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INTRODUCTION

Timeliness

Social research (by the Institute of Socio-Political Research under the Russian Academy of Sciences, the All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center, the Public Opinion Foundation, the Levada-Center, etc.) has shown that there is a significant gap between those who self-identify as Orthodox Christians (60–80%, according to different surveys) and those who are actually practicing (churched¹) Orthodox Christians (according to different estimations, 3–15% of the population regularly attend services, confess, and take Communion²).

In cases where research includes supplementary questions that make it possible to monitor how religion influences other spheres, the result is likely to be negative: religion has almost no evident influence.³ Current research methods are inadequate for detecting any links between a considerable growth in one's religious self-identity and an increase in the significance of religion in the social sphere.

Russian religious research has developed a tendency to cite sociocultural and ethnic factors as explanations for the growth in religious self-identity. A number of authors flatly refuse to see the modern state of religion as a renaissance (establishing a religious system of values) or a mass religious culture formation.⁴

Certain authors directly link the current religious situation in Russia with the inability of the Church to perform adequately in modern conditions. It is

¹ See the terms in *Appendix 1*.

² See Figure 1 in *Appendix 5*.

³ E. V. Prutskova, "Sviaz' religioznosti i tsnnostno-normativnykh pokazatelei: faktor religioznoi sotsializatsii," [The connection of religiosity with value-normative indicators: The factor of religious socialization], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series I: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (59) (2015): 62–80.

⁴ N. A. Zorkaya, "Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve," [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65; B. Dubin, "Massovaya religioznaya kultura v Rossii (tendentsii i itogi 90-kh gg.)," [Mass religious culture in Russia (trends and results of the 1990s)], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 3 (2004): 35–44; L. Gudkov, "Obshchestvo s ogranichennoi otvetstvennost'yu," [Society with limited liability], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 1 (2008): 8–32.

important to note that such authors indicate the central agent responsible for the current situation as the priest, along with the way he is represented in mass media.

From this perspective, it is most important to study how the clergy influences the formation of religiosity, and to try to somehow correlate this influence with existing theories and practical studies of religiosity.

To discuss the presence or absence of the social effects of religiosity in modern Russian society, we have to use alternative approaches, taking into account specific methods for measuring Orthodox religiosity in the Russian context, as well as a series of reasons limiting or contributing to the involvement of believers in religious practice, and then to demonstrate the social effects of this religiosity.

Making the priest the principal agent of church life, responsible for the correction of non-involving religiosity (see the definition in *Appendix 1*) in modern Russia, motivates us to analyze and evaluate his influence. On the one hand, this analysis demands specific sociological methods to determine the scale of the problem, as well as the mechanism for the cause of religious non-involved religiosity. On the other hand, a theological evaluation of the influence mechanism is necessary to overcome the current situation.

Development of the Issue

The notion of religiosity has become a significant element in forming the hypotheses and theories of scholars in the contemporary study of religion. The need to redefine and develop a new toolkit and new approaches to operationalize the notion of religiosity emerges regularly. The multidimensional approach is one of the most frequently used.⁵ Written works touching upon the multidimensional

⁵ C. Y. Glock, "On the Study of Religious Commitment," *Religious Education* 57(4) (1962): 98–110; C. Y. Glock and R. Stark, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); J. Faulkner and G. DeJong, "The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: An Empirical Analysis," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 12 (2011): 69–77; O. Yu. Breskaya, "Izuchenie religioznosti: k neobkhodimosti integralnogo podkhoda," [Studying religiosity: Revisiting the necessity of integral approach], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 12 (2011): 77–87.

approach to operationalize religiosity in quantitative religious studies⁶ attempt to single out special features of religiosity and to select appropriate indicators for analysis. E. D. Rutkevich⁷ dwelt upon an understanding religiosity and religion as an interaction based on a “new paradigm.” E. V. Prutskova pointed out the difficulties in determining the notion of group religiosity.⁸

It is important to note that in religious studies the notion of religiosity can vary a lot depending on the purpose of the research, the theories it is based on, or the empirical material. Either way, the notion of individual religiosity turns out to be connected with the determining axes that describe private displays of religiosity, or so-called “functional religiosity.” Those axes are: faith; practices and rituals; and knowledge.⁹ Due to this polysemy, the notion of religiosity in this research must be considerably specified and limited.

The clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and its influence on the formation of religiosity in Russia, were first studied in 1860s, during the period of the “Great reforms,” when the first work dedicated to the problem of the clergy’s financial standing¹⁰ were published. S. Rimsky’s monograph, *The Russian Church*

⁶ P. C. Hill and R. W. Hood, *Measures of Religiosity* (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1999); Yu. Yu. Sinelina, “Kontseptsii sekularizatsii v sotsiologicheskoi teorii,” [Concepts of secularization in sociological theory] (Moscow: ISPI RAN, 2009); E. V. Prutskova, “Operatsionalizatsia ponyatiya ‘religioznost’ v empiricheskikh issledovaniyakh,” [The operationalization of the notion of “religiosity” in empirical studies], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 2 (2012): 268–293; E. V. Prutskova, “Religioznost’ i ee sledstviya v tsennostno-normativnoj sfere,” [Religiosity and its consequences in the value-normative sphere], *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 2 (2013): 72–88; K. S. Divisenko, “Tsnym putem i v nuzhnom napravlenii: problema vyavleniya silnoj grupy pravoslavnykh veruyushchikh,” [On a narrow road to the right direction: The problem of identifying a strong group of Orthodox believers], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2016): 128–138; S. V. Ryzhova, “Osobennosti izucheniya religioznoj identichnosti rossiyan,” [Specific aspects of studying the religious identity of Russians], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2016): 118–127.

⁷ E. D. Rutkevich, “Religiya v globalnom prostranstve: podkhody, opredeleniya, problem zapadnoj sotsiologii,” [Religion in the global space: Approaches, definitions and problems of Western sociology], *Vestnik Instituta sotsiologii* 20 (2017): 131–161.

⁸ E. V. Prutskova, “Operatsionalizatsiya ponyatiya ‘religioznost’ v empiricheskikh issledovaniyakh,” [The operationalization of the notion of “religiosity” in empirical studies], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 2 (2012): 269.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 292.

¹⁰ Classic research on the history of clergy from that period is presented in the research by P.V. Znamenskij, Professor of the Kazan Theological Academy: P. V. Znamenskij, *Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo na Rusi. Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo v Rossii so vremen reform Petra*, [Parish clergy in Medieval Russia. Parish clergy in Russia after the reforms of Peter the Great] (Saint Petersburg, 2003). This study remain the most comprehensive and systematic view on the history of parish clergy in Russia, including such problems as the clergy’s financial standing, the priest’s position in his parish, the appointment and relationship with the landowner were important. These issues are considered in a book by P. S. Stefanovich, *Prihod i prihodskoe dukhovenstvo d Rossii v XVI–XVII vekax*, [Parish and parish clergy in Russia in the 16th–17th centuries] (Moscow, 2002). For more information on research history of Russian parish clergy, see Yu. I. Belonogova, *Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo i krest’yanskiy mir v nachale XX veka*, [Parish clergy and peasant world in the early 20th century] (Moscow, 2010), 6–12.

*during the Reforms*¹¹ is dedicated to the church reforms of 1860s. We should also note a large corpus of work on the problems of the parish, which were published regularly in the early twentieth century, considering the prospective discussion of parish problems at the local council of 1917–1918.¹² The role of clergy changed crucially in 1903–1918, when it became a person’s free-will choice whether or not to identify with the prevailing denomination of the Russian Empire, although before this time, a person’s voluntary separation from the Church had been a criminal offence. It further changed in the USSR, when affiliation with Orthodoxy became a “deviant” identity that was perceived by the authorities in a hostile way.

The pre-revolutionary clergy can also be studied from the point of view of statistics. The annual “Most humble report of the Chief Procurator of the Synod on the department of the Orthodox denomination”¹³ gives exhaustive data on birth and mortality rates, marriages contracted, the total number of the Orthodox population, and the number of cathedrals and chapels. It also summarizes the public work of the Church, describes the moral state of the country, formulates the main issues that the Church faces, and provides data on the activity and the state of educational institutions of the Orthodox Church and on canonization of

¹¹ S. V. Rimskij, *Rossijskaya Tserkov’ v epokhu velikikh reform (1869–1870 gg.)*, [The Russian Church during the great reforms (1869–1870 gg.)] (Moscow, 1999). See also A. V. Prokofiev, “Prihodskaya reforma v tsarstvovanie Aleksandra II,” [The parish reform under Alexander II], in *Ezhegodnaya bogoslovskaya konferentsiya PSTBI. 1–3 fevralya 1999 g.: Materialy* (Moscow, 1999), 100–107.

¹² A. A. Papkov, *Drevnerusskij prihod: ocherk tserkovno-prihodskoj zhizni v vostochnoj Rossii do XVIII veka i v zapadnoi Rossii do XVII veka*, [The parish in the Old Rus’: Essay on the church-parish life in Eastern Russia prior to the 18th century and in the Western Russia prior to the 17th century] (Sergiev Posad, 1897); Idem., *Upadok pravoslavnogo prihoda (XVIII–XIX vv.): Istoricheskaya spravka*, [Decline of Orthodox parishes (18th–19th centuries): Historical reference] (Moscow, 1899); Idem., *Nachalo vozrozhdeniya tserkovno-prihodskoj zhizni v Rossii*, [Beginning of restoration of parish church life in Russia] (Moscow, 1900); Idem., *Neobkhodimost’ obnovleniya pravoslavnogo tserkovno-prihodskogo stroya*, [The need to renew the Orthodox parish order] (Saint Petersburg, 1903); L. A. Tikhomirov, “Sovremennoe polozhenie prihodskogo voprosa,” [The current state of the parish issue], in Idem., *Apologiya very i monarkhii*, [Apology of faith and autocracy] (Moscow, 1999), 394–395; N. A. Zozerskij, *Chto est pravoslavnyj prihod i chem on dolzhen byt’*, [What is an Orthodox parish and what it should be like] (Sergiev Posad, 1912); Idem., “Zamechaniya k projektu pravoslavnogo prihodskogo upravleniya (Po povodu broshyury: Papkov A. A. Neobkhodimost’ obnovleniya pravoslavnogo tserkovno-obshchestvennogo stroya,” [Remarks to the project of the Orthodox parish management: concerning the book by A. A. Papkov, *The need to renew the Orthodox parish order*], *Bogoslovskiy Vestnik* 3 (10) (St. Petersburg, 1902): 200–216; N. D. Kuznetsov, *Tserkov’, dukhovenstvo i obshchestvo*, [Church, clergy, and society] (Moscow, 1905); Idem., *Preobrazovaniya v Russkoj Tserkvi: Rassmotrenie voprosa po ofitsialnym dokumentam i v svyazi s potrebnostyami zhizni*, [Reforms in the Russian Church: Consideration of official documents and the everyday needs] (Moscow, 1906); Idem., “Doklad 4-mu otdelu Predsobornogo Prisutstviya po voprosu o prihode,” [Report to the Forth Department of the Pre-Council Commission on the parish issue], in *Zhurnaly i protokoly zasedaniy Vysochajshje uchrezhdenного Predsobornogo Prisutstviya*, vol. 4 (Saint Petersburg, 1906–1907), 105–115.

¹³ *Vsepoddanneysnij otchet ober-prokurora Sv. Sinoda po vedomstvu Pravoslavnogo ispovedaniya*, [Most humble report of the Chief Procurator of the Synod at the Department of Orthodox denomination] (Saint Petersburg, 1905–1916).

new saints. The “Short statistical overview of the conditions of religious outreach activity of the Russian Orthodox Church under the new structure of Russia and in the context of the Church separated from the state”¹⁴ provides us with a short overview of the state in which the Russian Church entered the new era in 1918.

The research of the Soviet period was able to touch upon the parish and the parish clergy problems only in the interests of the actual social structure. In the 1990s, the issue of the clergy emerged in connection to the religiosity of the peasantry and was studied from the point of view of culture and lifestyle prevalent in the Russian village.¹⁵

Recently, the late twentieth and the early twenty first century have seen works appear, which attempt to study the clergy from various points of view and research positions.¹⁶ Works dedicated to the systematic research of the history of the clergy of a certain region have also appeared. For instance, Y. Belonogova’s work focuses on the issues of education, provision, the moral and religious situation, and relations of rural clergy with their parishioners in the early twentieth century,¹⁷ and is based on the data provided by the Moscow Diocese.

¹⁴ Yu. L. Orekhanov, A. V. Posternak, and T. V. Terent’eva, “Kratkij statisticheskiy obzor usloviy religiozno-prosvetitel'skoy deyatelnosti Rossiyskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi pri izmenivshemsya ustrojstve Rossii i po otdelenii Tserkvi ot gosudarstva,” [Short statistical overview of the conditions of religious outreach activities by the Russian Orthodox Church under Russia’s new order and in the context of the separation of Church and State], *Bogoslovskij Sbornik* 1 (Moscow, 1991): 195–235.

¹⁵ O. G. Bukhovets, “Sotsialnye konflikty i krestyanskaya mentalnost v Rossiyskoy imperii nachala XX veka: Novye materialy, metody, rezultaty,” [Social conflicts and peasant mentality in the early 20th century Russian Empire: New evidence, methods, and results] (Moscow, 1996); Idem., “Mentalitet i agrarnoe razvitie Rossii (XIX–XX vv.): Materialy mezhdunarodnoj konferentsii,” [Mentality and agricultural development in Russia (19th–20th century): Materials of International conference] (Moscow, 1996); N. A. Minenko, “Russkoe naselenie Urala i Zapadnoj Sibiri i Pravoslavnaya Tserkov' (XVII–XIX vv.),” [Russian population of Urals and Western Siberia, and the Orthodox Church (17th–19th centuries)] in *Religiya i tserkov' v Sibiri: Sbornik nauchnykh statej i dokumentalnykh materialov*, [Religion and Church in Siberia: Collection of articles and documents] (Tyumen, 1995); N. A. Minenko and V. V. Rabtsevich, *Lyubov i sem'ya u krest'yan v starinu: Ural i Sibir v XVII–XIX vekakh*, [Love and family among the peasants in the past: Urals and Western Siberia in the 17th–19th centuries] (Chelyabinsk, 1997).

¹⁶ *Pravoslavnaya zhizn russkikh krestyan XIX–XX vekov: Itogi etnograficheskikh issledovanij*, [Orthodox life of Russian peasants in the 19th–20th centuries: The results of ethnographic research] (Moscow, 2001); *Pravoslavnaya vera i traditsii blagochestiya u russkikh v vekakh: Etnograficheskie issledovaniya i materialy*, [Orthodox faith and devotional traditions of the Russians in the centuries: Ethnographic research and materials] (Moscow, 2002); A. N. Rozov, *Svyashchennik v dukhovnoj zhizni russkoj derevni*, [The priest in the spiritual life of the Russian village] (Saint Petersburg, 2003).

¹⁷ Yu. I. Belonogova, “Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo i krest'yanskij mir v nachale XX veka,” [Parish clergy and peasant world in the early 20th century] (Moscow, 2010).

Finally, a small number of works have started to appear, which examine the history of the parish clergy in the Soviet times.¹⁸

Lately, we have seen publications devoted to modern parishes and parish communities. The role of the priest inevitably comes up in this literature, as well as the questions about his influence on the formation of certain religious practices.¹⁹

Contemporary Western Social Sciences comprise a large number of works dedicated to the study of the priest. A. Zueva's work²⁰ systematically sets out to describe all of the English-language research discourse about the priest, using the Web of Science, and presents a detailed thematisation of 24 conceptual blocks.²¹

In the thematisation offered by A. Zueva, only two of the blocks are related directly to the topic of this dissertation research. One is called "the function of the priest" and includes articles where different roles of the priest²² are studied, as well as issues dealing with their interaction and conflicts²³; the priorities of clerical service²⁴; and cooperation and competition among representatives of other

¹⁸ See, for example, B. A. Ershov, "Pastyrskoe sluzhenie Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi v period Velikoj Otechestvennoj Vojny 1941–1945 gg." [Pastoral service of the Russian Orthodox Church during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945], *Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 2 (2015): 31–37.

¹⁹ Eds. A. Agadzhanian and K. Russele, *Prikhod i obshchina v sovremennom Pravoslavii*, [Parish and community in the contemporary Orthodoxy], (Moscow: Ves' mir, 2011); eds. A. Agadzhanian and K. Russele, *Religioznye praktiki v sovremennoj Rossii*, [Religious practices in the contemporary Russia] (Moscow, 2006); A. L. Beglov, "'Obshchina, uchrezhdenie, bratstvo...' Poisk identichnosti pravoslavnogo prikhoda v proektakh i diskussiyakh kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka," ["Community, institute, brotherhood'. Identity search of an Orthodox parish in projects and discussions of the late 19th–early 20th century], *Lodka* 2 (2016): 140–153; P. V. Vrublevskaia, "Issleduya obshchinu v malom gorode: rol' svyashchennika i drugie aspekty pravoslavnoj obshchinnosti," [Studying a community in a small town: The role of the priest and other aspects of Orthodox community], *Laboratorium* 7 (2015): 129–144; D. A. Oreshina, "'Partnyorskij prihod': sotrudnichestvo svyashchennosluzhitelej i miryan kak faktor razvitiya sotsial'noj deyatel'nosti v sovremennykh prikhodakh Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi." ["Partners' parish": The collaboration of the clergy and the lay people as a development factor of social work in contemporary parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series I: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 5 (67) (2013): 99–120; I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, "Faktory formirovaniya obshchiny na osnove prikhoda pravoslavnogo khrama v nachale XXI veka. Po dannym oprosa svyashchennosluzhitelej, sotsialnykh rabotnikov i aktivnykh prikhozhan khramov g. Moskvy," [Community formation factors on the basis of an Orthodox church parish in the early 21st century based on the survey of priests, social workers and active parishioners of Moscow churches], *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, Series 18: Sotsiologia i politologia* 1 (2013): 115–125.

²⁰ A. Zueva, "Sovremennye issledovaniya svyashchennika: obzor osnovnykh napravlenij," [Modern studies of the priest: An overview of major concepts] *Materialy seminara "Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti"* 1 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016).

²¹ See *Appendix 2*.

²² For the definition, see *Appendix 1*.

²³ W. W. Burchard, "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains," *American Sociological Review* 19 (5) (1954): 528–535.

²⁴ J. L. Francis and R. Rodger, "The Influence of the Personality on Clergy Role Prioritization, Role Influences, Conflict and Dissatisfaction with Ministry," *Personality and Individual Differences* 16 (6) (1994): 947–957.

professions.²⁵ The author of the conspectus suggests a rather counterintuitive premise: “In the view of scholars, today’s priest can perform many ‘roles’ while at the same time remaining a priest (though we haven’t found any indications as to what essentially makes the priest a priest, and not someone else).”²⁶ The issue of the multiplicity of the priest’s roles has not only been explored in English-language scholarship. It had been respresented in pre-revolutionary discussions on theological education,²⁷ and it has also been preserved in current discussions on the curriculum and principles of a modern Russian priest’s formation.²⁸ An identity crisis, originating in the multiplicity and conflict of the priest’s roles, becomes an important component of the priesthood crisis that has been dominating the discourse about the priesthood since the late twentieth century.²⁹ From the point of view of this research, it is important that these studies do not consider the issue of the priest’s roles and functions through the lens of an interaction between priest and believer.

The second block in A. Zueva’s thematisation that has great importance in terms of logical coherence is called “changes in the priesthood” and comprises only seven of 453 articles of the WoS most citable ones that were studied by the

²⁵ For example, E. Cumming and Ch. Harrington, “Clergyman as Counselor,” *American Journal of Sociology* 69 (3) (1963): 234–243.

²⁶ A. Zueva, “Sovremennye issledovaniya svyashchennika: obzor osnovnykh napravlenij,” [Modern studies of the priest: An overview of major concepts], in *Materialy seminarov “Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti”* 1 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016): 7.

²⁷ N. Yu. Sukhova, “Bogoslovskoe obrazovanie v Rossii v nachale XX v. – polemika, analiz, sintez,” [Theological education in the early 20th century Russia – polemics, analysis, synthesis], in Eadem., *Vertograd nauk dukhovnyj*, [Theological garden of sciences] (Moscow, 2007): 99–142; N. Emelyanov, “Bogoslovie v sisteme nauchnogo znaniya (po materialam diskussii o vysshem dukhovnom obrazovanii v 1905–1906 gg.), [Theology in the system of scholarly knowledge (based on the discussion concerning the higher spiritual education in 1905–1906)], *Vestnik PSTGU, Series 2: Istorija. Istorija Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi* 2 (45) (2012): 7–19.

²⁸ E. M. Morozov, “Kontsept professionalizma v sluzhenii sovremennogo pravoslavnogo svyashchennika,” [The concept of professionalism in the ministerial duty of a modern Orthodox priest], *Monitoring obshchestvennogo mneniya: ekonomicheskie i sotsialnye peremeny* 4 (134) (2016): 167–182.

²⁹ A. I. Chernyj, “Ponyatie ‘krizisa svyashchenstva’ u germanoyazychnykh teologov XX veka,” [Notion of the “clergy crisis” in the works of German-language theologians of the 20th century], *Vestnik PSTGU, Series 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya. Religiovedenie* 6 (68) (2016): 112–127; Z. S. Tyurina, “Katolicheskij svyashchennik i krizis: vzglyad na problemy sovremennogo svyashchenstva v Italii,” [The Catholic priest and crisis: a view on the modern Italian clergy problems], *Materialy seminarov “Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti”* 3 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016), S. A. Vorontsov, “Obrazy ‘krizisa svyashchenstva’ v bogoslovskoj literature na ispanskom yazyke,” [Images of the “clergy crisis” in Spanish-language theological literature], *Materialy seminarov “Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti”* 2 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016).

author.³⁰ Articles and monographs on the quantity of priests³¹ raise the issue of how the clergy population influences the formation of religiosity that we are interested in.

