused. Religious priests, in contrast, do not have a comparable sense of inevitable abandonment by their community.

> *You're persona non grata when something comes to light in terms of an accusation. I do believe that it should be... innocent until proven guilty. Lawyers will tell you this, if you have to go to see your bishop about something serious ... you come in with a lawyer. All of a sudden, it's adversarial, all of a sudden, you're in your corner and they're in their corner. I think that's what the Charter unleashed.... you are guilty until proven innocent in the Church.*
>
> Diocesan Priest

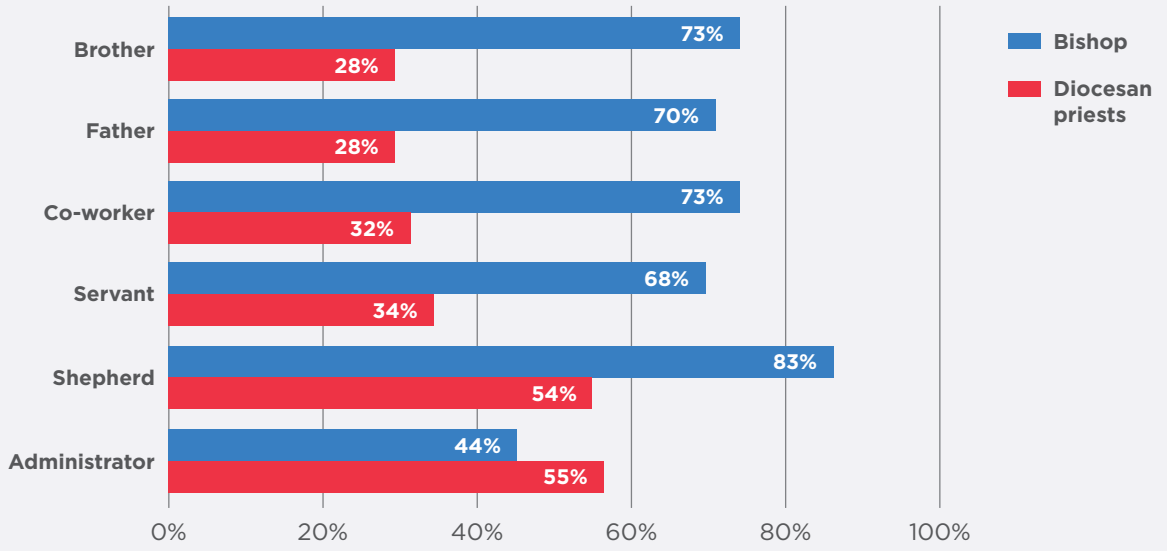
> *You can't throw these people out on the street. They're still part of your religious order. They can't function as a priest, but you still have to clothe them, house them, and feed them. So, there's all limitations placed on what they can do. You know, where they live, who they interact with, you know. Their ability to drive a car or you know, their permission to travel all that. So it's all restricted. You know, they're on a very tight leash.... we have a commitment to take care of them.*
>
> Religious Priest

Regrettably, many bishops seem somewhat unaware of the overall situation experienced by some of their priests; on average, bishops see themselves in a much more positive light than do the priests they shepherd.

A mismatch in perspective

The Rite of Ordination depicts bishops as shepherds, fathers, brothers, and co-workers in relation to their priests. In our study, we find that most bishops see themselves as shepherds in relation to their priests (83%), but only 54% of priests see their bishop as a shepherd. And **while the majority of bishops see themselves in familial relations to their priests – as brother (73%) and father (70%) – the percentage of priests who saw their bishops similarly was less than half that (28% and 28%, respectively).** And while 73% of bishops see themselves as a co-worker in relation to their priests, only 32% of priests see their bishop this way. Priests' and bishops' views thus differ considerably when it comes to characterizing the relationship they have with each other (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Images of the bishop held by bishops and priests



Note: Graph shows percentages of diocesan priests who selected each type for their bishop vs. bishops who saw themselves in that way.

Perhaps some bishops see themselves through rose-colored glasses. Or perhaps priests, in a beleaguered and prolonged state of stress and uncertainty, unfairly characterize their bishops through a lens of cynicism and fear. Or perhaps there is some truth to both perspectives. Indeed, many priests feel that the policies introduced since the Dallas Charter have depersonalized their relationship with their bishops; they see bishops more as CEOs, bureaucrats, and legalistic guardians of diocesan finances than as fathers and brothers. As one diocesan priest put it: *"Our Archbishop is a remote figure. Not at all personable. Not approachable. He appears to be a busy CEO and religious functionary."*

In a practical sense, determining which viewpoint accurately reflects reality is immaterial. To change the negative impact of these perceptions and to preserve and strengthen what is positive, reparation of trust, better communication, and a reinforced system of support are necessary.