The second half of the twentieth century initiated large-scale studies of the clergy³² that, in Hoge's opinion, remain unmatched.³³ At the same time, many Catholic scientific centers appeared that have been doing research at the intersection of sociology and theology on the clergy population. Pastoral sociology has been formed as a strong research area, and centers of pastoral planning have been created which would continue to develop until the financial crisis of the American Catholic Church connected to the scandals of 2006.³⁴

However, the USA has not seen a curtailment of staff among Protestant clergy, apart from the conservative Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod where women cannot be ordained.³⁵ On the contrary, the US Protestant Churches face the problem of a surplus of pastors, the inability to maintain them, as well as the problem of small rural parishes.³⁶

The Church of England has also experienced a diminishment in the clergy. In 1963, reverend A. Miskin published an outstanding work dedicated to this topic.³⁷ Since its publication in a hard-to-get journal, it neither received the feedback it deserved, nor gained popularity. References to this study, should they appear, were given after a more recent work of the author's colleague L. Paul³⁸ who was

³⁰ A. Zueva, "Sovremennye issledovaniya svyashchennika: obzor osnovnykh napravlenij," [Modern studies of the priest: an overview of major concepts], in *Materialy seminara "Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti"* 1 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016): 5.

³¹ For example, R. A. Schoenherr and A. Sorensen, "Social Change in Religious Organizations: Consequences of Clergy Decline in the U.S. Catholic Church," *Sociological Analysis* 43 (1) (1982): 23–52.

³² A. M. Greeley, *The Catholic Priest in the U.S.: Sociological Investigations* (Washington, D.C.: Publications Office, United States Catholic Conference, 1972); E. C. Kennedy and V. J. Heckler, *The Catholic Priest in the U.S.: Psychological Investigations* (Washington, D.C.: Publications Office, United States Catholic Conference, 1972).

³³ D. R. Hoge, "The Sociology of the Clergy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. P. B. Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 586.

³⁴ See, for example, B. T. Froehle, "Research on Catholic Priests in the United States since the Council: Modeling the Dialogue between Theology and Social Science," *United States Catholic Historian* 29 (4) (2011): 19–46.

³⁵ D. R. Hoge, "The Sociology of the Clergy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. P. B. Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 587.

³⁶ J. W. Carroll and R. L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors? The State of the Clergy Job Market* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980).

³⁷ A. B. Miskin, "The Shortage of Clergy: a Scientific Answer," *Prism* 1 (1963): 14–22.

³⁸ L. A. Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report* (Church Information Office for the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, 1964); G. E. Duffield, *The Paul Report Considered: an Appraisal of Mr. Leslie Paul's Report, the Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: Thirteen Essays* (London: Marcham Manor Press, 1964);

armed with Miskin's ideas. Paul's report received considerable attention within the Church of England: it was criticized more than once, and served as a starting point for the subsequent analysis³⁹ and for projective documents⁴⁰ of various kinds.

In Europe, it was the Catholic Church in Germany that had to face the shortage of priests before others. The aging of clergy, as well as its reduction, has been monitored here throughout the twentieth century. During the World War II, the German clergy lost 5% of its members.⁴¹ Here lay the origins of a deficit that still cannot be overcome. A steep reduction in the population of Catholic priests in Germany took place after the Second Vatican Council and still has not stopped. Church tax compliance is Germany's specific feature that reveals, at least, the clergy's negative influence on self-identity, as in case of pedophile scandals.

The issue of the shortage of priests has dominated German scholarly and theological literature, touching upon the issues of church practices.⁴² The current situation is not always regarded as a negative one: a number of researchers view the reduction in the number of priests as a re-definition of the ministerial duty as such.⁴³ In reference to the documents of the Second Vatican Council, some German-language authors acknowledge a change in the "pastoral course" of the Catholic Church, which has become an attempt to discern the optimal pastoral approach to people of today. It is stated that the pastoral situation demands an activation of deacons' and parishioners' services. In fact, in Germany, the

L. A. Paul, "The Role of the Clergy Today — an Organizational Approach: Problems of Deployment," in *The Social Sciences and the Churches*, ed. C. L. Mitton (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1972), 163-180.

³⁹ G. Kuhrt, *Ministry Issues for the Church of England: Mapping the Trends* (London: Church House Publishing, 2001), 53; G. E. Duffield, *The Paul Report Considered: an Appraisal of Mr. Leslie Paul's Report, the Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: Thirteen Essays* (London: Marcham Manor Press, 1964).

⁴⁰ "Let My People Grow!" *Urban Church Project*, Workpaper No. 1 (1974), <http://www.churcharmy.org.uk/Publisher/File.aspx?ID=138344>, accessed 04.04.2016.

⁴¹ The period of 1931–1955 was the aging of the clergy while the total number of priests stayed more or less the same (circa 20,000). However, after the Second Vatican Council, obvious decline in number began (see K. Lenz, *Katholischer Priester in der individualisierten Gesellschaft ((Analyse und Forschung)* (Konstanz, 2009), 126).

⁴² See, for example, S. Knobloch, "Der Pastorale Notstand," in Idem., *Praktische Theologie. Ein Lehrbuch für Studium und Pastoral* (Herder, 1996), 27–160; F. Klostermann, "Priester für Morgen. Pastoraltheologische Aspekte," in W. Pesch, P. Hünermann, and F. Klostermann, *Priestertum – Kirchliches Amt zwischen gestern und morgen* (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1971), 71–100; ed. F. Klostermann, *Der Priestermangel und seine Konsequenzen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1977); P. M. Zulehner, *Priestermangel praktisch* (München: Kösel, 1983).

⁴³ See, for example, P. M. Zulehner, "Wirklich ein Priestermangel? Zur Lage der pastoralen Berufe im deutschsprachigen Raum," *Herder Korrespondenz Spezial* 1 (2009): 36–40.

population of deacons, pastoral referents, and parish assistants⁴⁴ has been growing since 1970.⁴⁵

In Italy, the reduction in the number of Catholic priests, a sharp growth in resignations in 1966–1968, and the excess of the clerical death rate over the number of ordinations gave rise to a clergy crisis. Immediately after the Second Vatican Council, Silvano Buralassi⁴⁶ undertook a large research project. In today's Italy, the topic remains urgent.⁴⁷ In the Spanish-language literature, the problem of the clergy shortage had been posed long before the Second Vatican Council and had been viewed as the main reflection of the clergy crisis.⁴⁸

The method of time budget analysis⁴⁹ has become one of the approaches to study the activity of a modern priest. In spite of a large number of studies both of time budgets and the clergy itself, especially in American religious sociology of the second half of the twentieth century, few of them are dedicated to the time budget or the priest's time management. The studies of the Catholic clergy were linked to three main topics in relation with each other: "The vocation and formation of a priest," "The priest's moral state (which includes job satisfaction, relations with the church authorities, alcohol abuse, and sex scandals)" and "The priest's service, in particular, parish leadership."⁵⁰ Among numerous works of field research on these issues that use different techniques, there has been no research into the way time is budgeted. In a broader religious context though, works concerned with the priest's time management⁵¹ can be found.

⁴⁴ The appearance of official positions of "pastoral referent" (Pastoralreferent) and "parish assistant" (Gemeindeassistent) or "pastoral assistant" (Pastoralassistent) in the Catholic Church in Germany is a direct result of the Second Vatican Council ecclesiology and an expression of the priesthood of all believers (see, for example, "Rahmenstatuten und Rahmenordnungen für die Gemeinde- und Pastoralreferentinnen/-referenten," *Die deutschen Bischöfe* 96 (2011): 11).

⁴⁵ Official data of the German Conference of bishops is available at: <http://www.dbk.de/zahlen-fakten/kirchliche-statistik/> accessed 03.03.2016.

⁴⁶ S. Buralassi, *Preti in crisi? Tendenze sociologiche del clero italiano* (Fossano, 1970), 451.

⁴⁷ G. Dalla Zanna and G. Ronzoni, *Meno preti, quale Chiesa? Per non abbandonare le parrocchie*, Edizioni Dehoniane (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 2003); ed. L. Diotallevi, *La parabola del clero. Uno sguardo socio-demografico sui sacerdoti diocesani in Italia* (Torino: Edizioni Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 2005).

⁴⁸ C. A. Hurtado, *La crisis sacerdotal en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1936); B. R. Poblete, *Crisis sacerdotal* (Santiago de Chile, 1965).

⁴⁹ For the definition, see *Appendix 1*.

⁵⁰ B. T. Froehle, "Catholic Pastoral Theology in the United States since Vatican II: Making a Path by Walking," *United States Catholic Historian* 25 (4) (2007): 22.

⁵¹ There is a study on how the parishioners understand the diversity of priests' functions and the time it takes to perform them: C. Y. Glock and Ph. Roos, "Parishioners' Views of How Ministers Spend Their Time," *Review of*

It is no surprise that we have to acknowledge that the contemporary situation for Russia's clergy is so radically different from that of the previous historical periods, nor that the literature concerned with both pre-revolutionary and Soviet times can only be used in a very limited manner. The disastrous collapse of church life in 1917, the whole of the Soviet and post-Soviet eras created a very remote historical distance, and only the most general features of a theological nature necessitate that this material be included into a review of modern clerical problems. Nevertheless, certain works raise the question of the limited applicability of this experience to the current situation of the Church.⁵²

Recent studies dedicated to Russian parishes and based on qualitative research analyze either the influence mechanisms or specific features of religious practices in today's parishes. Neither the quantitative evaluations of this influence nor its correlation to quantitative evaluations of religiosity are considered in this research.

From the perspective of this dissertation's research, it is important to note that in the most recent foreign research analyzing the activity of the priest, the issue of the laity's involvement in church life is not considered as a separate problem. At the same time, the mere posing of the problem of a "shortage," which dominated research of the clergy in the second half of the twentieth century shows

Religious Research 2 (1961): 170–175. We also have to mention an important study of the priest's time budgets and roles: S. Blizzard, *The Protestant Parish Minister: A Behavioral Science Interpretation*, The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Monograph Series 5 (Storrs, CT: The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1985); see also S. Brunette-Hill and R. Finke, "A Time for Every Purpose: Updating and Extending Blizzard's Survey on Clergy Time," *Review of Religious Research* 41 (1) (1999): 40–57.

⁵² N. Yu. Sukhova, *Vysshaya dukhovnaya shkola: problemy i reformy*, [Higher school of theology: problems and reforms], (Moscow, 2006); Eadem., *Sistema nauchno-bogoslovskoj attestatsii v Rossii v XIX — nachale XX v.*, [System of scientific and theological attestation in Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries] (Moscow, 2009); Eadem., "Prakticheskoe bogoslovie v rossijskikh dukhovnykh akademiakh," [Practical theology in Russian theological academies], in Eadem., *Vertograd nauk dukhovnyj*, [Theological garden of sciences] (Moscow, 2007): 273–274; E. M. Morozov, "Kontsept professionalizma v sluzhenii sovremennogo pravoslavnogo svyashchennika," [The concept of professionalism in the ministerial duties of a modern Orthodox priest], *Monitoring obshchestvennogo mneniya: ekonomicheskie i sotsialnye peremeny* 4 (134) (2016): 167–182; Archpriest P. Khondzinsky, "Ponyatie 'obshchiny' v russkoj bogoslovskoj traditsii vtoroj poloviny XIX – nachala XX v.," [The notion of "community" in Russian theological tradition of the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya. Religiovedenie* 3 (41) (2012): 38–46; Idem., "Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka v russkoj dukhovnoj traditsii," [Parish clergy in the late 19th–early 20th century in the Russian spiritual tradition], *Materialy ezhegodnoj nauchno-bogoslovskoj konferentsii Sankt-Peterburgskoj Dukhovnoj Akademii. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy konferentsii "Prihodskoe sluzhenie i obshchinnaya zhizn'."* *Sbornik dokladov* (Moscow, 2015): 172.

that sacerdotal activity does influence the formation of religiosity. However, the questions concerning what this influence is and what its mechanisms are, remain beyond the interest of studies in this field. Finally, the attempts to study the priest's time management are more likely raise the issue of the priest's identity crisis, rather than concentrate on his influence on the formation of religiosity.

Having analyzed a broad spectrum of scientific literature which is dedicated in one way or another to the activity of the modern priesthood, we can conclude that the matter of the priest's influence on the formation of religiosity continues to obtain. It is assumed implicitly, but it never gets a direct response, and is never the actual subject of research. Thus, the problem of the priest's influence on the formation of religiosity remains a timely yet understudied issue for today's social science.

Purpose and Objectives of the Research

The purpose of the research is 1) to develop a metatheoretical approach to religiosity studies in Russia that could help determine the mechanism and evaluate the influence of the Orthodox priest's active duties on the formation of religious practices in modern Russia; 2) to offer a theological evaluation of this influence mechanism and to provide suggestions on how to form a pastoral approach to overcome the current situation.

To attain to this purpose, we had to address the following objectives:

1. Analyze the theoretical grounds of religiosity research in Russia.
2. Analyze the rational choice theory from the perspective of its applicability in the study of religion; Determine its heuristic potential and limits in religiosity research in Russia.
3. Conceptualize and operationalize the religious supply in Russia using the conceptual definition of the rational choice theory (theory of religious economy, theory of religious market).

4. Study the category of time (more precisely, the time-frame of a confession) as a basis for correlating religious demand and religious supply. (Based on expert interviews and in-depth interviews, statutory church documents).

5. Using the proposed operationalization, conduct a mathematical analysis of two different approaches to study religion (on the one hand, the perception of religion as a system of values and practices; and on the other hand, the perception of religion as an interaction) and to propose a theoretical model of their intersection.

6. In order to put the theoretical model to an evaluation test (within the confines of the religious supply limited to the Russian Orthodox Church), to conduct an empirical study to evaluate the main parameters for how religious supply is limited (the time for a person's confession, the annual budget of confession time, a weekly liturgical budget of confession time), to provide a description of the empirical research and the analysis of the acquired data.

7. Conduct a theological analysis of the premises of the proposed theoretical model in terms of their relevance in the Orthodox context.

8. Evaluate the results obtained from the point of view of the ecclesiological prerequisites of modern life in the Russian Orthodox Church.

9. Assess the results obtained vis-a-vis the pastoral vision of the situation of today's Russian Church.

10. Make suggestions about the implications of the results in regards to church praxis.

11. Formulate possible practical recommendations on the basis of theological analysis.

Theological Relevance

The main focus of the project in addressing these issues will be the analysis of the limitations of religious supply in contemporary Russia. However, it is crucial to emphasize that this focus has been selected not as a self-sufficient

research angle, but as an auxiliary study and part of the overall ecclesiastical and practical goal described above.

We assume that the shortage of priests determines the way religious life evolves in the country. Different types of pastoral activities may enhance or hinder formation of church communities and religious socialization. Pastoral activity may be engaging or, conversely, may trigger and cultivate a superficial perception of church life. The proportion of priests and parishioners though is the main reason for the blockage of the growth of religious life in modern Russia.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework of the Research

The main methods of the first part of this dissertation's research (Chapters 1 and 2) consist of metatheoretical analyses⁵³ and syntheses of different concepts of the sociology of religion. Two groups of concepts are considered. First, there are the main sociological approaches to religiosity analysis that appeal to a classic interpretation of sociology which viewed society as an independent entity. Such a view of society and its concomitant religion was typical for the works of Marx, Spencer, Durkheim, and Parsons. Second, there are theories of religious economies and the theory of religious market, proposed by advocates of the rational choice theory like Stark, Bainbridge, and Iannaccone.⁵⁴ In the framework of this approach, religion is viewed as an interaction, which essentially gives us new cognitive opportunities in comparison to classical approaches. Metatheoretical analysis and synthesis of sociological concepts are used during the discussion about whether the religious market theory may be applicable to study the current religious situation in Russia.

The empirical research that was conducted, covered 50 Moscow parishes (Chapter 3), which allowed us to give a preliminary quantitative evaluation of

⁵³ We use the term "meta-theoretical analysis" in Ritzer's sense; see G. Ritzer, *Metatheorizing in Sociology* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1991); I. F. Devyatko, *Sotsiologicheskie teorii deyatel'nosti i prakticheskoy ratsionalnosti*, [Sociological theories of activity and practical rationality] (Moscow: Avanti plus, 2003).

⁵⁴ R. Stark and L. Iannaccone, "A Supply-side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 230–252; R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern: Lang, 1987).

religious supply in modern Russia. This abides by the theoretical objectives of the dissertation, and aims at clarifying cognitive opportunities and testing the model of quantitative evaluation of religious supply, proposed in this work.

Chapter 4, which gives a theological definition, as well as a response to the problem of the shortage of clergy in Russia, uses a theological methodology based on the ecclesial model created by New Martyrs and Confessors of the persecution period in the early twentieth century Russia. Chapter 4 also uses a pastoral evaluation from expert interviews.

Empirical Base of the Research

This work uses the results of the empirical research which provides the basis for the main conclusions concerning time structure of the priest's activity. It also encourages the scholarly community to endorse this model and its applicability to the contemporary religious situation in Russia.

1. N. Emelyanov. *The Liturgical Ledger of A Priest (Case Study)*. Research project. Moscow, 2003–2016.

This long-term project reflects the entire daily liturgical activity of a Moscow priest over the course of thirteen years (including data about services on demand, about the quantity of confessors and communicants, and about the duration of administering the sacraments and services on demand. This is an ongoing project. At the beginning of the project, the priest was thirty years old and had been ordained eight years, over the course of which, he served in the same church in Central Administrative District in Moscow. He has additional administrative responsibilities outside the parish and he is not a prior. The parish in which he serves is one with many priests. The project uses the method of involved observation, as well as the technique of a ledger with a fixed time interval.

2. N. Emelyanov, I. Zabaev, T. Krikhtova, D. Oreshina. *Analysis of the Time-Budget and Types of Activities of Priests*. Research project of the

research laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University. Moscow, 2015–2016.

Up until this moment, 34 in-depth biographical interviews with priests have been conducted in ten dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church. The material was gathered during expeditions to Siberia and Southern Russia in April–June 2016. The guide included 27 questions, grouped by the following topics: “Biography,” “Current employment,” “Image of a good priest,” “How to find salvation.” The average length of an interview was 90–120 minutes.

3. N. Emelyanov, I. Zabaev, T. Krikhtova, D. Oreshina, E. Prutskova. 50 confessions in Moscow parishes on April 9–10 2016. Research project of the research laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University. Moscow, 2016.

This research was conducted by means of simultaneous observation in 50 Moscow parishes and was organized by the “Sociology of Religion” Research Laboratory. Its detailed description and results constitute the main content of Chapter 3 of this dissertation. The method of quantitative evaluation was used on the grounds of observations in 50 churches (of 542), chosen by random mechanical sampling. This dissertation's author's individual participation in the project consisted in developing the plan and the methodology for the research and analyzing its results, as well as organizing joint observations and collecting empirical data.

Chapter 1. The Problem of Using the Rational Choice Theory to Analyze the Influence of the Priest's Active Duties on Religiosity Formation

Section 1 of this chapter introduces a general understanding of the notion of religiosity and analyzes the discussion of religiosity in modern Russia. This analysis allows us to talk about an Orthodox priest as a religious agent who is deemed responsible for the formation of non-involving religiosity in modern Russia. Section 2 considers the main approaches, including those based on the rational choice theory, to study the influence of the priest's job activity (his active duties as a priest) in non-Russian scientific discourse. This analysis reveals the limited nature of these approaches which cannot detect the mechanisms of influence, raising the issue of how to detect and study this mechanism. Next, Section 2 analyzes theoretical grounds for the empirical research of religiosity in Russia which, for a number of reasons, are limited by studying values and practices and only view religion as a one-sided hierolatry. Such an approach excludes the opportunity to study religiosity as an interaction of priests and believers, thus the influence of the priests' performance on religiosity formation. Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of overcoming a one-sided view of religion through the framework of economic theories of religions in worldwide social science. Finally, Section 4 proposes a metatheoretical superposition of two approaches to religious studies: "religion as worship" and "religion as interaction." This approach, with some reservations, is proposed as a methodological basis for building a theoretical model of religious supply and to study the influence of the priests' activity on the formation of religiosity in modern Russia.

§1. Discussion on Religiosity in Modern Russia

Despite the complexity of the notion of religiosity and the many ways it can be operationalized, the idea of individual religiosity dominates current research in the field of religion in Russia. Different variants of its operationalization,

hypotheses concerning its nature, and a variety of social consequences are proposed. In the international practice of the study of religion, religiosity can be viewed through multidimensional and hierarchical lenses.⁵⁵ A multidimensional approach suggests building religiosity indices based on several scales. Both the number of these scales and their independence or sufficiency for describing religiosity are subject to unending debate. C. Glock believed it unlikely that different displays of religiosity are fully independent.⁵⁶ On the contrary, M. Chaves argues that idea of the consistency of the phenomenon of religiosity is mistaken.⁵⁷ Firstly, it is wrong to think that the religious beliefs and values of an individual represent a logical and coherent system; secondly, that behavior directly results from these beliefs and values; thirdly, that these beliefs and values are temporally stable and independent of the situation and a context in which they are displayed.⁵⁸ R. Clayton and J. Gladden deem it possible to speak about the one-dimensionality of religiosity, as other indices can be, in one way or another, narrowed down to the ideological dimension.⁵⁹ P. Hill uses a hierarchical approach which presupposes two levels for analyzing religiosity: a general level (“dispositional religiosity”) and isolated displays (“functional religiosity”). Dispositional religiosity raises the question of how religious a person is in general, which allows us to predict values of many other variables.⁶⁰ The second hierarchical level is represented by a functional religiosity that reflects religious practices, beliefs, values, etc. “People manifest a large variety of ways to experiencing religious (and spiritual) reality, of the motives that determine their religiosity, and of means for using their own

⁵⁵ E. V. Prutskova, “Operatsionalizatsiya ponyatiya ‘religioznost’ v empiricheskikh issledovaniyakh,” [Operationalization of “religiosity” notion in empirical research], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 2 (2012): 268–293.

⁵⁶ C. Y. Glock, “On the Study of Religious Commitment,” *Religious Education* 57 (4) (1962): 99–100.

⁵⁷ M. Chaves, “Rain Dances in the Dry Season: Overcoming the Religious Congruence Fallacy,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49 (1) (2010): 2.

⁵⁸ E. V. Prutskova, “Operatsionalizatsia ponyatiya ‘religioznost’ v empiricheskikh issledovaniyakh,” [Operationalization of “religiosity” notion in empirical research], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 2 (2012): 272.

⁵⁹ R. R. Clayton and J. W. Gladden, “The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: Toward Demythologizing a Sacred Artifact,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 13 (2) (1974): 137–139.