Rebuilding trust: Priests' recommendations on how to move forward

When asked what steps need to be taken in order to improve priests' trust in their bishops and superiors, priests identified three main needs:

1. **Strengthening personal relationships as brother and father rather than employer. This includes, for instance, knowing priests' names; authentically engaging with priests in social events; and finding ways to relate to priests with humility and in non-bureaucratic ways:**
   - "The Bishop must first be a Spiritual Father to his priest and not just a CEO/ Administrator. He must find time to establish a personal rapport with his priests."
   - "I'm tired of bishops that act primarily as CEOs and not as shepherds of the Church and successors of the Apostles."
   - "Bishops need to be a father, and a brother to their priests. In another word they need to be a family and not a boss."
   - "Bishops need to know their clergy. They should spend time with them in social gatherings, or other informal ways, so that a relationship can be built between the Bishop and his priests."

2. **Priests expressed the need for more clear and open communication (by both bishops and major superiors) as well as transparency regarding planning and decision-making around matters such as finances and assignments. Priests also emphasized the need for transparency about the review process for allegations of abuse, ensuring due process, providing more clarity around allegations made against priests, and treating accused priests as innocent until proven guilty:**
   - "I believe we need more open and less structured communication."
   - "Greater transparency on the part of bishops and major superiors would help. Too many rely on lawyers and not the Spirit."
   - "Trust is a two-way street. When bishops begin to demonstrate that they trust priests, then priests might begin to feel like we can trust bishops."
   - "More transparency in decision making and more consultation with priests."
   - "[What's needed is] some sense of yes, we understand what you are dealing with in the trenches, and we are going to support you… [and] we are not an adversary in this process."
   - "Bishops need to take clear steps to ensure that a priest who is falsely accused can be afforded a presumption of innocence before guilt, and not be automatically presumed guilty by being immediately evicted from his rectory, his name publicized,

etc. Currently, I have no faith that my rights would be protected in a false allegation."

- "Increased communication about personal and pastoral matters with clergy would be helpful. Oftentimes priests communicate with their bishop when making a public visit to the parish or when curia members are unable to address an issue. Demonstrating interest in the priests and his ministry outside public events and prior to addressing administrative or personal issues would likely strengthen trust with many members of the clergy."

3. Finally, many priests also emphasized the need for accountability of bishops in order to rebuild trust with priests and the laity:

- "As pastors and parochial vicars, we have no recourse to offering fraternal correction to our superiors, so brother bishops need to work together in holding each other accountable."
- "Bishops should be held accountable just as priests are.... Also, they should be faithful to Catholic teaching which, sadly, many often are not."
- "Bishops need effective accountability measures. They are stewards of the diocese and its resources, not CEOs."
- "Bishops should be more accountable for mistakes they have made."
- "Superiors should be more accountable to their subjects. Like professors subject to evaluation by their students, superiors should be held accountable for the effectiveness of their leadership."
- "Bishops should have someone they are accountable to. There is no system of checks and balances with their authority."

Conclusion

Two decades after the implementation of the Dallas Charter, priests in the United States remain supportive of its core policies and confident in the Church's effectiveness at safeguarding the vulnerable. American Catholic priests continue to demonstrate that they are flourishing in their vocations. However, this good news is tempered by concerning indications of burnout among younger priests, a lack of confidence in existing due process protections for priests accused of misconduct, and a corresponding lack of trust in bishops who have come to be seen less as fathers and brothers than as administrators.

Strengthening due-process protections while maintaining the strong safeguarding measures currently in place, including zero-tolerance, is no easy task. Pursuing the Dallas Charter's goals of creating safe environments, providing healing and reconciliation and justice for victims of clerical sexual abuse, and holding abusers and enablers accountable ought not be seen as incompatible with affording support and due process for priests. Justice demands the Church protect the innocent, including innocent priests.

There is perhaps no more urgent pastoral challenge for bishops today than restoring trust in the wake of the abuse crisis. Finding ways to restore and strengthen the trust of their own priests is a huge part of that challenge, one with implications for all Catholics.

In completing this study, The Catholic Project hopes to contribute to a culture of support, accountability, and justice in the U.S. Church today.

Appendix: Methodology and Sample Demographics

1. National Survey of Catholic Priests

Sample Type. Conducted by Gallup from February 15-June 30, 2022, the quantitative component of our survey of priests—the largest survey of the U.S. priesthood in the last 50 years—drew on a large nationally representative sample of diocesan and religious priests in the United States. Such samples are stratified on key features to proportionally match those of the population, allowing for statistical generalizations (i.e., assume that percentages reported in the study data are comparable to those that would have been found had all individuals in the population had been surveyed).

Sampling Frame. The Official Catholic Directory—a commercially-available database of U.S. priests, the most comprehensive list of priests to date—served as sampling frame (the list researchers use to gather a probability sample) for this study. From 26,807 listed priests (minus 500 pilot study respondents), Gallup selected a random sample of 10,000, proportionally stratified by census region (4 categories) and size of diocese (4 categories).