⁶⁰ P. C. Hill, “Measurement in the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality,” in eds. R. F. Paloutzian and C. I. Park *Handbook of the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* (New York, London: Guilford Press, 2005), 48.

religiosity to solve problems.”⁶¹ Considering this, each analysis tends to focus on isolated displays of religiosity.⁶² Either way, no matter what approach to the operationalization of religiosity is used, and which theory it is based on, their empirical verification requires large-scale quantitative and qualitative research. In the framework of Russian religious studies or religious sociology, religiosity research is mainly dedicated to two major religiosity indices: self-identity, and the frequency of participation in the Communion service. These indices evince an extraordinary dynamic and have become the starting point for constructing a variety of theories and proposing explanatory hypotheses.

The above-mentioned significant gap⁶³ between those who identify with Orthodoxy (according to different surveys, 60–80%) and those who regularly attend services – that is “echurched” Orthodox Christians – (according to several estimations, 3–15% of the population regularly attend church services, confessions, and Communion⁶⁴) cannot be explained away with simplistic rationale like, for example, the inaccessibility of parishes. From 1991 to 2011, the number of echurched believers remained virtually unchanged, while the number of priests in Russian Orthodox Church more than quadrupled from 6674 (in 1988) to 27,216 (in 2008), and the number of parishes grew 4.25 times from 6893 to 29,263.

Russian religious studies have developed a tendency to explain the growth of religious self-identity in the following way: those Russians who call themselves Orthodox are not exactly believers. Saying that they are “Orthodox,” people

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² E. V. Prutskova, “Operatsionalizatsia ponyatiya ‘religioznost’ v empiricheskikh issledovaniyakh,” [Operationalization of “religiosity” notion in empirical research], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 2 (2012): 292.

⁶³ N. A. Zorkaya, “Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve,” [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannie. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65–84; D. E. Furman, “Religioznost’ v Rossii na rubezhe XX–XXI stoletij,” [Religiosity in Russia in the late 20th and the early 21st century], *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost* (1) (2007): 103–119; (2): 78–95; Yu. Yu. Sinelina, *Izmerenie religioznosti naseleniya Rossii: Pravoslavnye i musul’mane: suevernoe povedenie rossiyan* [Measurement of people’s religiosity in Russia: Muslims and Orthodox Christians: The superstitious behavior of the Russians] (Moscow: Nauka, 2006); Eadem., “O dinamike religioznosti rossiyan i nekotorykh metodologicheskikh problemakh ee izucheniya (religioznoe soznanie i povedenie pravoslavnykh i musul’man),” [On the dynamics of religiosity of Russians and some methodological problems of its research (religious consciousness and behavior of Orthodox Christians and Muslims)], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2013): 104–115; V. F. Chesnokova, *Tesnym putem: protsess votserkovleniya naseleniya Rossii v kontse XX veka* [Through the narrow way: The process of churching in Russia in the late 20th century] (Moscow: Akademicheskij proekt, 2005).

⁶⁴ See Figure 1 in *Appendix 5*.

identify themselves as Russian citizens,⁶⁵ and thereby indicate their national and ethnic identity.⁶⁶ K. Kaariainen and D. Furman wrote about “pro-Orthodox consensus” which is a positive attitude towards religion and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), that is formed in mass consciousness and is reflected in the ROC credibility indices, as well as in an increasing religious self-identity, but is not followed by a commensurate increase in religious practice or individual belief in God.⁶⁷ S. Filatov and R. Lunkin, studying the statistics of Russian religiosity, conclude that in Russia, the religious factor has a negligible effect on public life.⁶⁸ M. Mchedlova observes some difference between believers and non-believers in Russia, but they rarely go beyond the limits of confidence intervals, which can also be explained by the gap between a high level of Orthodox self-identity and a low level in any religious practice that would support this self-identity.⁶⁹

V. Lokosov and Yu. Sinelina deem it proper to explain denominational self-identity relying on sociocultural and ethnic reasons, but note that such theories do not take into account the differences in the tempo of quantitative and qualitative changes in the level of religiosity. These researchers believe that the extensive growth potential of the Russian population’s religiosity level is approaching its

⁶⁵ N. A. Zorkaya, “Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve,” [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65.

⁶⁶ Thus, Karpov, Lisovskaya, and Barry describe the phenomenon of “ethnodoxy,” typically occurring to the Russians, when religious and ethnic identities mix up: “Ethnodoxy is a belief system that rigidly links a group’s ethnic identity to its dominant religion and consequently tends to view other religions as potentially or actually harmful to the group’s unity and well-being and, therefore, seeks protected and privileged status for the group’s dominant faith” (V. Karpov, E. Lisovskaya, and D. Barry, “Ethnodoxy: How Popular Ideologies Fuse Religious and Ethnic Identities,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51 (4) (2012): 644).

⁶⁷ “Thus, a positive attitude towards the Church, as well as a firm belief that without Orthodoxy one cannot be truly Russian, and even proclaiming oneself to be a ‘believer’ hardly ever transforms into individual faith somehow strengthened by deeds” (K. Kaariainen and D. E. Furman, “Religioznost’ v Rossii na rubezhe XX-XXI stoletij,” [Religiosity in Russia at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries], *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost’* 1 (2007): 118).

⁶⁸ “...In laical secularized society, where, for many, belief is now simply a symbol of culture, the religious factor has relatively little significance... Acknowledging fundamental beliefs of the doctrine and attending services is not the principal characteristic of a person who claims to be a believer of a traditional denomination” (S. B. Filatov and R. N. Lunkin, “Statistika rossijskoy religioznosti: magiya tsifr i neodnoznachnaya realnost,” [Statistics of Russian religiosity: the magic of numbers and ambiguous reality], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 6 (2005): 44).

⁶⁹ “The ambiguity of religiosity in Russian society is determined by the perception of religion in two aspects that often do not intersect: as an identity characteristic, a criterion of identifying with a certain stable cultural tradition, and as a way of personal being where faith is made the cornerstone,” (M. M. Mchedlova, “Rol’ religii v sovremennom obshchestve,” [The role of religion in the contemporary society], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 12 (2009): 83).

limit. The next stage of intensive growth in the number of enchurched believers and engagement in religious practices will need considerably more time.⁷⁰

A number of authors openly deny such a perception of the religious situation. N. Zorkaya writes: “We insist on interpreting the mass conversion to Orthodoxy not as the indicator of a renaissance establishing a religious value system, nor as the formation of a mass religious culture, but as a significant component of a post-Soviet person’s identity as a Russian citizen, though not a citizen in the political sense or from the point of view of a modern democracy.”⁷¹

B. Dubin⁷² and L. Gudkov come to a similar conclusion: “To put it differently the ‘religious renaissance’ in Russia evidently reflects a current ‘deficit of values’ or, more precisely, a deficiency of mass identity that needs to somehow compensate for its inferiority complex. This is done not by rationalizing ‘the trauma’ but by appropriating the symbols of a ‘higher’ order of meaning (in this case, the surrogate symbols of religious faith). The massive Russian game of religion that all social strata and groups play, from criminals to presidents, is nothing more than demonstrative behavior, a kind of ‘symbolic’ or ‘conspicuous consumption’... the internalization of religious ideas is very shallow, which can easily be understood, since a special means for their ‘domestication’ the post-Soviet person is yet to appear.”⁷³

A number of authors directly indicate the inability of the Church to act adequately in the current circumstance as the main reason for the state it is now

⁷⁰ “The level of religiosity has ‘used up’ its extensive growth potential and is approaching its natural limit which is, in our opinion, at 80%. Further, intensive growth begins, i.e. the population becomes churchied, but this process also has its limits” (V. V. Lokosov and Yu. Yu Sinelina, “Vzaimosvyaz’ religioznykh i politicheskikh orientatsij pravoslavnykh rossiyan,” [Correlation between religious and political orientation of the Orthodox Russians], in ed. M. M. Mchedlova, *Religiya v samosoznanii naroda (religioznyj faktor v identifikatsionnykh protsessakh)*, [Religion in the Self-Consciousness of the People (Religious Factor in Identification Processes)], (Moscow: Institut sotsiologii RAN, 2008), 137).

⁷¹ N. A. Zorkaya, “Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve,” [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65.

⁷² B. Dubin, “Massovaya religioznaya kultura v Rossii (tendentsii i itogi 90-kh gg.),” [Mass religious culture in Russia (trends and results of the 1990s)], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 3 (2004): 35–44.

⁷³ L. Gudkov, “Obshchestvo s ogranichennoi otvetstvennost’yu,” [Society with limited liability], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 1 (2008): 22–23.

in.⁷⁴ Moreover, the priest (and his image in mass media) turns out to be the main agent⁷⁵ responsible for the situation.

From this perspective, many consider it imperative to study the clergy's influence on the formation of religiosity and to try to somehow find a correlation between this influence and existing values and estimations of religiosity. These are not only secular authors who believe the priest to be responsible⁷⁶ for the current situation as the principal agent in modern church life. In the Russian Orthodox Church, during the period of its persecution in the early twentieth century,⁷⁷ bishops and confessors spoke very harshly about the priest as the central figure for the formation of a parishoner's life in the Church. Bishop Damaskin (Tsedrik) canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church, writes the following: "All our efforts now should be made to establish solid spiritual and gracious relations between

⁷⁴ "Low indices of 'churchedness' indicate that the Church cannot handle modern challenges, it does not change, it does not see the problems, fears, inner conflicts, and stress of a person living in modern Russian society, or it does not want to see them and search for new, modern solutions" (N. A. Zorkaya, "Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve," [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 83). For similar conclusions, see I. G. Kargina, "Samoidentifikatsiya veruyushchikh: sotsialnaya motivatsiya," [Self-identity of believers: social motivation], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 1 (2004): 52.

⁷⁵ N. Mitrokhin interprets his image the following way: "Every priest of the Russian Orthodox Church has a rough list of strategic priorities of his activity. The first place is clearly occupied with the construction, restoration, and decoration of the church; next comes the organization of a proper service with his own motions, and those other priests' and deacons' being accurate and finessed, with a competent psalm-reader and beautifully singing of the choir. Next comes the proper administration of the services on demand. Everything is important: to make sure the candle box works efficiently, to search for additional sources to finance the parish, and to build relationships with the most active portion of the churched population. Teaching religion to the parishioners, and, moreover, catechetical and missionary work with those who do not yet go to church or attend it 2-3 times a year, is barely in the fifth position of this list" (N. Mitrokhin, *Russkaya pravoslavnaya tserkov': sovremennoe sostoyanie i aktualnye problemy*, [The Russian Orthodox Church: modern state and urgent problems] (Moscow, 2006): 316–317).

⁷⁶ N. A. Zorkaya, "Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve," [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65–84.

⁷⁷ See "'Avvo moj rodnj!' Pis'ma svyashchennomuchenika Mitropolita Kirilla (Smirnova) prepodobnomucheniku arhimandritu Neofitu (Osipovu) 1933—1934 gg." [My Dearest Abba! Letters of Hieromartyr Metropolitan Kirill (Smirnov) to Martyr Archimandrite Neofit (Osipov), 1933–1934], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series 2: Istoriya. Istoriya Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi* 57 (2) (2014): 117–144; comp. Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, "Ieromonakh Pavel Troitskij. Zhizneopisanie," [Hieromonk Pavel Troitsky. Biography] (Moscow: Pravoslavnyj Svjato-Tikhonovskij Bogoslovskij Institut, 2003); ed., introd., and comm. Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, Priest A. Shchelkachev, Priest A. Mazyrin, O. I. Khajlova, and I. S. Kazakov, "'Milost' Gospodnya da budet s tobou!' Pis'ma svyashchennomuchenika mitropolita Kirilla (Smirnova) ispovednitse Iraide (Tikhovoj) 1934—1937 gg.," ["Let the Mercy of God Be With You!"] Letters of the Hieromartyr Metropolitan Kirill (Smirnov) to the Confessor Iraida (Tikhova) 1934–1937], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series 2: Istoriya. Istoriya Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi* 2 (63) (2015): 143–156; I. V. Shpiller, *Vospominaniya ob otse. Stranitsy zhizni v sokhranivshikhysya pis'makh*, [Recollections about my father. Pages of life in the surviving letters] (Krasnoyarsk: Enisejskij Blagovest, 2002).

pastors and parishioners. Then, in a real storm, the Church, even without cathedrals, will be unwavering, when facing subtler temptations.”⁷⁸

Surprisingly, the successful West that did not have to go through an era of forced secularization has witnessed the appearance of the same ideas.⁷⁹

Deeming the priest the principal agent in church life, responsible for religiosity formation in modern Russia, raises the question of the mechanisms of this influence.

§2. The Influence of the Priest’s Performance on the Formation of Religiosity in Foreign Research Discourse

In this section it will be shown that research on the active duties of priests in non-Russian scientific discourse assumes the very fact of its influence on the formation of religiosity, but nowhere assesses this influence and does not describe the mechanism of interaction between priests and believers, through which this influence is exercised.

Having analyzed a broad range of scientific literature related to the research of sacerdotal performance in all its various aspects, we can conclude that the influence of a priest’s active duties on the formation of religiosity is essential to understanding the research into the changes in the number of clergy in the twentieth century. The very formulation of the problem of changes in the number of clergy suggests that there is a mechanism for the interaction between priests and believers that depends on their ratio, and it can cease functioning if there is a lack or an excess of priests.

There are four key approaches to the problem of changes in the number of

⁷⁸ O.V. Kosik, *Istinnyj vojn Khristov: Kniga o svyashchennomuchenike episkope Damaskine (Tsedrike)*, [True soldier of Christ: The book on the Hieromartyr Damaskin (Tsedrik)] (Moscow: Izdatelstvo PSTGU, 2009).

⁷⁹ “The crisis of today will give birth to the Church of tomorrow that will lose a lot. It will be small and it will have to start almost from the beginning. It will not be able anymore to fill all those buildings it built in times of prosperity. With the loss of its followers, it will lose many privileges in society. Even more than before, it will stand as a society of free will that one can only join after having made the decision. Being a small community, it will need the initiatives of its members even more. It will undoubtedly learn new forms of service and it will ordain proven Christians who already have a profession: thus, in many small communities and social groups, *regular pastoral care will be established. That being said, the priest’s ministerial duty will stay indispensable as before* (highlighted by N. Emelyanov)” (J. Ratzinger, *Glaube und Zukunft* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1970), 122–125).

clergy: the Schoenherr–Young demographic model, the Carroll clergy job market model, the clergy deployment model in Paul’s report, and the Sullins model linking the number of life sacraments (baptism, marriage, funeral) and weekly attendance at the Mass to the number of clergy.

Schoenherr and his colleagues have constructed a model for the changes in the number of clergy based on the approaches of “organizational demography” and rational choice theory (considering a diocese as an organization which has to fight for active and professional clerics and loyal churchgoers). The question this research poses: What will happen to the population of priests over the next 20 years? The authors proceed from the assumption that long-term demographic trends lead to considerable changes in the entire structure of an organization’s population (e. g. its “aging”), and detecting such trends and factors defining these trends is crucial for organizational planning.⁸⁰

Carroll’s paper is based on the logic of the job market and corporate management. Priesthood is considered as an enterprise, so all of its “entries” and “exits” are analyzed in a detailed manner. This analysis is not very different from that of an HR strategy of a sizeable corporation; it works with the notions of “demand and supply on the clergy job market.”⁸¹ Basically, Carroll’s model is that of the clerical job market. It does not differ from corresponding models in any other fields in any way, which raises certain doubts, since in this model a priest is “competitive” if he possesses characteristics that are not directly associated with the priesthood. He is “a strong leader, a doer, a bit of an entrepreneur able to motivate and mobilize people.”⁸² Paul’s Report states the question differently: How to distribute the existing number of priests in parishes so that the number of communicants at the Christmas Mass would be maximal? The concept of “distribution” is central to this line of thinking. This report is linked to a specific situation in the Church of England when, due to the lack of clergy, it was

⁸⁰ See R. A. Schoenherr and L. Young, *Full Pews, Empty Altars: Demographic of the Priest Shortage in United States Catholic Dioceses* (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1993).

⁸¹ See J. W. Carroll and R. L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors? The State of the Clergy Job Market* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 50.

suggested to redistribute priests from small settlements so that their service would be maximally efficient. The research states that the presence of every new priest increases the number of oblationaries, and what is more, this number can be accurately defined.⁸³ Paul's Report is based on the research of A. Miskin,⁸⁴ the objective of which was to, "find the influence on the number of Christmas communicants⁸⁵ per a (certain) residential location of each of the three following factors discretely: 1) the number of priests partly or fully occupied with pastoral responsibilities in this residential location; 2) the population of this residence location; 3) the number of places of worship in this residential location."⁸⁶ In fact, Miskin and Paul state the question of the dependence of the number of enchurched members of the Church of England on the number of pastors. Later, it will become evident that this approach correlates well with the "religious supply" model, which is offered in economic theories of religion.

Sullins⁸⁷ gives several counterarguments to the Schoenherr–Young theory. He shows that historically in the nineteenth century the ratio of priests to Catholics was much lower than during the pre-council period, so the decrease in the number of priests does not mean that this process does not have a precedent in history or that it is not cyclical. Then Sullins shows that the number of people attending the Sunday Mass also decreases. So the ratio of the number of clergy to the number of people attending the Sunday Mass increases with certain fluctuations throughout the twentieth century. The number of one-time sacraments performed by priests per year remains practically at the level that maintained in 1960s. According to Sullins, "In fact, the availability of priests for sacraments in the late 1990s was the same as in the 1960s. This statistic understates the true current supply of sacramental access, however, because the Church at the end of the twentieth

⁸³ See L. A. Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report* (Westminster: Church Information Office for the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, 1964).

⁸⁴ A. B. Miskin, "The Shortage of Clergy: a Scientific Answer," *Prism* 1 (1963): 14–22.

⁸⁵ Miskin bases his choice of this index on the fact that during the Easter feast days many people go on vacation and that is why it is the number of Christmas communicants produces not a precise - but a closer - number of believers at this particular parish (*Ibid.*, 14).

⁸⁶ L. A. Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report* (Westminster: Church Information Office for the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, 1964), 267.

⁸⁷ P. Sullins, "Empty Pews and Empty Altars: A Reconsideration of the Catholic Priest Shortage," *The Catholic Social Science Review* 6 (2001): 253–269.

century reflects significant changes increasing lay access to the sacraments that were not present in the 1960s.”⁸⁸ In the end, using the method of regression analysis, he compares the number of people attending the Sunday Mass to the number of priests⁸⁹ and gets a result that he considers to be the same trend as the change in the number of clergy. Sullins assumes that this trend characterizes a decline in the involvement in religious practice, which leads to a decrease in the number of clergy. However, the Sullins model does not justify this statement, as it does not give any intelligible explanation for the priest-believer interaction mechanism.

None of these four approaches – neither the Schoenherr–Young demographic model, the Carroll clergy job market model, the clergy deployment model in Paul’s report, nor the Sullins model raise the question of the nature of the priest-believer interaction mechanism itself. Why does this interaction require this or that number of priests, and what problems in the formation of religiosity do their lack or abundance cause? Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that this question is brought up, but the response is based entirely on empirical evaluations. Moreover, it appears that all these evaluations are nothing more than a simple reference to the existing reality. Paradoxically, only Carroll’s research points at the priest-believer interaction mechanism. This mechanism turns out to be the collection of money by the churchgoers in order to support the pastor. This particular mechanism gives grounds for evaluating the believer-priest ratio. The evaluation of the number of churchgoers needed to support a pastor working full-time. Nevertheless, while Carroll’s research at least does produce such an evaluation, 350 to 500 people as the *minimal* rate for a pastor, the Catholic context does not give any evaluation at all.

The research done on the lack of Catholic clergy gives us the most vivid picture. Never once is the necessary number mentioned, but its lack is stated constantly with supreme confidence. Starting from the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) the problem of a decrease in the number of clergy became common

⁸⁸ Ibid.: 260–261.

⁸⁹ See Figure 2 in *Appendix 5*.

for the Catholic Church of the USA, England, and Europe. In the period during the closing of the Second Vatican Council, that is between the years 1965 and 1975, around 15–17% of the Catholic priests in the USA resigned. This process worried the Catholic episcopacy very much. The episcopate initiated large-scale scientific research into the question, which was immediately defined as “lack of clergy.” The fact remains that a sharp decline in the number of priests and the unprecedented scale of resignations of the Catholic clergy while the Second Vatican Council was in session forever constituted a situation of shortage.

The question of the influence of a priest’s activity becomes even more difficult when comparing the ratios between clergy and the laity in Catholic and Protestant Churches. In the Catholic Church the ratio is several times larger than in the Protestant Church.⁹⁰ Why is the number of Catholics wanting to become priests so much smaller? Is this fact due only to the difficulties of celibacy? Why don’t we witness a great number of ordinations in the Russian Orthodox Church or the Greek Orthodox Church? The fact that the discourses of a priest’s functions and obligations in Catholicism and Protestantism are seemingly similar brings us back to the question of the nature and the contents of the notion of priesthood.

Paradoxically, only Sullins’ model and Paul’s model somehow link the number of clergy to the number of Sacraments they perform. And the conclusions they offer are diametrically opposed. Miskin’s empirical research⁹¹ on which Paul bases his work has directly shown that with each new pastor the number of oblationaries in a parish grows. So Miskin says that practical religious involvement depends completely on the priest who provokes religious demand. On the contrary, Sullins suggests a hypothesis according to which the number of priests decreases depending on the diminishment of the religious demand; in other words, the demand for taking part in the Mass and partaking in the Sacraments one time.

In the end, none of the approaches take into account various types of priest who undoubtedly act differently and, presumably, can influence the religious situation differently.

⁹⁰ Cf. Diagram 1 and Table 1 in *Appendix 5*.

⁹¹ A. B. Miskin, “The Shortage of Clergy: a Scientific Answer,” *Prism* 1 (1963): 14–22.

Papers on the decrease in or abundance of clergy do not aim to solve the problem of the priests' influence on the religious situation in society, nor on processes in other social spheres (economics, politics, demographics, etc.). On the contrary, the research focus of all these papers is linked to the question of the effect of the changing religious situation in society on the formation of this or that type of priest, the process of decrease or lack of clergy.

It would seem that this answer should be regarded as negative, in relation to the general statement of the question of this research on the influence of a priest on the formation of religiosity. In reality this is not the case. All the research on the lack of clergy in the Catholic discussion, as well as the problematic field in the framework of other Christian denominations constantly return to one question – the one of the priest-laity ratio. A very specific situation emerges: the emphasis continues to be placed on the connection of religiosity (measured in the quantity of believers) and the priests' activity (also measured in just the quantity). This indicator, the number of laity per priest, is constantly discussed and monitored.⁹² Moreover, it is seen as an important manifestation of the crisis of the priesthood so broadly discussed in the Catholic world.

The problem of the number of clergy arises in context of the crisis of the crisis of the priesthood. On the one hand, the reduction in the number of clergy is considered to be a critical phenomenon. Moreover, this understanding is traditional and goes far beyond the discussions that took place in the second half of the twentieth century. Back in 1936 Alberto Hurtado, a Jesuit priest, in his tract “Crisis of the Priesthood in Chile”⁹³ directly links a number of negative phenomena of the Church, as well as social, and even economic life with the lack of priests, “holy priests” in particular.

On the other hand, the crisis of lack of clergy is connected to an identity crisis among priests; the very identity crisis which serves as one of the basic reasons for the reduction in the number of ordinations. For instance, a great

⁹² See Diagram 1 in *Appendix 5*.

⁹³ C. A. Hurtado, *La crisis sacerdotal en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1936); B. R. Poblete, *Crisis sacerdotal* (Santiago de Chile, 1965).

specialist in sacerdotal theology, G. Greshake, remarks “for many priests and laity it is not clear anymore what the essence and the heart, the specific mission and aim of a priest is.”⁹⁴ S. Buralassi, Italian sociologist, speaks about the crisis of the priesthood as a crisis of identity, role, and the conflict between roles.⁹⁵ There are also Russian papers on the crisis of a priest’s identity. A research project for the “Sociology of Religion Laboratory” at St. Tikhon’s University entitled “Methods of Pastoral Action: An Analysis of Priests’ Time Budgets”⁹⁶ it was shown that conflict between different roles, and the problem of a priest’s sense of identity, are also prevalent in contemporary Russia.⁹⁷ Such a statement of the problem is connected to the question of the influence of the priest’s activity on the formation of religiosity. Questions are asked directly about what he should do, as well as about the aim of his job performance.

The crisis of the priesthood, also understood as an identity crisis, makes relevant the research which one way or another is connected with attempts to identify and articulate this crisis. One of the approaches to the problem of the identity of the modern priest was the use of the methodology for an analysis of the way a priest rationally uses his time.⁹⁸

The methodology for such research proceeds from a simple premise: “If nobody can say what ministerial duty is, one can simply analyze what priests do during their work week.” In 1953–1957, S. Blizzard conducted a study of the Protestant clergy, in which three roles were identified: “practitioner roles,

⁹⁴ G. Greshake, *Priester sein in dieser Zeit: Theologie – Pastorale Praxis – Spiritualität* (Freiburg i.B., Basel, Wien: Herder, 2000), 24, quoted in A. I. Chernyj, “Ponyatie ‚krizisa svyashchenstva’ u germanoyazychnyh teologov XX veka,” [Notion of the “clergy crisis” in the works of German-language theologians of the 20th century], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1: *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya. Religiovedenie* 6 (68) (2016): 117).

⁹⁵ S. Buralassi, *Preti in crisi? Tendenze sociologiche del Clero italiano* (Fossano: Editrice Esperienze, 1970), 133; for more detail, see Z. S. Tyurina, “Katolicheskij svyashchennik i krizis: vzglyad na problemy sovremennogo svyashchenstva v Italii,” [The Catholic priest and crisis: a view on the modern Italian clergy problems], in *Materialy seminara “Svyashchenstvo i vyzovy sovremennosti”* 3 (Moscow: PSTGU, 2016): 8).

⁹⁶ N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel’skij projekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests’ Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016.

⁹⁷ K. V. Aleksin, “Implitsitnaya teologiya svyashchenstva: otsenka evristicheskogo potentsiala ponyatiya dlya analiza sostoyaniya sovremennoj religioznosti v Rossii,” [Implicit theology of priesthood: an evaluation of the heuristic potential for the analysis of the state of modern religiosity in Russia], *Vestnik Ekaterinburgskoj dukhovnoj seminarii* 4 (16) (2016): 13–30.

⁹⁸ See the definition in *Appendix 1*.

integrative roles, and the master role.”⁹⁹ The survey found out how much time priests spend on fulfilling each of the roles. They were also asked if they were satisfied with the amount of time they spend on each activity. For Blizzard, this allowed him to demonstrate the conflict between different roles with which the ministers struggled.”¹⁰⁰ In 1985, nine years after Blizzard’s death, his monograph *The Protestant Parish Minister: A Behavioral Science Interpretation*¹⁰¹ was published. In 1994 an attempt to continue this research¹⁰² was made. The latter is based on a small sample of 310 respondents – priests from various Christian denominations including Catholics¹⁰³ – and suggests a time budget according to a specific coding of priests’ activities, which provides the opportunity to compare the ministerial duty of priests of various denominations.¹⁰⁴

Such a situation in the research of the influence of priests’ activity makes it possible to establish three facts. First, there is a general conviction among researchers and religionists of the critical influence of the priest on the formation of religiosity. This is evidenced by the very question of the lack of clergy where Paul’s research directly states the dependence of the number of oblationaries on the number of priests; or Sullins’ attempt to analyze a priest’s “accessibility.” Secondly, there are no works showing how this influence is exercised. Thirdly, in all the research, the clergy appears as some kind of an insulated or closed in-group, social class¹⁰⁵ or a corporation¹⁰⁶ researching itself. The interaction of this closed

⁹⁹ S. Brunette-Hill and R. Finke, “A Time for Every Purpose: Updating and Extending Blizzard’s Survey on Clergy Time,” *Review of Religious Research* 41 (1) (1999): 49.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ S. Blizzard, *The Protestant Parish Minister: A Behavioral Science Interpretation*, The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Monograph Series 5 (Storrs, CT: The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1985).

¹⁰² S. Brunette-Hill and R. Finke, “A Time for Every Purpose: Updating and Extending Blizzard’s Survey on Clergy Time,” *Review of Religious Research* 41 (1) (1999): 19.

¹⁰³ Ibid.: 51–52.

¹⁰⁴ All the types of time expense are distributed according to four tasks: teaching, priestly/preacher, pastoral, administrator/organizer: Every type of task had the following types of time expenses: 1) teaching adults, the youth and children; 2) priestly/preacher – preparing a sermon; performing services, sacraments, and rites; preparing for the service; other; 3) pastoral – pastoral counseling; visiting the ill; visiting members of the community; other contacts; 4) administrator/organizer – planning; paperwork; local meetings; denominational/ ecumenical; other administrative. (Ibid.: 55).

¹⁰⁵ Here, we refer to the normative, rather than institutional nature of “closeness” and “stratification” (see Archpriest P. Khondzinsky, “Prihodskoe dukhovenstvo kontsa XIX—nachala XX veka v russkoj dukhovnoj traditsii,” [Parish clergy in the late 19th and the early 20th century in the Russian spiritual tradition], http://pstbi.ru/news/show/132-doklad_prot_Pavel_Khondsinskiy, accessed 08.12.2016).

¹⁰⁶ J. W. Carroll and R. L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors? The State of the Clergy Job Market* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980).

group with believers is not analyzed or considered. Even investigations into priests' time budgets which focus precisely on sacerdotal performance fail to consider it to be an interactive process involving believers.

Having looked at various approaches to studying a priest's activity, we shall now turn to the research on the study of religiosity. This is necessary in order to proceed to the key question of whether it is possible to somehow operationalize the influence of a priest's activity on the basis of religiosity, and how is this influence exercised.

§3. The Theoretical Basis for the Empirical Research of Religiosity in Russia

This section will demonstrate the vision of religion as worship and a system of values and practices. It will also show that the theory of secularization serves as a theoretical basis for the empirical study of religiosity. Such an understanding makes it impossible to pose the question of the interaction of believers and priests, and entirely places the emphasis in studies of religiosity on measuring fluctuations in "religious demand."

Russian sociological scholarship on religion (primarily Orthodox Christianity, as this is the most widespread confession on the territory of the Russia Federation) of the last twenty five years are mostly on the religiosity of believers.¹⁰⁷ In addition, there is a small group of studies dedicated to other subject,

¹⁰⁷ One may also see that after analyzing the works of Russian research of religion in various fields: E. G. Balagushkin, *Problemy morfologicheskogo analiza religij*, [Problems of morphological analysis of religions] (Moscow, 2003); O. G. Bukhovets, *Sotsialnye konflikty i krest'yanskaya mentalnost' v Rossiyskoj imperii nachala XX veka: Novye materialy, metody, rezultaty*, [Social conflicts and peasant mentality in the Russian Empire in the early 20th century: New evidence, methods, and results] (Moscow, 1996); B. Dubin, "Massovaya religioznaya kul'tura v Rossii (tendentsii i itogi 1990-h gg.)," [Mass religious culture in Russia (trends and results of the 1990s)], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 3 (2004): 35–44; N. A. Zorkaya, "Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve," [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 65–84; K. Kaariainen and D. E. Furman, "Religioznost' v Rossii na rubezhe XX-XXI stoletij," [Religiosity in Russia at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries], *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost* 1 (2007): 103–119; 2: 78–95; V. V. Lokosov and Yu. Yu Sinelina, "Vzaimosvyaz' religioznykh i politicheskikh orientatsij pravoslavnykh rossijan," [The correlation between the religious and political orientations of Russian Orthodox Christians] in ed. M. M. Mchedlova, *Religiya v samosoznanii naroda (religioznyj faktor v identifikatsionnykh protsessakh)*, [Religion in self-consciousness of the people (The religious factor in identification processes)] (Moscow: Institut sotsiologii RAN, 2008): 135–158; M. M. Mchedlova, "Rol' religii v sovremennom obshchestve," [The role of religion in contemporary society], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 12 (2009): 83; E. A. Ostrovskaya, *Religioznaya model obshchestva. Sotsiologicheskie aspekty institutsionalizatsii traditsionnykh religioznykh ideologij*, [A religious model of society. Sociological aspects of institutionalization for

such as monasteries, communities, priesthood, holy objects, etc.¹⁰⁸

A significant part of these studies presents their objects **precisely as objects** – holy objects, traditions, clergy – as a closed class, believers, that is as a special group and as bearers of the tradition. People (different types of believers, non-believers and atheists) are somehow able to relate to these things/objects, which have some degree of specificity.

It can be assumed that such a focus of research attention is due, on the one hand, to the specific position of religion in Russia of the last century and, on the

traditional religious ideologies] (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt- Peterburgskogo universiteta, 2005); Eadem., "Traditsionnye religioznye ideologii Rossii i Yuzhnoj Korei v sravnitel'noj perspective," [Traditional religious ideologies of Russia and South Korea in comparative perspective], *Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsialnoj antropologii* 4 (63) (2012): 107-126, Eadem., "Teoriya traditsionnykh religioznykh ideologij: metodologicheskie vozmozhnosti i gorizonty primenimosti," [Theory of traditional religious ideologies: Methodological capacities and limits of applicability], *Vestnik RKhGA* 12 (1) (2011): 83-96, E. V. Prutskova, "Religioznost' i ee sledstviya v tsennostno-normativnoj sfere," [Religiosity and its consequences in the value-normative sphere], *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 2 (2013): 72–88; Eadem., "Sviaz' religioznosti i tsennostno-normativnykh pokazatelei: faktor religioznoi sotsializatsii," [The connection between religiosity and value-normative characteristics: The factor of religious socialization], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (59) (2015): 62–80; "Religious beliefs in Russia. Press-release" "Levada Center," analytical center of Yuri Levada, <http://www.levada.ru/2011/09/26/religioznaya-vera-v-rossii/>, accessed 23.03.2016; Yu. Yu. Sinelina, *Izmerenie religioznosti naseleniya Rossii: Pravoslavnye i musul'mane: suevernoe povedenie rossijan* [A measurement of people's religiosity in Russia: Muslims and Orthodox Christians: The superstitious behavior of the Russians] (Moscow: Nauka, 2006); Eadem., "O dinamike religioznosti rossijan i nekotorykh metodologicheskikh problemakh ee izucheniya (religioznoe soznanie i povedenie pravoslavnykh i musul'man)," [On the dynamics of religiosity of Russians and some methodological problems of its research (Religious consciousness and the behavior of Orthodox Christians and Muslims)], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2013): 104–115; S. B. Filatov and R. N. Lunkin, "Statistika rossijskoj religioznosti: magiya tsifr i neodnoznachnaya real'nost'," [Statistics of Russian religiosity: The magic of numbers and ambivalent reality], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 6 (2005): 35–45; V. F. Chesnokova, *Tesnym putem: protsess votserkovleniya naseleniya Rossii v kontse XX veka*, [Through the narrow way: The process of churching in Russia in the late 20th century] (Moscow: Akademicheskij proekt, 2005). On the analysis of religious situation in Russia by Western social researchers, see H. Davis, "Mediating Religion in Post-Soviet Russia: Orthodoxy and National Identity in Broadcasting," *Studies in World Christianity* 11 (1) (2008): 65–86; G. Evans and K. Northmore-Ball, "The Limits of Secularization? The Resurgence of Orthodoxy in Post-Soviet Russia," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51 (4) (2012): 795–808; G. Fagan, *Believing in Russia: Religious Policy After Communism* (New York, 2013); B. Forest, J. Johnson, and M. T. Stepaniants, *Religion and Identity in Modern Russia: The Revival of Orthodoxy and Islam* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005); Z. Knox, *Russian Society and the Orthodox Church: Religion in Russia after Communism* (New York, 2004); S. G. Lehmann, "Inter-Ethnic Conflict in the Republics of Russia in Light of Religious Revival," *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 39 (8) (1998): 461–493; R. R. Robson, "Old Believers in Modern Russia," *Utopian Studies* 8 (2) (1997): 173–174; eds. M. D. Steinberg and C. Wanner, *Religion, Morality, and Community in Post-Soviet Societies* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008).

¹⁰⁸ Yu. I. Belonogova, "Prikhodskoe dukhovenstvo i krest'yanskij mir v nachale XX veka," [Parish clergy and peasant world in the early 20th centuries] (Moscow, 2010); D. A. Oreshina, "Sotsial'naya deyatel'nost' prikhodskikh obshchin i konfessional'nykh organizatsij. Obzor sotsiologicheskikh issledovanij," [Social activity of parish communities and confessional organizations. Overview of sociological studies], in *Materialy seminara "Sotsiologiya religii,"* 2014-14, Moscow, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/WP_2014-14.pdf, accessed 29.12.2015; eds. A. Agadzhanian and K. Russele, *Prihod i obshchina v sovremennom pravoslavii: kornevaya sistema rossijskoj religioznosti.* [Parish and community in the contemporary Orthodoxy: The core system of Russian religiosity] (Moscow: Ves' mir, 2011); eds. A. Agadzhanian and K. Russele, *Religioznye praktiki v sovremennoj Rossii,* [Religious practices in modern Russia] (Moscow, 2006); Archpriest P. Khondzinskij, "Prikhodskoe dukhovenstvo kontsa XIX — nachala XX veka v russkoj dukhovnoj traditsii," [Parish clergy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Russian spiritual tradition], http://pstbi.ru/news/show/132-doklad_prot_Pavel_Khondsinskiy, accessed 08.12.2016.

other hand, to sociological approaches that dominated at a certain time, which were based on ideas about religion's special status in society, as well as the specific state of society itself.¹⁰⁹ The religious situation in the USSR can be described as that of a ghetto where the existence of religion was possible only within strict limits¹¹⁰ and was subject to consequences which still influence religiosity in Russia.¹¹¹

The sociological approach used (explicitly or implicitly) by the recent study of Russian religiosity see (or conceptualize) society as a unity (and not, for example, as a sum of individuals, or of anything else). These approaches appeared during the Golden Age of sociology, in the works of K. Marx, H. Spencer or early É. Durkheim.¹¹² Here is a typical fragment from Spencer's text quoted by Durkheim in his *Rules of Sociological Method*: "We have seen," he stated, "that social evolution begins with small, simple aggregates, that it progresses by the clustering of these into larger aggregates, and that after consolidating such clusters are united with others like themselves into still larger aggregates. Our classification then must begin with the societies of the first or simplest order."¹¹³

According to Durkheim, religion is "is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden — beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church,

¹⁰⁹ "M. Weber's *Protestant Ethic* is a classic study for most sociologists worldwide. But as we know and as is documented by special research, it could only appear in a certain place at a certain time" (A. F. Filippov, "O ponyatii teoreticheskoy sotsiologii," [On the notion of theoretical sociology], *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie* 7 (3) (2008): 75-114, in more detail about Weber's work, see eds. H. Lehmann and G. Roth, *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Context* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹¹⁰ M. V. Shkarovskij, *Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Tserkvov' pri Staline i Khrushcheve* [Russian Orthodox Church at the time of Stalin and Khrushchev] (Moscow, 1995).

¹¹¹ A. Agadzhanian, "'Mnozhestvennyye sovremennosti,' rossijskie 'proklyatye voprosy' i nezyblemost' sekulyarnogo Moderna," ["Multiple modernities," Russian "cursed questions" and the inviolability of the secular Modernity], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 1 (30) (2012): 124-147; Ch. Marsh, "Religion after Atheism," *Society* 48 (3) (2011): 24-250; P. Froese, "After Atheism: An Analysis of Religious Monopolies in the Post-Communist World," *Sociology of Religion* 65 (1) (2004): 57-75.

¹¹² Cf., for example, "Since a social fact can only be labelled normal or abnormal in relation to a given social species, what has been stated up to now implies that a branch of sociology must be devoted to the constitution and classification of these species. This notion of social species has moreover the very great advantage of providing us with a middle ground between the two opposing conceptions of social life which for a long time have caused a division of opinion. I refer to the nominalism of the historians and the extreme realism of the philosophers" (E. Durkheim, "Metod sotsiologii," [The rules of sociological method], in *Zapadno-evropejskaya sotsiologiya XIX-nachala XX vekov*, [Western European sociology of the 19th-early 20th century] (Moscow, 1996), 286.

¹¹³ Quoted in E. Durkheim, "Metod sotsiologii," [The rules of sociological method], in *Zapadno-evropejskaya sotsiologiya XIX-nachala XX vekov* [Western European sociology of the 19th-early 20th century] (Moscow, 1996), 287.

all those who adhere to them.”¹¹⁴ This approach was finalized in 1951 in “The Social System” by T. Parsons.¹¹⁵ Though his position has several nuances,¹¹⁶ in general, religion according to Parsons is to a great extent a system of values integrating society. See e. g. “The religious movement, because of its relation to general value integration, claims a paramount jurisdiction over human value-orientations, which must somehow be integrated with the values institutionalized in the state”;¹¹⁷ or “Certainly in a broad sense religion is closely related to the integration of the social system, and the ideal type of a fully integrated society of a certain kind would have one completely integrated religious system,”¹¹⁸ One can say that Parsons saw religion first of all (though not only) as religious beliefs, a collection of values and a system of ideas in a way functionally equivalent to science, philosophy or ideology.¹¹⁹ Parallel to this theoretical approach, the techniques of mass surveys¹²⁰ developed actively in the USA and Europe.

In this situation research in the study of religion becomes the survey of believers, because if the value system is present in society, then people share these values, which means that if you have the right tool, working with these people (in this case, by interviewing them), the system itself manifests into view. Thus, on the one hand, numerous empirical studies of value gradually emerged,¹²¹ and on the

¹¹⁴ E. Durkheim, “Elementarnye formy religioznoj zhizni. Totemicheskaya sistema v Avstralii,” [The elementary forms of religious life. The totemic system in Australia], in comp., ed. A. N. Krasnikova, *Mistika. Religiya. Nauka. Klassiki mirovogo religiovedeniya. Antologiya*, [Mystics, Religion, Science. Classical authors of world Religious Studies. An Anthology] (Moscow: Kanon, 1998), 230.

¹¹⁵ T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951).

¹¹⁶ “Similarly, if a body of religious ideas is to have a great influence on social change, its ‘chances’ are at least greatly enhanced, if as a cognitive structure it has acquired the levels of clarity, logical articulation and profundity of reasoning and insight, which it seems probable that only a sophisticated tradition of professional philosophical thinking can give. It is no more likely that the great influence of Christianity, of Hinduism, or of Buddhism would have come about only through the activities of the ‘practical men’ of religion, the administrators of cults, of church organizations, the curers of souls, or even the prophets, than is the case with the practical men of everyday affairs, who we all agree would not by themselves have created modern science. The fact that the solutions of the cognitive problems are ‘there’ to be found, and that it would from some point of view ‘be a good thing’ if they were found, does not account for the fact that a great tradition of ideas in fact develops” (Ibid., 245).

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 114.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 208.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 247–255.

¹²⁰ American society of that time (the 1950s–1970s) shows significant consensuality. It was not a coincidence that R. Bellah’s work “Civil Religion in America” appeared at the time. In this work, the system of values and the religion of Americans are regarded as a unit (see R. N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 96 (1) (1967): 1–21).

¹²¹ S. H. Schwartz, “Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in Twenty Countries,” in ed. M. Zanna, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1992), 1–65; S. H. Schwartz et al., “Utochnennaya teoriya bazovykh individualnykh tsennostej: primenenie v

other, empirical studies of religiosity by C. Glock became the key works¹²².

Russian religiosity research in many ways inherited this tradition, but only within limits, and it was impossible to analyze the believer-priest interaction.

Apart from sociological trends (with a slight focus on religion), in religious research (sometimes sociological) there was a special tradition. This tradition is the research on secularization (and then counter-, post- and other secularization).