Contact. A multi-stage contact procedure via personalized English-language letter and/or personalized email correspondence procedure resulted in 3,794 responses. After excluding 278 (duplication, failure to indicate consent, <50% completed, and/or respondent had moved outside the United States) final N was 3,516 responses, for a valid-case response rate of 36%.

The obtained sample was weighted to adjust for selection probability, nonresponse bias, and eligibility status by strata (i.e., correction adjustments made such that analyses using the obtained sample would be representative of the population of U.S. priests on the basis of region and diocesan size). All data were de-identified to protect respondents' privacy.

Margin of Error and Sampling Error. Final sampling error margin accounting for design effects and after data weighting is ± 2 percentage points at the 95% confidence level (i.e., presented results are expected to represent those present in the population, give or take 2 percentage points from the reported value). Note, however, that question wording and other practical factors of conducting human subjects research can introduce bias or error into the findings of public opinion polls; as with all reported statistics, these are based on probability and should not be considered as unchanging fact.

Qualitative Data: Reported quotes represent shared viewpoints and originate from in-depth interviews conducted with a sample of more than 100 United States priests. Qualitative data collection was managed by Dr. Tricia Bruce of the University of Notre Dame.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, National Study of Catholic Priests (2022)

Diocesan priest	66%
Religious priest	34%
Current age	
Under age 45	22%
Age 45 to 64	39%
Age 65 to 74	23%
Age 75 or older	17%
Year ordained	
Before 1980	25%
1980-1999	34%
2000 or later	41%
Race/ethnicity	
White	76%
Hispanic	10%
Asian	8%
Black or African American	5%
American Indian or Alaska Native	1%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	1%
Foreign-born	24%
Census region	
Northeast	29%
Midwest	29%
South	25%
West	18%
Diocese size	
Small (100 or fewer)	23%
Medium (101-200)	27%
Large (201-500)	28%
Very large (501+)	21%
Theological orientation	
Very progressive	7%
Somewhat progressive	21%
Middle-of-the-road	31%
Conservative/orthodox	35%
Very conservative/orthodox	6%
Political orientation	
Very liberal	5%
Somewhat liberal	19%
Moderate	37%
Conservative	33%
Very conservative	5%

The descriptive statistics have been survey weighted. N = 3,516

2. National Survey of U.S. Catholic Bishops

Data collection for the census survey of United States bishops was conducted by the Center for Applied Research in Apostolate (CARA), a non-profit research center conducting social scientific research concerning the Catholic Church since 1964. The survey, administered via paper and online, was created in partnership between CARA and The Catholic University of America (CUA); data were gathered between October 2021 and February 2022. Bishops were contacted via paper mail with a personalized cover letter inviting participation and enclosing the survey; two follow-ups occurred for any non-respondents. Final N was 131 respondents (response rate of 67%). Assuming random distribution (note: data were gathered anonymously), margin of error stands at 5.1%.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics, Survey of US Catholic Bishops (2022)

Current age	
<60	21%
60-64	22%
65-69	22%
70-74	27%
75 or more	8%

Year ordained into episcopacy	
<2000	18%
2000-2004	18%
2005-2009	12%
2010-2014	27%
2015-2019	17%
2020+	8%

Race/Ethnicity	
African / African-American / black	2%
Asian / Pacific Islander / Native Hawaiian	1%
Caucasian / European American / white	89%
Hispanic / Latino	5%
Other	3%
Foreign-born	9%

Current position	
Archbishop with (an) auxiliary bishop(s)	13%
Archbishop without an auxiliary bishop	7%
Bishop with (an) auxiliary bishop(s)	3%
Bishop without an auxiliary bishop	76%

Theological orientation	
Very progressive	0%
Moderately progressive	17%
Moderate	39%
Moderately traditional	37%
Very traditional	6%

N = 131

Notes

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3. Pope Francis, *"Vos Estis Lux Mundi,"* 2019. https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2019/05/09/0390/00804.html#EN ; MPR News, "Crookston Bishop Hoeppner resigns after Vatican probe into cover-up," April 13,2021. https://www.mprnews.org/story/2021/04/13/crookston-bishop-hoeppner-resigns-after-vatican-probe-into-coverup
4. See Pennsylvania Attorney General. "Report I of the 40th Statewide Investigating Grand Jury."Report I of the 40th Statewide Investigating Grand Jury" (2018). https://www.attorneygeneral.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/A-Report-of-the-Fortieth-Statewide-Investigating-Grand-Jury_Cleland-Redactions-8-12-08_Redacted.pdf ; see also https://www.vatican.va/resources/resources_rapporto-card-mccarrick_20201110_en.pdf
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8. See https://wellbeing.nd.edu/flourishing-in-ministry/
9. See, for instance: Jiang, Lixin, and Tahira M. Probst. "Do your employees (collectively) trust you? The importance of trust climate beyond individual trust." Scandinavian Journal of Management 31, no. 4 (2015): 526-535. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2015.09.003

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