By the 1970s secularization theory became the reigning dogma in the sociology of religion. In 1960s, Brian Wilson defined secularization as “a process when religious thinking, practice, and religious institutes lose their social importance.”¹²³ At the same time Wilson’s understanding exceeds the limits of his definition and suggests not only a loss of social importance, but also a decline of faith, which cannot develop in the circumstances of the modern rationalized pluralistic world. P. Berger’s idea was similar.¹²⁴

The simple thesis of “a decrease in religion” has been formulated very differently in various discourses, disciplines, and contexts. In the empirical research of religiosity¹²⁵ it was reformulated as “secularization is a decline in the number of believers.” Later the term “decline in the number of believers” was operationalized in many different ways – church attendance, the central position of religion, participation in sacraments,¹²⁶ etc. As a result of all the above, the debate

Rossii,” [Refined theory of basic individual values as applied to Russia], *Psikhologiya. Zhurnal Vysshej shkoly ekonomiki* 9 (1) (2012): 43–70; M. Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values* (New York; London: Free Press, 1973); R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹²² Glock C. Y. “On the Study of Religious Commitment.” *Religious Education* 57 (4) (1962): 98–110; Glock C. Y. and Ph. Roos. “Parishioners’ Views of How Ministers Spend Their Time.” *Review of Religious Research* 2 (1961): 170–175.

¹²³ B. Wilson, *Religion in A Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: Watts, 1966), XIV.

¹²⁴ D. A. Uzlaner, “Sekulyarizatsiya kak sotsiologicheskoe ponyatie (Po issledovaniyam zapadnykh sotsiologov),” [Secularization as a sociological notion (based on the reaserch of Western sociologists)], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 8 (2008): 62–67.

¹²⁵ The empirical research of religiosity is not the same thing as the sociology of religion, which is clear in a study by Jose Casanova. In this study, the author says that even in sociology, one should distinguish between three fundamentally different ways of seeing secularization: functional differentiation, privatization, and diminution (J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago, 1980)).

¹²⁶ See E. V. Prutskova, “Religioznost’: sposoby operatsionalizatsii i kolichestvennoj otsenki. Seriya: Kolichestvennye issledovaniya religii. Mezhdunarodnaya praktika,” [Religiosity: means of operationalization and quantitative assessment. Series: Quantitative religion studies. International experience], in *Materialy seminarov “Sotsiologiya religii,”* 2010-5, Moscow, 2014, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/WP_2010-05.pdf, accessed 29.12.2016.

on religion (and its place in society) was reduced and became a debate over what the percentage of believers in the society was (for Russia – 3% or 80%?).

By the end of the twentieth century, it became apparent that the gradual disappearance of religion, the irreversibility of secularization, and the attenuation of religion as a function of the degree of modernization of society all turned out to be absolutely false as they were contested by unquestionable facts.¹²⁷ One problem for the theory of secularization and associated theories of religion was the case of the USA, which was the most modernized country and, at the same time, a country where religiosity was not on the decline. There were attempts to explain away this fact, but they seemed weak.¹²⁸

Secularization is no longer understood as a global process that can provide a universal answer to the question of the influence of modernity on religion. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is necessary to raise the question of a reverse process of the influence of religion on the formation of modernity. Eisenstadt's concept of "multiple modernities,"¹²⁹ based on the idea of the fundamental heterogeneity of modernity and its dependence on civilizational contexts, makes it impossible to simply frame secularization with a secular worldview.¹³⁰

So, one can say that religiosity scholarship based on the idea of religion as sacred worship, and religiosity as a system of values and practices, has formed a particular tradition of empirical research on religiosity. These studies were focused on studying values and practices, as well as on measuring the number of believers. As part of this approach, it appears impossible to explain modern religious processes like the absence of secularization processes in modernized communities, and desecularization. Religious interaction – including the influence of priests'

¹²⁷ P. L. Berger, "Secularization Falsified," *First Things*, February, 2008, <https://www.firstthings.com/article/2008/02/002-secularization-falsified>, accessed 23.11.2016.

¹²⁸ P. L. Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity: Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age* (Boston, Berlin, 2014).

¹²⁹ S. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129 (1) (2000): 1-29

¹³⁰ D. A. Uzlaner, "Ot sekulyarnoj sovremennosti k 'mnozhestvennym': sotsial'naya teoriya o sootnoshenii religii i sovremennosti," [From secular modernity to "plural" modernities: Social theory on correlation of religion and modernity], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 1 (30) (2012): 22.

activity on the formation of religiosity – completely fell away from the research focus. The next section will demonstrate how this situation was surmounted.

§4. Approaches to Studying Religion based on Rational Choice Theory

In this section, economic theories of religion are covered consecutively, starting with the primitive theory of “religious household production” to the theory of “religious economies” which explained the failure of the theory of secularization. These theories gave a totally different view of religion.¹³¹ The idea of religion as the interaction of various religious actors serves as the basis for the economic theories of religion. The focus of the analysis of religious processes is changed from studying “religious demand” to “religious supply.” Section 4.1 provides a general description of the economic theories of religion and makes preliminary remarks about the appropriateness of their use. Section 4.2 describes in a more detailed way how the Iannaccone–Stark religious market theory serves as a basis for this research. Finally, Section 4.3 describes a particular case of employing the religious market theory in the circumstance of a religious monopoly – the Hamberg–Peterson model. Religious market theory was created to explain the religious situation of countries with high religious competition and low state regulation (primarily, the USA). The example of using the Hamberg–Peterson model is crucial for this research since it demonstrates that it is possible to use religious market theory in countries where there is both a religious monopoly and regulation of religion by the state.

In 1994, a breakthrough occurred in both the study of religiosity as a system of values and practices, as well as in the idea of secularization. R. Stark and L. Iannaccone, American researchers and proponents of the rational choice theory,

¹³¹ For a more detailed description of religious market, some universal trends and problems of this research paradigm, see I. G. Kargina, *Sotsiologicheskie refleksii sovremennogo religioznogo plyuralizma*, [Sociological reflections of modern religious pluralism] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “MGIMO-Universitet,” 2014); E. D. Rutkevich, “Religiya v global'nom prostranstve: podkhody, opredeleniya i problemy zapadnoj sotsiologii,” [Religion in global space: approaches, definitions and problems of Western sociology], *Vestnik Instituta sotsiologii* 20 (2017): 131–161.

suggested their own version of why there is no secularization in the USA.¹³² They showed that the population's religiosity (demand for the services of "religious firms") will be higher wherever the supply of religious firms is diversified, such that in a situation of monopoly from the side of the religious supply, some parts of the demand will not be met. The market and a diversified supply will meet a diversified demand, and there will be no secularization.¹³³

4.1 Five Approaches to Studying Religion, Based on Rational Choice Theory

Laurence Iannaccone in his "Introduction to the Economics of Religion"¹³⁴ enlists five approaches to the study of religion, based on rational choice theory and on various economic theories. Iannaccone himself takes possible doubts into account, insisting that the use of economic methods requires a special sensitivity to the limits of the applicability of formal theories and statistical models.

The first of the five approaches is linked to the application of the theory of "religious household production." Extrapolating Becker's household production theory onto religion, this approach offers a somewhat primitive model of religion as one of the commodities a household consumes and suggests an opposition of "time-saving" / "time-consuming" and "money-saving" / "money-intensive" forms of religiosity.¹³⁵

The next approach to studying religion is connected to religious human capital. This approach is a development of the previous simplest economic model of religion, and it suggests that one consider accumulation of knowledge about faith and social connections within a religious community¹³⁶ as religious goods.

¹³² R. Stark and L. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 230–252.

¹³³ R. Stark insists that the secularization theory as a whole is incorrect (R. Stark, "Secularisation. R.I.P.," *Sociology of Religion* 60 (3) (1999): 249–273).

¹³⁴ L. R. Iannaccone, "Introduction to the Economics of Religion," *Journal of Economic Literature* 36 (3) (1998): 1465–1495.

¹³⁵ C. Azzi and R. Ehrenberg, "Household Allocation of Time and Church Attendance," *Journal of Political Economy* 83 (1) (1975): 27–56.

¹³⁶ L. R. Iannaccone, "Religious Participation: A Human Capital Approach," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (3) (1990): 297–314.

Three other economic models of religion explain religious behavior by analogy to three organizational and institutional forms: a club,¹³⁷ a firm, and a market.¹³⁸

The model of “religion as a club” focuses on the joint production of “religious goods.” Not only do “religious specialists” work full-time, but also every member of a religious community makes their contribution, both to “manufacturing” and “consuming” “religious goods.” On the contrary, the “religious firm” and the “religious market” models highlight the differences between of the clergy and the laity. R. Stark and W. Bainbridge show a certain similarity between the ways a firm and a religious organization operate. The example of forming new religions especially shows that the role of individual enterprise turns out to be very large.¹³⁹ Finally, the third model of the “religious market” arises, uniting the approaches of the two previous models and adding the idea of competition among religious organizations. This is a model where sects and other exclusive religious communities act as clubs, involving Churches as firms, and the “religious market” is a simple exchange between entrepreneurs and their clients.¹⁴⁰ Since, in the latter model. the notion of the production of “religious goods”¹⁴¹ arises, the emphasis is placed on the mechanism of interaction within which in which these “goods” are produced, and also on the competition in attracting clients among various “religious firms” is considered a model of “religious supply.”

Of course, none of the religious economic theories imply the primitive view of religion as the sale of ritual services. Such an understanding is rather a simple analysis of the economic side of the religious part of a person’s and society’s life.

¹³⁷ This approach was used in D. H. Sullivan, “Simultaneous Determination of Church Contributions and Church Attendance,” *Economic Inquiry* 23 (2) (1985): 309–320; L. R. Iannaccone, “Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-Riding in Cults, Communes and Other Collectives,” *Journal of Political Economy* 100 (1992): 271–291.

¹³⁸ R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern: Lang, 1987); R. Finke and R. Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

¹³⁹ R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 171–188.

¹⁴⁰ L. R. Iannaccone, “Economy,” in ed. H. R. Ebaugh, *Handbook of Religion and Social Institutions* (Berlin: Springer, 2006), 21–40. P. 29.

¹⁴¹ See the definition in *Appendix 1*.

These models simply propose “religious product” as social capital or the creation and diversification of meanings (the club theory, the firm, and market theory) as “religious goods” (which is no more than a metaphor in no way associated with goods/money relationships). The notion of “religious goods” is defined as “fundamental answers to the deep philosophical questions surrounding life that have as their basis some appeal to a supernatural force.”¹⁴² In this sense the metaphor of “purchase and sale” is not applicable to religious market theory.

It is more about a range of religious meanings, in the making of which every person (whether a believer or not) always participates, and the problem of choosing this or that community or society within which they get involved becomes part of the production of an answer.¹⁴³

Economic models of religion, simply due to their great primitiveness and unification of all the manifestations of religious life, can give neither a satisfactory, much less a comprehensive, explanation for the integrity of a person’s religious behavior or large-scale religious processes. All these models only provide an occasion for analyzing a very narrow range of issues connected to the interaction of religious actors and, primarily, the external manifestations of religious life without taking into account the internal nature and the complexity of religious problematics.

The following Sections 4.2 and 4.3 offer a more detailed description of religious market theory and particular cases of using the theory which, nevertheless, demonstrate its abilities to describe religious interaction.

¹⁴² A. Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* (New York, 2008), 231.

¹⁴³ Outside the framework of this dissertation’s research, the question of the theological analysis of the process itself of choosing one’s faith and community in the context of the Orthodox Christian worldview. Should every Christian choose their parish, their community, their spiritual guide? Or should they accept what they have for granted – e. g. a lack of a community in their parish or their town? Should the church government (the Holy Synod, the Supreme Church Council) rationally plan a change in the number of clergy (e. g. to preserve the existing number, or decrease, or increase it)? Or does such planning contradict Christian dogma or godliness? The problems of building a longterm church strategy of development is currently being discussed in the Orthodox Christian media and the corresponding segment of the social media.

4.2 Religious Economics: The Theory of Religious Mobilization and the Model of Supply

In the 1990s, R. Stark, R. Finke, W. Bainbridge, L. Iannaccone, R. S. Warner and a group of other researchers suggested an approach to studying the relation between multiple modernities and religion based on rational choice theory.¹⁴⁴ R. Stark and L. Iannaccone introduce the notion of a religious firm and the religious economy:

*The Religious Economy consists of all the religious activity going on in any society. Religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market of current and potential customers, a set of firms seeking to serve that market, and the religious “product lines” offered by the various firms.*¹⁴⁵

Next, a theory of religious mobilization is proposed, consisting of seven assumptions about the religious economy and placing the main emphasis on the behaviour of “religious firms” rather than on “religious consumers.” This makes it possible to assess the level of possible religious mobilization depending on the supply in the religious market. The main thesis of this theory is the assumption that, depending on the degree of competition and pluralism of the religious economy, the general level of religious involvement will tend to increase. On the other hand, depending on the degree to which the religious economy is vulnerable to monopolisation by one or two state-supported firms, the general level of religiosity will tend to decrease.¹⁴⁶

Preliminary testing of this model shows that countries with a high level of government regulation,¹⁴⁷ as well as those with a high level of religious market

¹⁴⁴ R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern: Lang, 1987); R. Stark and L. R. Iannaccone, “A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the ‘Secularization’ of Europe.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 230–252.

¹⁴⁵ R. Stark and L. R. “A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the ‘Secularization’ of Europe.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 232.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 234.

¹⁴⁷ Recently, M. Chaves and D. E. Cann quantified the regulation of religious economies in 18 nations on the basis of a six-item scale: “whether or not (1) there is a single, officially designated state church; (2) there is official state

monopolization,¹⁴⁸ exhibit lower religious involvement, operationalized simply as weekly church attendance.¹⁴⁹

4.3 Religious Market Theory in a Situation of a Religious Monopoly

The religious market model describes well the situation in the USA characterized by zero regulation of the religious market and a great diversity of competing Protestant Churches among which believers transition easily several times over the course of their lives. There are also studies that provide an example of an efficient application of this model to countries with a strict regulation of the religious market and a high level of monopolization over it. E. Hamberg and Th. Pettersson use the religious market model to study the religious situation in Sweden.¹⁵⁰ In 1990, the Church of Sweden was practically a monopolist over the religious market: more than 90% of the population considered itself to be its members, but only 4% attended church weekly.¹⁵¹ In 2000 the Church of Sweden was a State Church with strong direct regulation and support. This example shows that the situation in Russia — a gap between religious self-identification and religious practices — is not something unprecedented. The situation in Sweden in late 1990s was similar, and Grace Davie posed the problem of a declining number

recognition of some denominations but not others; (3) the state appoints or approves the appointment of church leaders; (4) the state directly pays church personnel salaries; (5) there is a system of ecclesiastical tax collection; (6) the state directly subsidizes, beyond mere tax breaks, the operating, maintenance, or capital expenses for churches” (M. Chaves and D. E. Cann, “Regulation, Pluralism, and Religious Market Structure,” *Rationality and Society* 4 (1992): 280).

¹⁴⁸ The monopolization of the religious market has been operationalized with the Herfindahl index that is applied in economic analysis of various markets. $H=S_1^2+S_2^2+\dots+S_N^2$, where S_X is the part of those involved in the church X to the total number of those involved in all churches (“religious firms”) that function on this territory. The Herfindahl index fluctuates from 1 to $1/N$, where N is the total number of churches (“religious firms”). The higher the Herfindahl index – the higher the level of this market’s monopolization. In case of absolute monopoly of a “religious firm,” the index equals 1.

¹⁴⁹ R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern: Lang, 1987); R. Stark and L. R. Iannaccone, “A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the ‘Secularization’ of Europe.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 240–241.

¹⁵⁰ E. M. Hamberg and Th. Pettersson, “The Religious Market: Denominational Competition and Religious Participation in Contemporary Sweden,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (1994): 205–216.

¹⁵¹ It should be noted that Protestant Church in Sweden does not oblige their members to go to “Herrenmahl” (Eucharist) on Sundays. In that point Protestant and Catholic churches differ! Therefore, church attendance is not a good criterium in Protestant churches for testing commitment.

of people attending church services in England, which was not followed by a drop in the number of believers.¹⁵²

In Sweden, 2550 parishes are distributed in 284 municipalities, which will be considered units of analysis. In each municipality, the following factors were evaluated: 1) the number of services a year per capita; 2) the diversity of types of service.¹⁵³ As a result, each parish and then each municipality was divided into the following four types, relative to median numbers in all parishes:

Table 1.

	Few services	Numerous services
Traditional types of services prevail	1. Few; traditional types prevail	2. Numerous; traditional types prevail
Alternative types of services prevail	3. Few; diverse types of services	4. Numerous; diverse types of services

The level of involvement in each municipality, as the percentage of weekly church attendance, was taken as the dependent variable. The results showed that the level of involvement has a positive and stable dependence on the type of municipality subject to the control of socio-economic indicators. Moreover, involvement is higher in municipalities of the fourth type, where there are numerous services per capita in parishes, and where services are more variable and limited to the traditional types.¹⁵⁴

Thus, the model made it possible to analyze, not the religious situation in different countries, but to compare various types of interaction between priests and

¹⁵² G. Davie, "Believing without Belonging. Is This the Future of Religion in Britain?" *Social Compass* 37 (4) (1990): 455–469. Abby Day argues against these ideas in A. Day, *Believing in Belonging: Belief and Social Identity in the Modern World* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁵³ Both indices – the quantity and the type of divine service – were strictly observed and fixed by the official church statistics. At the time of conducting this research, the Church of Sweden comprised around ten different types of services that could be divided into traditional ones and alternative ones that had only appeared recently. (Ibid., 211).

¹⁵⁴ One can submit many complaints and raise many questions about the results of the analysis. The author admits that it is wrong to state direct dependence of the demand level on the supply level. It is possible to interpret the data in the reverse way: the higher the demand, the more various the supply is. That said, the authors believe that, in fact, supply precedes demand, which can be proven. (Ibid., 213).

believers, and to evaluate the impact of the activities of priests, as well as its involving effect.

However, the most important outcome of the implementation of this approach was not the explanation of the problem of secularization, nor specific features of religious supply in countries with a religious monopoly, but the discovery of research opportunities linked to understanding religion as interaction, rather than as a system of values. Studies within the framework of the economic theory of religion have shown that from a research point of view, understanding religion as an interaction that takes place between people often turns out to be more efficient than understanding it as the way people engage the sacred.

This approach suggests looking at religion as a system of interactions.¹⁵⁵ This means that the behavior of believers (“consumers”, “religious demand”) depends on the behavior of priests (“religious firms,” religious actors, “supply”). This simple statement has a great number of consequences from the point of view of both the theoretical and empirical approach to religiosity studies.

§5. The Problem of Using Religious Market Theory to Analyze the Activity of the Orthodox Priest in Contemporary Russia

We believe that, with all due reserve, the above-mentioned concepts can be used efficiently to try to understand the position of the Orthodox priest in religious life in contemporary Russia. How can this be achieved?

It is not difficult to see that the existing studies of Russian religiosity can at best describe the demand for “religious goods” which are understood as “fundamental answers to the deep philosophic questions surrounding life that have as their basis some appeal to a supernatural force.”¹⁵⁶ If we skip going into details, we can state that the demand for the Orthodox answer to the meaning of life has the following structure: 3% – those practicing regularly, 20% – recurrent users, and

¹⁵⁵ Stark defines “interaction” as “exchange” in the broadest sense, that results in “relationships” between people: “relationship is established between two people if, after a series of exchanges, they consider each other exchange partners and aspire to a greater interaction in future” (Def. 25, see R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Lang, 1983), 326).

¹⁵⁶ See A. Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* (New York, 2008), 231.

the other 50% – those who are not necessarily against the concept but do not need it now. Thus, frequency indices of varying levels of religious practice help us roughly segment the demand on this market.

There are several Russia-based studies based on the understanding of religion as interaction and which use this approach efficiently. E. Prutskova, based on R. Stark's idea of religion as a "social structure,"¹⁵⁷ showed that the early religious socialization¹⁵⁸ has influenced the basic values of European countries¹⁵⁹ considerably. Among a number of European countries, Russia ranks last by the level of early religious socialization at 6%.¹⁶⁰ This fact makes it reasonable to suggest that the social effects of religiosity can only result from a long process of overcoming the consequences of forced secularization.¹⁶¹

The method of social network analysis¹⁶² makes it possible to demonstrate the importance of social networks of parish communities as a tool for influencing religiosity on behavioral attitudes, including influence outside the religious communities themselves. The key factor turns out to be not the level of individual religiosity, but the strength of connections, the size, and the type of the social

¹⁵⁷ R. Stark, "Religion as Context: Hellfire and Delinquency One More Time," *Sociology of Religion* 57 (2) (1996): 151–163.

¹⁵⁸ Early religious socialization was estimated based on the practice of attending religious services since the age of 12. The respective question was raised in the framework of European Values Study.

¹⁵⁹ E. V. Prutskova was the first to study the influence of early religious socialization (E. V. Prutskova, "Religioznost' i ee sledstviya v tsennostno-normativnoj sfere," [Religiosity and its consequences in the value-normative sphere], *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 2 (2013): 72–88; Eadem., "Vliyanie religioznosti na bazovye tsennosti naseleniya evropejskikh stran: effekt pervichnoj religioznoj sotsializatsii," [The influence of religiosity on the basic values of the population of European countries: The effect of primary religious socialization], in ed. E. Yasin, *XIV Aprelskaya mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya po problemam razvitiya ekonomiki i obshchestva*, [The 14th April International conference on the problems of development of economy and society], bk. 3 (Moscow, NIU VShE, 2014), 527–536, <http://www.hse.ru/data/2014/03/21/1318421862/Конф.Кн.3-текст.pdf>, accessed 29.12.2016.

¹⁶⁰ Against 14% in Georgia, 62% in Western Germany, 63% in France and 93% in Poland (*European Values Study-2008*).

¹⁶¹ E. V. Prutskova, "Sviaz' religioznosti i tsennostno-normativnykh pokazatelej: faktor religioznoj sotsializatsii," [Connection of religiosity with value-normative characteristics: The factor of religious socialization], *Vestnik PSTGU, Seriya 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (59) (2015): 77.

¹⁶² I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, "Sotsial'naya set' pravoslavnoj prikhodskoj obshchiny: vozmozhnosti primeneniya analiza sotsial'nykh setej v sotsiologii religii," [Social network of Orthodox parish community: Opportunities for applying social network analysis in the sociology of religion], *Vestnik PSTGU, Seriya 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 4 (48) (2013): 120–136; I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, "Sotsial'nyj kapital russkogo pravoslaviya v nachale XXI v.: issledovanie s pomoshch'yu metodov sotsial'no-setevogo analiza," [The social capital of the Russian Orthodox Christianity at the beginning of the 21st century: A study using the methods of social-network analysis], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 1 (32) (2014): 40–66.

network of religious communities.¹⁶³ The study of strong communities in Moscow¹⁶⁴ shows that the influence of individual religiosity on behavioral attitudes is particularly pronounced within the community.¹⁶⁵ This conclusion presupposes that religiosity dynamics in modern Russian society are a long and complex process that depends directly on the formation of church communities.

These studies demonstrate both the efficiency of the approach of studying religion as an interaction, and the impossibility of analyzing the problems posed within the framework of any other approach that is used in the majority of Russian religiosity studies. At the same time, all of these studies remain, as before, an investigation of religious demand, and do not make it possible to see the religious situation from another side.

The issue of supply is much more complex. What do we know about it? How can we measure it? We obviously cannot measure it by number of believers. Or can we? Would this approach be of any use? Today, there is no work that focuses on the situation in Russia. This research attempts to take initial steps in that direction, and to offer a view of the Russian religious situation, that is based on the intersection of two drastically different approaches to the study of religion. To do that, we need to offer a completely new method that results from metatheoretical analysis and the superposition of the two above-mentioned alternative approaches to the study of religion.¹⁶⁶

To do so, we suggest that we take several steps back and try to view the Orthodox situation in Russia not as cult or worship, but as a form of interaction.

¹⁶³ I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, “Sotsial’naya set’ pravoslavnoj prikhodskoj obshchiny: vozmozhnosti primeneniya analiza sotsial’nykh setej v sotsiologii religii,” [Social network of Orthodox parish community: Opportunities for applying social network analysis in the sociology of religion], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1: *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 4 (48) (2013): 132.

¹⁶⁴ I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, *Tri moskovskikh prikhoda: osnovnye sotsial’no-demograficheskie pokazateli i ustanovki predstavitelej obshchin krupnykh prikhodov*, [Three Moscow parishes: The main social-demographic indicators and attitudes of the representatives of large parish communities] (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo PSTGU, 2012): 37–40.

¹⁶⁵ A parish of an Orthodox church (in the early 20th century) comprises three parts: (1) the community core, (2) the community periphery, (3) Orthodox Christians outside the community. To identify which part of the parish a person belongs to, the next three groups of criteria can be used: (a) participation in religious practices (taking Communion, attending divine services, etc.); (b) self-identity as a member of community; (c) participation in activities that are not directly connected with divine service (or being aware of them) (*Ibid.*, 7).

¹⁶⁶ We use the term metatheoretic analysis in Ritzer sense (G. Ritzer, *Metatheorizing in Sociology* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1991); I. F. Devyatko, “Sotsiologicheskie teorii deyatelnosti i prakticheskoy ratsionalnosti,” [Sociological theories of activity and practical rationality] (Moscow: Avanti plus, 2003).

Who are the interacting parties? This is a difficult question. At this point we should make an assumption that will help us take the first step, though later (in other studies) we will probably have to renounce or revise it. The growing number of priests does not necessarily presuppose a growing number of parishioners. More important is the “quality” of priest, the type of pastoral action that contributes to the formation of community but does not hinder the generation of new social links (networks), and does not close the community within itself. This generativity (or the priest’s rootedness in tradition and social structure) generates a wide periphery that will demand new priests, and not an increase in the “demand for religious services.” This statement does not contradict the theoretical and empirical programme of this study, but it provides an alternate explanation of religious supply, one which goes beyond the idea of religious market.¹⁶⁷

The assumption that should be made to create a model of religious supply in contemporary Russia comprises a number of ecclesiological premises¹⁶⁸ that cast doubt on its adequacy in the Russian Orthodox context.¹⁶⁹ This move is taken to try to see the effects that the application of a similar model to the Russian situation¹⁷⁰ may have.

So, it is proposed that in the Russian religious market (in terms of Orthodoxy) that the demand come from believers, while the clergy and parishes of

¹⁶⁷ E.g. from the perspective of empirical research, the work of the “Sociology of religion” seminar was dedicated to the criticism of the rational choice theory with the help of the theory of network analysis, significance of weak links, and trust (I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, “Sotsial’naya set’ pravoslavnoj prikhodskoj obshchiny: vozmozhnosti primeneniya analiza sotsial’nykh setej v sotsiologii religii,” [The social network of an Orthodox parish community: Opportunities for applying social network analysis in the sociology of religion], *Vestnik PSTGU*. Series 1: *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 4 (48) (2013): 120–136; I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova “Sotsial’nyj kapital russkogo pravoslaviya v nachale XXI v.: issledovanie s pomoshch’yu metodov sotsial’no-setevogo analiza [The social capital of Russian Orthodox Christianity at the beginning of the 21st century: A study using the methods of social-network analysis], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 1 (32) (2014): 40–66).

¹⁶⁸ Sociological constructs in religion seem to always have ecclesiological premises. The idea of a religious market in the rational choice theory is deeply rooted in the theology of American denominationalism (H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1954). Thus, Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic* as well as a certain part of his sociology of religion are under serious influence of reformist and unionist theology, primarily, of Ritschl and Schnekenburger. Such wide-spread notions as, for example, *Liebensfuehrung* may originate from those studies (see P. Ghosh, *Max Weber and “The Protestant Ethic”*: *Twin Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 134–135).

¹⁶⁹ The denominationalist view of the Church does not correspond to the Orthodox teaching of sobornost, or of the conciliar nature of the Church. In this sense, religious market theory sees involvement in church life as involvement into a specific community, whereas for Orthodoxy, this is primarily involvement into the Church, which makes the significance of the community in this process completely different.

¹⁷⁰ We assume that, despite crucially different ecclesiological grounds, the application of this model can help analyse the interaction between priests and believers in the Russian Orthodox Church and provide a tentative assessment to its external mechanism.

the Russian Orthodox Church¹⁷¹ mainly present supply. This assumption is already implicit in the robust criticism that has been expressed toward the Church. It has already been noted that the low level of church attendance has been blamed on the inability of the Church to act adequately in modern conditions.¹⁷² Priests are deemed responsible¹⁷³ for this passivity. Moreover, some directly attribute the inability to interact with believers as a solidarity deficit.¹⁷⁴ It is interesting that in the western context foreign priests (from India, Poland etc.) should leave their jobs in Germany because the Church needs “Seelsorge,” that is pastoral interaction with people, and the precondition for that is to be available for “spiritual communication.”¹⁷⁵

In his article dedicated to the analysis of the social ministry of the Russian Orthodox Church, B. Knorre says: “Another serious expression of solidarity deficit is the problem of a higher proneness to conflict in church institutions. It is interesting to note that if a person, not connected to the church, learns about Church institutions, he imagines church work to be rather idyllic. Their imagination produces scenes of quiet and gentle people who are disciplined, amiable, and polite due to their involvement in religious service, and their association with the clergy and the mere atmosphere within church walls (if the institution is situated on the territory of a monastery or a parish). They think that these people are always ready to help, to show the kind of solidarity which is lacking in secular society. In reality, it is not always so. Social pressure and

¹⁷¹ Here, we are obliged to make another important assumption: in this model, believers and priests are opposed to each other. In reality though, they participate in the “production of religious meanings” together. From the ecclesiological perspective, believers and priests are together the people of God.

¹⁷² See also the above-mentioned N. A. Zorkaya, “Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve,” [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 83; N. Mitrokhin, *Russkaya pravoslavnaya tserkov': sovremennoe sostoyanie i aktualnye problemy*, [The Russian Orthodox Church: modern state and urgent problems] (Moscow, 2006), 316–317.

¹⁷³ See S. Filatov, “Russkoe pravoslavie, obshchestvo i vlast vo vremena politicheskoy turbulentnosti. RPTs posle oseni 2011 g.,” [The Russian Orthodoxy, society and authorities in times of political turmoil. The Russian Orthodox Church after Autumn, 2011], in *Montazh i demontazh sekulyarnogo mira*, [Constructing and deconstructing secular world] (Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2014): 17.

¹⁷⁴ B. Knorre, “Sotsial'noe sluzhenie sovremennoj Russkoj pravoslavnoj tserkvi kak otrazhenie povedencheskikh stereotipov tserkovnogo sotsiuma,” [The social service of the Russian Orthodox Church as a reflection on behavioral stereotypes of the church community], in eds. A. Malashenko and S. Filatov, *Pravoslavnaya tserkov' pri novom patriarkhe*, [The Orthodox Church under the new Patriarch] (Moscow: Tsentr Karnegi, ROSSPEN, 2012): 93–94.

¹⁷⁵ K. Gabriel, S. Leibold, and R. Ackermann. *Die Situation ausländischer Priester in Deutschland* (Ostfildern: Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 2011).

manipulation, persecution, backbiting, purges, scheming and the lack of will to consider the employees' real interests are all habitual."¹⁷⁶

The ability to interact with believers efficiently is opposed to understanding religion as worship (or participation in sacraments): "the clergy does not want to see the real problems; it overtasks the priest without considering natural human limitations, and then pleads that Church Sacraments will heal everything..."¹⁷⁷ Even the Patriarch's criticism is often reduced to the clergy's passivity and cruelty in their interaction with believers: "In spite of the fact that the new Patriarch allows a larger plurality of opinion among the church intellectuals (mostly in Moscow and Saint Petersburg), the rigorous authoritarian management system... limits activity on the parish level, and promotes passivity and groveling. The ruling archpriests often take the liberty of cruel and unreasonable arbitrariness towards the priests, and the priors do the same to the lower-ranking priests, and the latter do the same to the laity, the church servants, and the activists. Until today, Kirill has not only failed to take any measures to improve the situation, but also has continued to strengthen the vertical power structure within the Church."¹⁷⁸

In modern Russia, no other institution apart from the Russian Orthodox Church, and no other actors apart from priests have to face such massive criticism for their inability to interact with believers and to give "fundamental answers to the deep philosophical questions about life" that are in line with modern expectations.

Thus, the model of a religious market allows us to see religiosity as a form of interaction between believers and priests. It can be applied not only to a comparison and analysis of religious situations in different countries, but also to the analysis of the influence of the priests' activity on the formation of religiosity in countries with a monopoly on religion. This model corresponds to the denominationalist concept of the Church, which imposes restrictions on its use in the Russian, formed the Orthodoxy, which emphasizes the conciliar nature of the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 94.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 105.

¹⁷⁸ S. Filatov, "Patriarh Kirill – dva goda planov, mechtanij i neudobnoj real'nosti," [Patriarch Cyril: two years of plans, dreams, and uncomfortable reality], in eds. A. Malashenko and S. Filatov, *Pravoslavnaya tserkov' pri novom patriarkhe*, [The Orthodox Church under the new Patriarch] (Moscow: Tsentr Karnegi, ROSSPEN, 2012): 55.

Church and the unity of the people of God. An important assumption for its correct application is the restriction of the primary analysis to the external mechanism of interaction between the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church and believers. This assumption is based on the existing mass inquiry and criticism directed at the Russian Orthodox Church, and especially at its clergy for allegedly being unable to perform this interaction.

§6. Conclusion

Existing studies of the influence of the priest's activity on the formation of religiosity do not allow us to evaluate either its scale, or its mechanisms. The studies of the clergy mainly dwell upon the processes that concern the priests themselves, though these studies insist on the higher significance of the clergy's activity and implicitly assume its interaction with believers. In particular, this is expressed in the constant interest in the problem of the changing number of clergy and its attitude towards believers.

Empirical studies of religiosity are based on the idea of religion as a system of worship, and as a system of values and practices. Much of the research was done in the tradition formed under the influence of the theory of secularization. These approaches have shaped the tradition of religious studies as measuring the number of believers, as well as a study of values and practices. As part of this type of research, the issue of the interaction between priests and believers, or the interaction between other religious actors with each other was not raised. The focus of these studies inevitably shifts towards the study of "religious demand."

Economic theories of the religious market that are based on the rational choice theory and view religion as interaction, allow us to raise the question of "religious supply." The theory of the religious market, proposed by Stark and Iannaccone, considers religious interaction as interaction of the priests and the believers and makes it possible to analyze the influence of the priests' activity on the formation of a religious situation.

This theory aided in explaining the absence of secularization processes in the USA, and cast doubt on the very theory of secularization. Along with that, it turns out that the model developed for the competitive religious market in the USA is applicable for analyzing the influence of priests' activities in a religious monopoly.

Using the theory of the religious market to analyze the Russian situation, requires substantial assumptions and reservations. Firstly, the theory itself is characterized by certain ecclesiological premises that obviously do not correspond to the Orthodox tradition. Secondly, the application of the model requires the reduction of the entire religious supply in Russia to the external interaction of believers and priests of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Taking into consideration the complexity of applying the religious market theory based on specific religious and cultural premises to analyze the Russian reality, we believe that its application for constructing a model of religious supply in Russia can only be considered the first step which will make it possible to see the effects of religion as interaction. The results of such an application will require further clarification, primarily at the level of the theoretical justification of the model.

In today's studies of religiosity in Russia, there is a conviction that "supply" somehow influences "demand" in the marketplace of religion. However, so far this belief has not been expressed in the form of an analytic model, but rather in the form of potentially possible critical hypotheses to explain the situation. Some have suggested that this influence is somehow connected to the main actor of church life – the priest who is charged with the responsibility of the costs of church life, low involvement, and the inability to interact. In order to take the next step in the formation of an analytic toolkit for assessing this influence, it is necessary to go back to the studies of religiosity (churchedness) of Russians and religious demand. Is it possible to identify indicators describing religious supply on the bases of that scholarship?

Chapter 2. The Time Structure of the Orthodox Priest's Activity and the Religious Supply Model in Russia

Chapter 2 proposes a model for relating two approaches to the study of religion, which were formed on completely different theoretical grounds (the image of religion as worship/ a system of values and practices, and the ideas about religion as interaction of religious actors).

Section 1 analyzes religiosity indicators, two of which stand out: the frequency of a believer's practice of going to confession and taking Communion, both of which are considerably limited by the factor of a priest's availability. Section 2 analyzes the external mechanism of interaction between believers and the priest, and also determines a variable: the duration of a person's confession, which allows us to operationalize "religious supply" and correlate it to "religious demand." This section also analyzes the time structure of the priest's activity and the role of confession within this structure. Section 3 proposes a mathematic model for evaluating religious supply, which allows us to evaluate the abovementioned religious supply in Russia. Using the model that has been derived from all of the above, a preliminary hypothetical of religious supply in Russia is obtained. Finally, Section 5 enumerates the factors that influence the precision of the achieved assessments, and discusses how correct the obtained results are.

§1. Indicators of Parishioners' Involvement: Frequency of Confession, Taking Communion, and Church Attendance, and the Main Type of Involvement of Church Life Practices

This section analyzes diverse religiosity indicators and singles out two of them: the frequency of going to confession and taking Communion, both of which are limited by the factor of the priest's availability.

Russian sociology has several approaches to the classification of Orthodox Christian believers, depending on the degree of their engagement in Church life. In accordance with the methodology of V. F. Chesnokova, believers can be divided

into five groups based on five scales of being enchurched: attending church services, going to confession and taking Communion, reading the Gospels, praying, and fasting. The two scales of going to church and going to confession and taking Communion differ in their contents and method of measurement. These scales are associated with public worship and are frequency-oriented (once a month or more frequently; several times a year but less frequently than once a month; definitely once a year; rarely; occasionally; every few years; never upon reaching the age of accountability). The other three scales describe individual practices and focus not on the frequency of a specific religious practice, but on how it is expressed.¹⁷⁹

Another typology of Orthodox Christian believers was proposed by I. Zabaev, D. Oreshina, and E. Prutskova.¹⁸⁰ Based on studies of the sociology of parishes in Europe and the USA,¹⁸¹ they suggested using three groups of criteria: (a) participation in religious practices (taking Communion, attending church services), (b) self-identification as a member of the community, and (c) awareness about the life of the parish and lives of the parishioners. The authors identify three types of believers: community core, community periphery, and Orthodox Christians who are not a part of the parish community.¹⁸² An important result was the discovery of the fact that a number of indicators, such as the behavior of the family, the percentage of those in a registered marriage, the number of children, the level of social dysfunction (alcoholism, drug abuse, etc.), and the understanding of patriotism, differ significantly from the general national

¹⁷⁹ Yu. Yu. Sinelina, "O dinamike religioznosti rossiyan i nekotorykh metodologicheskikh problemakh ee izucheniya (religioznoe soznanie i povedenie pravoslavnykh i musul'man)." [On the dynamics of the religiosity of Russians and some methodological problems of its research (Religious consciousness and behavior of the Orthodox Christians and Muslims)]. *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2013): 110.

¹⁸⁰ I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, *Tri moskovskikh prikhoda: osnovnye sotsial'no-demograficheskie pokazateli i ustanovki predstavitelej obshchin krupnykh prikhodov*, [Three Moscow parishes: The main social-demographic indicators and attitudes of the representatives of large parish communities] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2012): 7–8.

¹⁸¹ D. A. Oreshina, "Prikladnye sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya katolicheskogo prikhoda v SShA do reform Vtorogo Vatikanskogo sobora (1962–1965 gg.)," [Applied sociological studies of the Catholic parish in the USA before the reforms of the Second Vatican Council], in *Materialy seminara "Sotsiologiya religii" 2010-4*, Moscow, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/WP_2010-04.pdf, accessed 12/29/2015.

¹⁸² I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, *Tri moskovskikh prikhoda: osnovnye sotsial'no-demograficheskie pokazateli i ustanovki predstavitelej obshchin krupnykh prikhodov*, [Three Moscow parishes: The main social-demographic indicators and attitudes of the representatives of large parish communities] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2012): 8.

numbers¹⁸³ both in the core and in the periphery of the community. Again, the determining factor of this typology was the frequency of taking Communion and attending church services, since even in the periphery of the community, the number of those who attended church services several times a year or more often was almost 98%, and the number of those who took Communion once to twice a year, or more often, was 76%.¹⁸⁴

Taking Communion is only possible after confession, except in very rare cases of frequent Communion (more than once a week) while maintaining a mandatory weekly confession.¹⁸⁵ The Communion Sacrament is administered during public worship. In big parishes of around 1000, people can take Communion during a single Eucharist. A single priest can distribute Communion to up to 500 people.¹⁸⁶ This is why confession represents a more serious limitation. Confession may be very brief, but it always and fundamentally requires individual contact with the priest. Confession and Communion are limited by the availability of priests, which primarily depends on the ratio of the number of priests to the number of parishioners.

In addition to the interaction of priests and believers, family and community are equally important forms of religious interaction. Each of these forms responds to its own type of “being enchurched,” that is, religiosity and engagement in religious life. Religious upbringing in the family is an important factor in how one becomes

¹⁸³ Ibid., 37–40. The mere fact that religiosity influences social indices provokes a number of questions related to diverse understanding of these indices, as well as their assessment and interpretation through the prism of Christian worldview. Nevertheless, an attempt of such distinction is proposed in the above-mentioned study of Moscow communities.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 10–11. R. Stark is doubtful about the last statement. He proposes the bold suggestion that it is one’s faith in a personal God that is the determining factor influencing people’s social behavior. (*Stark R. Gods, Rituals, and Moral Order // Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 2001. Vol. 40:4. P. 619–636). We have to note that Stark opposes “faith in one’s personal God” to “attending church,” not to participation in sacraments. His hypothesis says that religiosity as “worshipping” does not have a defining influence on behavioral sets. This hypothesis does not contradict the conclusions that say that religiosity as “interaction” has this influence.

¹⁸⁵ See the document “On Believers’ Participation in the Eucharist,” adopted at the Council of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on February, 3, 2015, <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3981166.html>, accessed 29.12.2015.

¹⁸⁶ “250 communicants is a lot of people – your arm gets tired and it gets harder to unclench the left hand when you put the Chalice on the altar. I have never given Communion to a bigger number of people” (48-year-old priest, Moscow, 22 years of service); “Once I gave Communion to 500 people. Father A. (the Rector – *author’s note*) left, and I was alone at the Exaltation of the Cross. It is almost impossible” (Priest, age 47, Moscow, 23 years since ordination).

enchurched. The question of how primary religious socialization¹⁸⁷ affects the religiosity of an individual at a later age – and, as a result, the dynamics of the religiosity of the population – has been thoroughly researched.¹⁸⁸ Studies have shown that past primary religious socialization increases the frequency of religious practices (in particular, the frequency of visits to religious services) in the present. In a number of European countries, Russia ranks last with a level of early religious socialization – 6%.¹⁸⁹ This fact gives grounds for assuming that this form of religious interaction will not make a significant impact on the religiosity of the population for quite a while.¹⁹⁰ In addition, it is natural to presume that a substantial part of this group of believers coincides with those who regularly take Communion, and therefore interact with priests. Thus, it can be assumed that this method of religious interaction does not have an independently significant effect on the religiosity of the population as a whole, since it is actually connected with performance of priests in their interaction with believers.

According to a study called “Three Parishes of Pokrov”¹⁹¹ the indicator showing frequency of Communion is very high, even at the periphery.¹⁹² Thus, involvement through the community still turns out to be essentially connected with the priest's interaction and cannot be considered as an alternative. The question of existence having no connection with church parishes and/or particular priests of Orthodox communities with a pronounced Orthodox identity remains open.

¹⁸⁷ The primary religious socialization was evaluated by the practice of visiting religious services at the age of 12. The same question was asked in the *European Values Survey*.

¹⁸⁸ See S. Ruiter and F. van Tubergen, “Religious Attendance in Cross-National Perspective: A Multilevel Analysis of Sixty Countries,” *American Journal of Sociology* 115 (3) (2009): 863–895; B. Vaidyanathan, “Religious Resources or Differential Returns? Early Religious Socialization and Declining Attendance in Emerging Adulthood,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (2) (2011): 366–387; P. Vermeer, J. Janssen, and J. Hart, “Religious Socialization and Church Attendance in the Netherlands from 1983 to 2007: A Panel Study,” *Social Compass* 58 (3) (2011): 373–392.

¹⁸⁹ Against 14% in Georgia, 62% in Western Germany, 63% in France, and 93% in Poland (*European Values Survey–2018*).

¹⁹⁰ E. V. Prutskova, “Sviaz’ religioznosti i tsennostno-normativnykh pokazatelej: faktor religioznoi sotsializatsii,” [Connection of religiosity with value-normative indicators: The factor of religious socialization], *Vestnik PSTGU. Series 1: Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (59) (2015): 77.

¹⁹¹ The main results see in I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, *Tri moskovskikh prikhoda: osnovnye sotsial’no-demograficheskie pokazateli i ustanovki predstavitelej obshchin krupnykh prikhodov*, [Three Moscow parishes: Main social-demographic indicators and attitudes of the representatives of large parish communities] (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo PSTGU, 2012).

¹⁹² On the periphery of the community, the share of those taking Communion 1–2 times a year and more often is at least 76%, and in the core of the community, 100% people take Communion once a month or more often (*Ibid.*, 11).

However, such examples are not known to this author. There are weighty arguments in favor of the fact that such forms of religiosity are completely absent. For modern Russia, there are no social forms with a pronounced Orthodox identity (societies, movements, educational organizations, etc.), except for those that have a direct connection with specific parishes and communities. Moreover, even the presence of strong parish communities remains rare in Russia.¹⁹³

The Orthodox Monitor's study of Orthodox religiosity in Russia¹⁹⁴ makes it possible to identify as a separate cluster of those who frequently attend services (once a month), but never take Communion. It can be assumed that this group is turned off by religious interaction and that it is in a transitional stage of “neophytesism,” suggesting some further self-determination.¹⁹⁵

Further discussion will only be limited by the analysis of the accessibility of confession. This limitation can be derived from two statements.

First, in theory, it is confession that is the “bottleneck” of church life, which limits interaction between priests and believers. In nearly any city or town, a church is available, even if it is not situated in the neighborhood, and usually it is possible to attend a divine service, even if it is difficult to find a place inside the church because of a big crowd of believers. Second, the consequences of forced secularization create the conditions under which there is no possibility of engaging in practices of church life, other than individual contact with a priest. It should be noted that religious supply assessment based on the idea of the accessibility of getting one’s confession heard will be an estimate from above, which does not contradict the conclusions of the study and even enhances them.

¹⁹³ See E. V. Prutskova, “Religioznost’ i ee sledstviya v tsennostno-normativnoj sfere,” [Religiosity and its consequences in the value-normative sphere] *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 2 (2013): 72–88; I. V. Zabaev, “‘Sakral’nyj individualizm’ i obshchina v sovremennom russkom pravoslavii,” [“Sacral individualism” and community in the contemporary Russian Orthodox Christianity], in eds. A. Agadzhanian and K. Russele, *Prihod i obshchina v sovremennom pravoslavii: kornevaya sistema rossijskoi religioznosti*, [Parish and community in the contemporary Orthodoxy: Core system of Russian religiosity] (Moscow: Ves’ mir, 2011), 341–354.

¹⁹⁴ *Orthodox Monitor*, Laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University, 2011–2012. The description of the project see at <http://socrel.pstgu.ru/grants/orthodoxmonitor>, accessed 12.03.2018).

¹⁹⁵ E. V. Prutskova and K. V. Markin, “Tipologiya pravoslavnykh rossiyan: problema konstruirovaniya obobshchennogo pokazatelya religioznosti,” [Typology of Orthodox Russians: The problem of constructing a generalized indicator of religiosity], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 8 (2017): 95–107.

These are the indicators, (1) attending church and (2) taking Communion, that have strict external restrictions in terms of religious supply. Going to church is strictly limited by the presence of a functional church in the neighborhood, or, at least, by its principal accessibility and sufficient capacity if compared with the potential number of parishioners. If a church is available, taking Communion is fully limited not only by the priest's ability to give Communion to all the participants of the Eucharist, but also – and this is very important – by the availability of confession, i.e. the priest's availability.

Is it possible to somehow operationalize the priest's "availability"? The next section is dedicated to this question.

§2. Indexes of the Supply Model: Focus of Priestly Activity and the Time Structure of the Priest's Activity

This section analyzes only one external mechanism of the priest's interaction with believers, and that is confession. It also determines a variable: the duration of a person's confession, which helps operationalize "religious demand" (2.1). To coordinate religious "demand" and "supply," we need to evaluate the priest's time expenditures on the confession when compared to the number of believers and the abilities of the priest himself. To do that, we analyze the time structure of the priest's activity and the role of confession within it (2.2), as well as evaluate the time it takes (2.3).

2.1 Contemporary Confession Practice in the Russian Orthodox Church

There are various grounds for the analysis and typology of confession: the context of confession; its objective; the type of pastoral activity; normalization in church terms, or pastoral traditions; the type of penitent, etc. This section singles out the type of confession that this research is based on.

Analysis of the current practice of confession shows its extraordinary complexity and diversity.¹⁹⁶ Confession can take place in the church and outside of it, during and in connection with the church service, and outside of it. The practice of confession is highly dependent on the priest, his pastoral tradition,¹⁹⁷ and even the practice of a specific church and community.¹⁹⁸

The analysis of confession is further complicated by the fact that it always involves certain related actions and implications. For example, confession, as a rule, involves subsequent Communion, but not always. Moreover, such an association is not normative.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, any pastoral action is always related to the two principal components of priesthood: pastoral care and the administration of the sacraments,²⁰⁰ which are always connected and related to each other.²⁰¹

In theological discourse, they are marked as “Christ representation” and “community guidance,”²⁰² Administering Sacraments corresponds to the notion of the “Christophany,” when the priest acts only as a “servant of Christ” and a “steward of the mysteries of God” that are performed by Christ himself (1 Cor. 4: 1). Pastoral activity corresponds to the notion of “community guidance” and goes back to the evangelical image of a shepherd and his flock that the shepherd should “take heed to” (Acts 20: 28). Each of these aspects of priesthood are inseparable from it. The initial distinction between the two modes of action is related to the accentuation of the components of the priesthood. The mode of action that

¹⁹⁶ See Archpriest V. Vorob’ev, *Pokayanie, ispoved, dukhovnoe rukovodstvo*, [Repentance, confession, spiritual guidance] (Moscow: Svet pravoslaviya, 1997).

¹⁹⁷ See the definition in *Appendix 1*.

¹⁹⁸ See Archpriest V. Vorob’ev, “Pastyrskoe sluzhenie v Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi XX v.,” [Pastoral service in the 20th century Russian Orthodox Church], in *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya (Vvodnyj tom)*, [Orthodox Encyclopedia (Introductory Volume)] (Moscow: Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya, 2000), 295–304.

¹⁹⁹ See the document “On Believers’ Participation in the Eucharist,” adopted at the Council of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on February 3, 2015, <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3981166.html>, accessed 29.12.2015.

²⁰⁰ The Orthodox understanding of priesthood principally distinguishes two of its aspects: administering Sacraments and pastoral service: “Priesthood is a Sacrament in which the Holy Spirit correctly chooses a person through ordination, allows *administering of Sacraments and tending* (highlighted by N. Emelyanov) to the flock of Christ,” Question No. 354, comp. Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov, introd. and ed. A.G. Dunaev, *Prostrannyj khristianskij katekhizis Pravoslavnoj Kafolicheskoy Vostochnoj Tserkvi*, [Detailed Christian Catechesis of the Orthodox Ecumenical Eastern Church] (Moscow, 2006).

²⁰¹ For more detailed information, see *Appendix 1*.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

accentuates divine service, administering Sacraments, and services on demand, is based on the priest's understanding of his function in church as "Christophany." The mode of action that accentuates pastoral activity and, first and foremost, pastoral care,²⁰³ is based on the priest's understanding of his function in church as a "community leader." Thus, the first priesthood component is objectified by administering Sacraments, while the second one – in pastoral care.

That said, these two components presume that leading a community is only possible by unifying it around the Sacraments,²⁰⁴ while administering Sacraments is only possible within the community and for the community.²⁰⁵ To put it differently, a priest is never only a priest, functioning only in the sacred space, but he is neither just a mere participant of elementary social relations, functioning only in the mundane space of everyday life.

Administering Sacraments and pastoral activity are the two components of pastoral service that are, in a way, orthogonal. The Sacraments determine the priest's role in the Church, while pastoral activity determines his role in the world. The interaction of these two components defines the priest's specific activity. That said, whereas administering sacraments is objectified through the notion of a sacrament and can be observed by means of performing a strictly determined series of rituals, objectifying pastoral activity presents a serious problem. Pastoral activity is related to managing a church community, and so includes notions of the power and responsibility of another person. This can be directed toward a person or a community as a whole. Pastoral care is a pastoral activity directed toward a person. Pastoral care properly means pastoral activity, i.e. originating the priest's power and presuming his responsibility for another person. This pastoral activity meets the following characteristics: (1) active and conscious; (2) directed toward a specific person (which presumes a personal connection); (3) responding to their specific problem (inner state or pain); (4) helping solve their specific problem (focusing on supporting their capacity for inner transformation); (5) oriented

²⁰³ See *Appendix 1*.

²⁰⁴ Bishop Antony Khrapovitsky, "Lektzii po pastyrskomu bogosloviyu," [Lectures on pastoral theology] (Kazan, 1900); Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Tserkov' Dukha Svyatogo*, [The Church of the Holy Spirit] (Paris, 1971).

²⁰⁵ G. V. Florovsky, "Evkharistiya i sobornost," [The Eucharist and Catholicity], *Put'* 19 (1929): 1–15.

toward future (which presumes a continuous personal connection with them even into the future). It is easy to see that, from this perspective, any conversation with a priest with any person can and often does entail pastoral care. Moreover, pastoral care can be performed without verbal communication as well.

In the context of confession, the two components of the priesthood can be, in a certain sense, opposed to each other.

On the one hand, confession is always a sacrament and its administration in ecclesiastical consciousness has a self-sufficient and objective nature.²⁰⁶ An extreme manifestation accentuating the objective nature of this sacrament is the practice of “general confession.” This practice originated (and was only possible) in extraordinary circumstances,²⁰⁷ and today is recognized as an unacceptable distortion of pastoral care.²⁰⁸ General confession reduces the character of the Sacrament of reconciliation to a mere formality, which precludes care for an individual soul and her personal contact with the priest.²⁰⁹

The opposite extreme with regard to confession is that of so-called “mladostarchestvo,” i.e. the abuse of pastoral power manifested in an irresponsible emphasis on obedience to the priest. This practice has been repeatedly subjected to extremely harsh criticism²¹⁰ by the church hierarchy. In this case, confession gets reduced to subjective communication with the priest, precluding free participation in the sacrament, perceived as a personal coming before God.

²⁰⁶ During the Sacrament of confession, “the one confessing their sins, at the visible manifestation of the priest’s will, is invisibly given absolution by Our God Jesus Christ himself” (Question No. 348, comp. Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov, introd. and ed. A.G. Dunaev, *Prostrannyj khristianskij katekhizis Pravoslavnoj Kafolicheskaj Vostochnoj Tserkvi*, [Detailed Christian Catechesis of the Orthodox Ecumenical Eastern Church] (Moscow, 2006)).

²⁰⁷ This practice appeared because of an obvious shortage of priests and persecution in Soviet times (Archpriest V. Vorob’ev, “Pastyrskoe sluzhenie v Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi XX v.,” [Pastoral service in the 20th century Russian Orthodox Church], in *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya (Vvodnyj tom)* [Orthodox Encyclopedia (Introductory Volume)] (Moscow: Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya, 2000), 301–302).

²⁰⁸ Archpriest V. Vorob’ev, *Pokayanie, ispoved’, dukhovnoe rukovodstvo*, [Repentance, confession, spiritual guidance] (Moscow: Svet pravoslaviya, 1997), 17.

²⁰⁹ According to the meaning of the Sacrament, confession can only be individual. This is how the Book of Needs describes how it should begin: “The spiritual father brings one who wants to confess, not two or many...” (*Trebnik* [Book of Needs] (Moscow, 1991): 71; cf. Grigory Chukov, Metropolitan, “Tainstvo pokayaniya i ‘obshchaya ispoved.’” [The Sacrament of confession and the “common confession”], in Idem., *Izbrannye rechi, slova i stat’i* [Selected speeches, words and articles] (Leningrad, 1954)).

²¹⁰ On December, 29, 1998, the Holy Synod published a special rule “On the recently increasing cases of some pastors abusing their power to ‘bind and to loose’ (Matthew 18:18) that was given to them by God” (<https://mospat.ru/archive/1999/02/sr291281/>, accessed 2.01.2016). See also “The Report at the Anniversary Council of the Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on August 13–16, 2000,” <https://mospat.ru/archive/page/sobors/2000-2/369.html>, accessed 2.01.2015.

In church discourse, these two extreme deviations in the practice of confession are constantly criticized. For the priest, the collision of these two dimensions of confession may be very painful and may lead to crisis situations in which the priest's identity is challenged, or his roles conflict.

“I liked coaching as a way to bring real, tangible, partly measurable benefits to people. The contrast with the experience of confession experience is obvious – from any point of view. Here is an example. Once I served in a church in my neighborhood. It was a residential district, and the church was once a village church, which means that in a very limited space there was some wild number of people all stuffed together. So, the service begins, it is the early liturgy, and one priest is officiating while I hear confessions. There are 200–250 people in front of me, maybe more. And I realize that from the beginning of the service to the moment when they bring the Communion chalice, that I have to somehow (sorry for my language) process this whole crowd.”²¹¹

This does not mean that in practice there are no other options for rejecting confession in terms of its normative understanding. Since confession is a religious practice of interaction between the priest and believer, some non-productive actions distorting its normalized idea can come up, not only on the priest's part but also on the believer's part. However, a detailed analysis of both normalized idea and the types of possible distortion of this mechanism are not the objectives of this study.

A merely tentative analysis allows us to state that confession is a complex practice of the priest's interaction with believers which includes the objective ritualistic aspect, pastoral care, and personal communication with the priest. It is obvious that performing this practice requires from the priest serious time expenditures and psychological stress. This practice can be expressed in many different ways, and in every specific situation of interaction with believers, it may

²¹¹ Priest, 40 years of age, Moscow, 8 years since ordination (A. Borzenko, “‘Ya khristianin, ya redaktor-korrektor, ya svyashchennik. Teper' eshche i kouch.’ Pravoslavnyj svyashchennik rasskazyvaet, kak reshil vse izmenit' i osvoit' novuyu professiyu,” [‘I'm a Christian, I'm a content editor, I'm a priest. Now I'm a coach as well.’ An Orthodox priest tells the story of how he decided to change everything and to get a new profession], *Meduza* (February, 16, 2017), <https://meduza.io/feature/2017/02/16/ya-hristianin-ya-redaktor-korrektor-ya-svyaschennik-teper-esche-i-kouch>, accessed 01.03.2017).

take different forms. It can be both extremely brief (as brief as 15–30 seconds – the time sufficient to silently say a “prayer of absolution,” which is the minimal ritualistic content of the sacrament), and extremely long, including conversations lasting several hours.²¹²

Thus, it was shown that there are types of confession and types of pastoral activity that do not have an involvement effect. In the further discussion, first of all, it is supposed to analyze the mechanism of confession, which corresponds to the involving type of pastoral activity – pastoral care (or spiritual counseling). To date, there are no estimates of what proportion of church confession practices can be considered involving. This is a significant semantic limitation. It does not affect further discussion and only enhances the final conclusions.

2.2 Confession within the Priest's Activity Time Structure

To coordinate religious “demand” and “supply,” we need to evaluate both how much time the priest spends on confession in relation to the number of believers, as well as the abilities of the priest himself. To do this, the time structure of the priest's activity, the place allocated for confession in this structure, and the estimation of time that can be spent are analyzed.

Estimation of the time spent on an individual parishioner requires careful research into priests' time budgets²¹³ and specific empirical research.²¹⁴ In addition, information about the structure of Orthodox Christian worship and cycles

²¹² “I recall a case from when I was working in a psychiatric center. One patient had been there for six months and had never talked neither to his doctor, nor to the nurses, or his relatives that came to visit him. I remembered how I once had had a talk with a psychiatrist and asked the head of the department to give me permission to come to that man. So I came and I just stayed there with him for three, four, five, six hours without saying a word – I was just sitting there, and he was sitting. After ten or fifteen days, he suddenly asked me: “Why have you been sitting with me all these hours and days, what's going on?” That was when his recovery began, because he was able to talk to somebody. That's a case of psychopathology, of course. Not all of us have the same pathological cases but we are all withdrawn” (Antony Blum, Metropolitan of Sourozh, “A talk with Sergiy Gakkel, the head of ‘Voskresenje’ (Resurrection) – a religious program of the BBC Russian Service (October, 1993 – January, 1994),” in Idem., *Zhizn. Bolezn. Smert*, [Life. Disease. Death] (Moscow, 1995): 125)).

²¹³ This study uses this notion in its simplest meaning, as it was used by P. Sorokin in 1921: “systematic recordings of supposed and factual day time expenditures, after a certain program and with different level of detailing” (P. A. Sorokin, “Sostoyaniye russkoj sotsiologii za 1918–1922 gg.,” [The state of Russian sociology in 1918–1922], in Idem., *Obshchedostupnyy uchebnik sotsiologii. Stat'i raznykh let*,” [Sociology handbook for general use. Articles of different years] (Moscow, Nauka, 1994): 417).

²¹⁴ Thus, the average duration of one person's confession depending on its context is observed in the following research: N. Emelyanov, *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest (Case Study). Research Project* (Moscow, 2003–2016).

of Orthodox Christian life, as well as a number of previous and ongoing field studies²¹⁵ allow us to make the following observations. These observations are associated with the structure of a priest's time budget and primarily depend on the organization of the church service, and therefore can be generalized regardless of the specific features of the priest and parish. Quantitative assessments of these time costs can significantly vary. We must specify that this assessment does not presume including the priest in the demand-supply model, viewing confession as a religious service or good. The proposed analysis demonstrates that, starting from a certain ratio of parishioners to a priest, regular pastoral care becomes impossible. This statement cannot be converted into a positive one: the presence of a sufficient number of priests does not guaranty an involving religious situation. In this case, the second – qualitative – aspect of the model starts to prevail: it is the type of priestly activity, its orientation towards pastoral activity and the type of pastoral activity itself.

Regular parishioners who take Communion more than once a month usually confess only in connection with the evening service on Saturday and the morning service on Sunday. Believers of this type tend to strictly observe the rule of compulsory attendance of Saturday and Sunday services and, moreover, they come to the services of all major feasts. According to this manner of attending divine service, it becomes almost impossible to come to church regularly for confession at some other time.

Parishioners who take Communion several times a year are divided into two groups. Some come to church only on major feasts, and thus the time for their possible confession is even shorter than for the previous group. Others feel uncomfortable at services on major feasts²¹⁶ due to the large number of

²¹⁵ We mean the data of the finished and ongoing empirical studies of the laboratory "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University: *Organization of Social Work in Parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Early 21st Century. Sociological Analysis* (2012–2013, supported by the Russian Humanities Scientific Foundation); *Way of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*, and *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest (Case Study)* in the framework of the Program of Scientific Research of the Development Foundation of St. Tikhon's Orthodox University in 2016.

²¹⁶ I. V. Zabaev, "'Sakral'nyj individualizm' i obshchina v sovremennom russkom pravoslavii," ["Sacral individualism" and community in the contemporary Russian Orthodox Christianity], in eds. A. Agadzhanian and K.

parishioners in the church, and attend exclusively on weekdays, which is usually possible to combine with their working schedule several times a year.

Finally, those who take Communion once a year or less can come to church any day, although a portion of such parishioners come to church on the greatest annual feasts of the Nativity or Easter, when the time for confession is limited to the greatest extent.

The overwhelming majority of priests serves in their parishes by themselves²¹⁷ and so are obliged to conduct the divine service and hear confessions simultaneously, or else set aside some time before and after the service for hearing confessions. In practice, this time is limited to 1 hour in the morning and 1 or 2 hours in the evening on weekdays. This time can be increased to 2 to 6 hours on Saturday nights, and remains 1 to 3 hours on Sunday mornings. In the conditions of the present-day parish, the allocations for confession of a special time not associated with the divine service does not in any way exclude the need to hear confessions during those services or directly in front of those who came to Communion. We will see further the limit this imposes on the religious supply of the Orthodox Church.

2.3. The Upper Limits of a Priest's Time Which Can Be Devoted to Conversations with Parishioners during Confession

The indicator “priest's time available for conversations with the parishioners” imposes a very strict upper boundary on religious supply.

Regardless of the confessional practice, pastoral tradition, the specific features of worship schedule in a particular church, or its location and degree of accessibility, we can get a rough estimate of the upper limit of time that the priest can assign for hearing confessions.

Russele, *Prikhod i obshchina v sovremennom Pravoslavii*, [Parish and community in the contemporary Orthodoxy] (Moscow: Ves' mir, 2011), 341–354.

²¹⁷ In early 2011, the Russian Orthodox Church comprised 30,675 parishes and only 29,324 priests (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, “The Report at the Council of Hierarchs of 2011,” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011)*. *Sobranie trudov*, [The Word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 193).

For the group of regular parishioners who take Communion more than once a month, this time is estimated as the number of Sundays and feast days (special holy days) multiplied by the time possible for confession before Communion on the day of the feast and also at the evening service of the previous day. This amounts to no more than 330.5 hours a year.²¹⁸

For those who take Communion several times a year, this time can be increased at the expense of weekdays up to 483 hours per year.²¹⁹

For those who take Communion once a year or less, this time may be hypothetically increased at the expense of the remaining working day of the priest during the weekdays. This will give additional 547 hours per year.²²⁰

In fact, there will be even less time. A single priest serving alone in a parish performs a number of duties that will never allow him to set aside that much time for church services and confession on weekdays. Only the calculation of time for feastday and Sunday liturgical worship and confession, which is associated with the obligatory celebration of the liturgy in the morning, together with the all-night Vigil on the previous evening of every Sunday, and the days of church feasts and required of every priest, approximates the reality of the actual situation.

Thus, we have demonstrated that the act of taking Communion requires obligatory personal interaction with the priest. Confession is the main tool of this interaction. For churchgoing believers, participating in Communion presupposes regular confession, which is administered in tandem with the divine liturgy. The

²¹⁸ There are 52 Sundays a year, and 20 feast days that include: the 12 feasts of the Christian year, 5 Great Feasts (that are especially distinguished in the official Church Calendar), 3 venerated days (of the Kazan icon of the Mother of God and two Saint Nicholas days), and 1 day of the Patron Saint of a church. Depending on the year, 7–10 of them are Sundays. At least 4 Sundays and/or feast days fall on the priest's holiday, so we have 58–61 days left. On each of these days, confession can be administered up to 4 hours in the evening and up to 1.5 hours in the morning, if the priest serves alone, which gives us no more than $61 * 5.5 = 330.5$ hours per year.

²¹⁹ There are no more than 161 workdays per 365 days of a year. To get that number, we subtract 58 holidays, 16 days of the Easter Week and the Christmas time when regular confession is not administered, 2 days the week before and 21 days during the Lent when you cannot take Communion, 2 weekend days per week (apart from 4 holiday weeks, 7 weeks of the Lent and 2.5 weeks of the Easter Week and Christmas time, 77 days in total) and 30 days of the priest's vacation ($365 - 58 - 16 - 2 - 21 - 77 - 30 = 161$). On weekdays, the confession duration is limited by 3 hours a day, which gives us no more than $161 * 3 = 483$ hours per year.

²²⁰ In the proposed estimation, a weekday consists of 2 hours of divine service (in the morning and in the evening), 3 hours of confession (partially during the evening service). There are 3 more hours of worktime, plus 6 workdays of the 6 weeks of the Lent (2 weekend days, 4 days of divine service and 1 reception day), as well as 2 days of the preceding week (Wednesday and Friday) that were subtracted in weekdays estimation because on these days, Communion is not given. So theoretically we can consider them 8-hour workdays when the priest can receive parishioners. In total, it gives us $161 * 3 + 8 * 8 = 547$ hours per year.

liturgical cycle is structured in such a way that regardless of a specific parish and a specific priest, this type of confession takes a place within the timeframe of the priest's liturgical duties. It is also possible to get a hypothetical estimate of the upper limit of time the priest spends on hearing confession, by broadening his confession for all of the "working hours" of the priest. This result makes it possible to build a model of religious supply in Russia.

§3. The Model of Religious Supply Assessment in Russia Based on the Assessment of the Religious Interaction Time Factor

This section proposes the principle idea behind this study, which made it possible to intersect two completely different approaches to the study of religion, and to propose a fundamentally new model of religious interaction and to quantify the marginal indicators of the growth of religious involvement.

The essence of my concept is that the production of a "religious product" takes place within the framework of certain forms of regular religious interaction (in the family, the community, or in personal contact with a priest of other religious professional). One of the theoretical and methodological prerequisites is the theory of the religious market of Stark, Iannaccone, and others.²²¹ The model I propose is based on the concept of religion as interaction formulated in this theory, and employs its fundamental premises. In particular, the term "religious product" does not mean "religious services" but "fundamental answers to the deep philosophic questions surrounding life that have as their basis some appeal to a supernatural force."²²²

According to this understanding, religious supply entails the reception of all responses in every possible form of participation. These responses cannot be obtained in a ready-made form and in a single step, but they are produced in the process of the regular interaction of believers with each other and with religious

²²¹ R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern: Lang, 1987); R. Stark and L. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 230–252; E. M. Hamberg and Th. Pettersson, "The Religious Market: Denominational Competition and Religious Participation in Contemporary Sweden," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (1994): 205–216.

²²² A. Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

professionals. Further analysis of religious supply will be limited only by the form of the interaction of the believer with the priest in the Russian Orthodox Church. As was shown in Section 1, such a limitation is seriously consequential.

The main innovation of the proposed concept is the idea of confession as a form of regular religious interaction, to which the interaction of believers with priests can actually be reduced.²²³ This makes it possible to analyze the internal mechanism of religious interaction as regular participation in the sacrament of confession, quantifying it as a possible number of practicing believers, and estimating the amount of religious supply available in contemporary Russian Orthodoxy.

According to such a model of religious interaction, it is possible to correlate two fundamentally different views of religion, and, accordingly, two different approaches to the measurement of religion. On the one hand, one can quantify the “religious supply” and give an estimate from above of the number of believers who, hypothetically, can take part in interaction with priests. On the other hand, one can correlate with the “religious supply” the usual empirical studies of religiosity measurements of “religious demand” as a praxis of values. Such a correlation makes it possible to raise the question of what these religious practices mean: Real participation in one form or another of religious interaction, or something completely different?

The Hamberg–Pettersson religious supply model²²⁴ allows us to raise the question of the influence of religious supply on the level of involvement in religious practices of the country’s dominant religious confession. The situation in Russia is quite different and requires significant changes in the model.

For the first measurement, we propose not the indicator of the amount of services or parishes, but the number of priests per capita to potential

²²³ There is some criticism of the economic theories of religion, in which religion is understood as “an ongoing process of ritualized communication” (E. Pace, *Religion as Communication: God’s Talk* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 25). However, if Pace focuses on the method of communication, the model proposed here accentuates the result of this interaction.

²²⁴ See Chapter 1, Section 3.3.

parishioners.²²⁵ The peculiarity of the Russian Orthodox Church is that the other scale for assessing religious supply will not be the variety of services, but the fact of whether the priest focuses on pastoral activity or administering church Sacraments. The level of involvement is determined by the frequency of participation in confession and Holy Communion.²²⁶

	Few priests compared to potential parishioners	Many priests compared to potential parishioners
Focus on administering Sacraments	1. Few priests; parishes focus on administering Sacraments	2. Many priests; parishes focus on administering Sacraments
Focus on pastoral activity	3. Few priests; parishes focus on pastoral activity	4. Many priests; parishes focus on pastoral activity

One working hypothesis for a full-fledged study is the assertion that the level of involvement depends on the supply model and is bound to be low everywhere except in parishes of the forth type: “many priests; parishes focus on pastoral activity.”

Thus, the model of religious supply limitation in Russia should describe believers’ level of involvement in religious practices according to two indices: the number of clergy and the focus of the priestly activity.

If we apply the Hamberg–Pettersson model to the Russian situation, it will require the addition of another non-formal index focusing on “priestly activity.” It is this informal indicator marking the involving pastoral activity, and opposing it to non-involving religious practices, which is fundamental for analyzing the evolution of religious processes in Russia. The consequences of forced secularization create conditions that prevent the majority of modern believers from any other

²²⁵ In the Russian Orthodox Church, these two indices agree. The number of liturgies that can be served is the same as the number of priests. One priest cannot serve more than one liturgy per day. From the reverse perspective, every priest must serve on Sunday.

²²⁶ This statement is associated with two factors. First, according to the practice of the Russian Orthodox Church, one can only participate in the sacrament of Communion after a confession. Confession is administered in the individual manner and requires personal communication with the priest. Second, taking Communion is the indicating factor to assess individual religiosity. That is why availability of individual contact with the priest, as well as priest’s willingness to establish this contact are the determining factors that limit religious supply. Later, we will give relative substantiations and explanations.

involvement in church life practices other than individual contact with a priest, or, more precisely, the involving type of pastoral activity. The research project “Methods of Pastoral Activity: Analysis of Priests’ Time Budgets,”²²⁷ which proposes an entirely new qualitative research program, is devoted to studying the way inclusion in church practices, and concomitant sacerdotal actions, take place. At the same time, the religious situation in Russia is such that one can safely assert sufficiency of one dimension for building a model for limited religious supply. The quantitative factor turns out to be so determinative that to assess religious supply it is not necessary to include a qualitative dimension, which only increases the imposed limitation.

The proposed model of religious supply assesses precisely its scope, leaving the issue of diversifying priestly performance out of the question. This approach was used not only within the framework of religious market theory, but was also applied in “Paul’s Report” – an important praxis-oriented study dedicated to the problems of the Church of England.²²⁸ In fact, Paul openly raises the question of how the number of churchgoers of the Church of England depends on the volume of religious supply which, in the below-mentioned model, will be defined as the factor of the priest’s time availability.

An accurate assessment of time spent by the priest hearing the confession of one parishioner depends on a number of factors. The most obvious factor is the frequency of confession. If a parishioner regularly communicates with the priest, confession can be very brief and does not entail any conversation with the priest at all. If even a short conversation is included in the confession, the confession cannot be shorter than 5–10 minutes. The confession of a person who has come to church for the first time in his life may last for 1–2 hours. Thus, the time of one confession may range from 5 minutes to 2 hours. It can vary considerably depending on whether the confession is associated with a request to give advice or consolation,

²²⁷ N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetrov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of pastoral action: Analysis of priests’ time budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016.

²²⁸ L. A. Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report* (Church Information Office for the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, 1964).

to discuss a situation in life, etc. Such factors as gender, age, or personality type are obviously important, as well. Therefore, in the model for assessing religious supply below, the ratio of the number of priests to the number of parishioners is calculated from various durations of one confession, which removes the problem of determining its real median value.

As one axis, we will take the following variation in the time of confession: 1, 5, 15, 30 and 60 minutes.

The other axis will represent diverse situations of “religious supply.” The following values are marked on this axis: 1) those who take Communion once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians); 2) those who take Communion several times a year, but less frequently than once a month (10% of Orthodox Christians); 3) those who take Communion once a year or once every few years (39% of Orthodox Christians); 4) all those who identify themselves as believing Orthodox Christians (73% of Orthodox Christians); 5) all those who identify themselves as Orthodox Christians (72% of respondents).²²⁹ Variations along this axis will be equal to 111,000,000; 102,900,000; 75,900,000; 41,100,000; 40,100,000; 10,300,000, and 2,100,000 people.

Further, we will construct the tables where the number of priests needed for hearing confessions from the number of parishioners in the given time will be indicated at the intersections of the rows and columns. In Table 1, these numbers were obtained on the assumption that all parishioners take Communion once a year; in Table 3 (in *Appendix 3*), the numbers were obtained on the assumption that all parishioners take Communion several times a year (the median value taken is equal to 6). In Table 4, the numbers were obtained on the assumption that all parishioners take Communion once a month or more frequently (the median value taken is equal to 24 times a year).

In fact, this table shows the volume of religious supply depending on the following variables: the number of clergy, the average duration of a person’s

²²⁹ The data based on Yu. Yu. Sinelina, “O dinamike religioznosti rossiyan i nekotorykh metodologicheskikh problemakh ee izucheniya (religioznoe soznanie i povedenie pravoslavnykh i musul'man),” [On the dynamics of the religiosity of Russians and some methodological problems of its research (Religious consciousness and behavior of the Orthodox Christians and Muslims)], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2013): 105, 111.

confession, the frequency of taking Communion, and the time budgeted for confession in the time structure of the priest's activities.

Table 1. The number of priests needed to talk with a given number of people once a year, provided that each conversation takes a fixed amount of time from 1 minute to 1 hour. It is assumed that the priest, being on permanent duty in the church at all weekly service days, continuously receives people, i.e. at the rate of 1360.5 hours a year per priest.

“Those who take Communion once a year”	Thousands of people	1 min.	5 min.	15 min.	30 min.	1 hour
1. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)	102,857	1260	6300	18,901	37,801	75,602
2. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)	75,086	920	4599	13,797	27,595	55,190
3. Have never taken Communion (40% of Orthodox Christians)	41,143	504	2520	7560	1120	30,241
4. Once a year or less frequently (39% of Orthodox Christians)	40,114	491	2457	7371	14,742	29,485
5. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)	10,286	126	630	1 890	3780	7560
6. Once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)	2057	25	126	378	756	1512

To talk to each of the 75 million Orthodox Christians who identify as believers once a year for at least 30 minutes, 27,595 priests are needed (row 2, column “30 minutes”). That is provided that people will go to all priests in a steady and continuous flow without interruptions and breaks on all days of the year, and at all times being free from performing religious services, without taking into account any further workload by the priest. This is the roughest upper estimate (which is completely unrealistic in actual practice). In order to hear a believer’s very first confession for the duration of 1 hour from the 41 million Orthodox Christians who have never taken Communion, 30,241 priests are needed (row 4, column “1 hour”). Even for simply hearing confessions once a year for 15 minutes from those who take Communion once a year or once every few years, 7371 priests are needed (row 5, column “15 minutes”).

If we try to evaluate the same time costs in terms of the time that the priest can assign to liturgical service, regardless of his time on duty in the church between services, the numbers become much higher (Table 2 in *Appendix 3*, assuming that the priest only receives people during Sunday, feast and weekday services, directly before and after the evening service, i.e. 813.5 hours a year per a priest). This estimate is much closer to reality than the estimates in the Table 1, since people tend to come by at random while the priest his performing his duties, rather than talk to a priest and, in addition, make a confession. An army of 126,500 priests is needed for a one-hour conversation once a year with those who identify as Orthodox Christians. To talk to each of the 75 million Orthodox Christians who identify as believers, once a year for at least 30 minutes, 46,150 priests are needed. To hear the first one-hour confession of each of the 41 million Orthodox Christians who have never confessed before, 50,575 priests are needed.

To make it possible for all Orthodox Christian believers who attend church only several times a year to go to a priest for at least five minutes on the greatest feasts, 46,150 priests are needed (Table 3 of *Appendix 3*). This is possible provided that all attendees are strictly distributed on Sundays and feast days of the Church Calendar, and that the load on the priests is absolutely uniform. For hearing

confessions for only 5 minutes from about 10 million people who take Communion several times a year, 6322 priests are needed. To talk to these people for at least 15 minutes, 18,966 priests are needed. Finally, to make it possible for anyone who identifies as an Orthodox Christian to go to church and, without any rush, talk to a priest for 30 minutes several times a year, more than 379,000 priests are needed.

For hearing confessions for 1 minute from those who take Communion once a month or more frequently, only 2490 priests are needed (Table 4 of *Appendix 3*). If we assume that those who take Communion once a year would like to do it more frequently, another 12,449 priests are needed. If we assume that those who take Communion once a month or more frequently have the opportunity to talk to the priest for at least 5 minutes, this would require 12,499 priests (Table 4 of *Appendix 3*; row 7, column “5 minutes”). The same opportunity of frequent confession for 5 minutes for those who take Communion several times a year requires 62,243 priests. If we assume that priests communicate with parishioners in the form of psychological consultation (twice a month for 1 hour), it will require an army of 149,000 priests even for the least numerous group of believers who take Communion once a month and more frequently. Finally, if we assume that all Orthodox Christians have the opportunity to come to church twice a month and talk to the priest for at least 5 minutes, 672,000 priests are needed.

We should specify that all assessments concerning priests’ time expenditures are performed in such a way that the needed number of clergy in the proposed model is understated. The assessments were also based on the assumption that all priests have the same workload when they work with the laity. In reality, the volume of religious supply will be smaller than the one mentioned in the tables. Nevertheless, even this assessment allows us to formulate a series of hypotheses and arguments. Some of them are proposed in the next section; others are formulated in the Conclusion.

§4. Analysis of the Russian Situation: A Hypothesis About the Reasons for the Absence of A Dynamics of Religious Practices

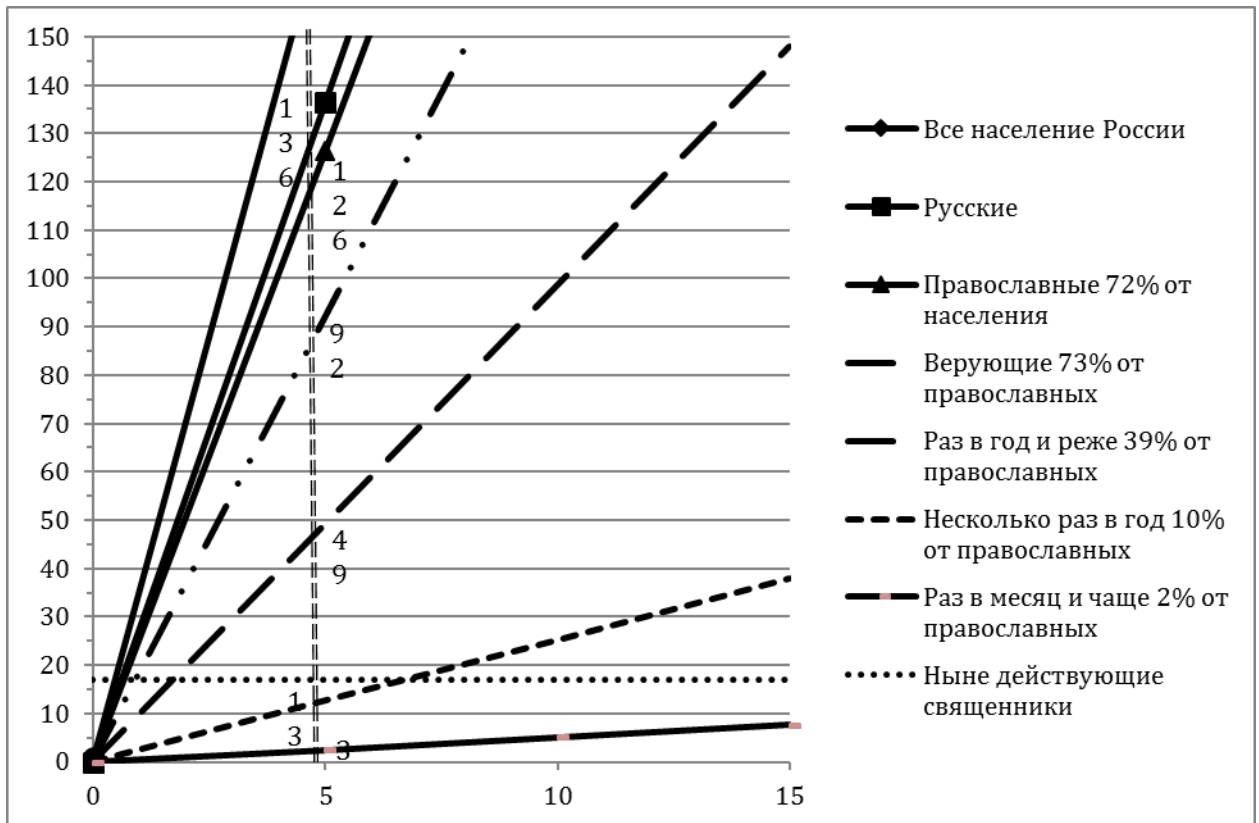
Based on the model achieved in the previous section, this section gives a tentative assessment of religious supply in Russia for diverse hypothetical religious situations (for diverse values of the three variables: the number of clergy, the number of believers, and the average duration of a person's confession).

The proposed analysis makes it possible to formulate a hypothesis which may explain both the gap between the practices of going to church and regular confession and Communion, and the gap between the ever-growing religious self-identity and the absence of growth in religious practices.

Figure 2 shows a visualization of the model of supply. Straight lines show how many priests are needed to talk to a given number of parishioners for a specified time interval. The chart shows the number of people who can converse with the priest at the current number of serving parish priests (the level is indicated by the dotted horizontal line). The vertical line on the chart at the intersection points with the slanted lines makes it possible to estimate how many priests are needed for hearing confessions at least once a month from the given number of people.

The chart clearly illustrates the gap between the number of serving priests and the number of priests required for engaging at least one-third of the believing population participating in the practices of regular confession and Communion.

Figure 2. Model of religious supply for Russia (the vertical axis shows the required number of priests (thousands of people); the horizontal axis shows the time of confession (in minutes). It is assumed that priests hear confessions at all weekly and Sunday services (time budget 813.5 hours), and the parishioners are practicing believers (taking Communion once a month).



1. Total Population of Russia
2. Ethnic Russians
3. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)
4. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)
5. Once a year or less frequently (39% of Orthodox Christians)
6. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)
7. Once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)
8. Priests serving today

According to exaggerated estimates, no more than 17,000 priests²³⁰ currently serve in Russian parishes. Under the assumption that parishioners actually do not

²³⁰ The total number of the Russian Orthodox clergy (29,324 people in 2011) not only comprises parish clergy but also monastery clergy (around 1,000 priests serve only in stavropegial monasteries, i.e. subordinated to the Patriarch himself), as well as the clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Belarusian Exarchate, foreign dioceses and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. If we subtract the Ukrainian clergy (circa 10,000 people), the Belarusian clergy (1,485 people) and the monastery clergy (circa 1,000 people), then the total number of parish priests in Russia will be at most 17,000 people (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, "The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2011," in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The Word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 385; Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church today. The

have an opportunity to speak with the priest, and confession is limited to 1 or 5 minutes, the number of the priests needed to meet the religious demand according to the proposed model is 12,921. The required number of priests rises to 16,183 if we assume that those people coming to church for the first time, once every several years, or once a year speak with a priest for at least about 15 minutes. Finally, if we imagine that permanent parishioners who go to confession frequently are able to speak with a priest for at least 5 minutes, the required number of priests would reach 22,880.²³¹ There is an obvious gap between the existing number of priests and the number of priests needed for individual pastoral work. This gap must inevitably lead to a method of pastoral action aimed at providing religious services on demand (“treboispolnitel’stvo”), excluding personal contact and attention on the part of the priest, which has been repeatedly criticized both by Church authorities²³² and by authors who generally view the Church critically.²³³

In response to the question “Do you know a priest whom you could turn to for advice in a difficult situation? And if you do, is there one or several?”²³⁴ only 22% of those who called themselves Orthodox Christians responded positively. According to our model, this roughly corresponds to the number of parishioners with whom 17,000 priests can speak at least once a year for 15 minutes on Sundays and feast days, when each participates in the services, and when parishioners generally come to church.

Report of the most Eminent Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, at the Council of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on January, 4, 2011,” <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1401848.html>, accessed 26.12.2015; Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, The Report of Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, at the Council of Dioceses of the Minsk Eparchy on January, 5, 2012,” <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1934395.html>, accessed 24.03.2015).

²³¹ It is achieved in the assumption that those who take Communion regularly, confess for 1 minute (Table 4, row 7, column “1 min.”=2,490) or for 5 minutes (Table 4, row 7, column “5 min.”=12,449); those who confess several times a year – for 5 minutes (Table 3, row 6, column “5 minutes”=6,322); once a year/once in several years – for 5 minutes during divine service (Table 2, row 5, column “5 min.”=4,109) or for 15 minutes when divine service is not administered (Table 2, row 5, column “15 minutes”=7371).

²³² Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, “The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2009. December, 23, 2009,” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The Word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 277–278; Idem., “The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2010 (December, 22, 2010),” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The Word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 331; Idem., *The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2015 (December, 21, 2015)* (Moscow, 2015), 21, 23–24, 25.

²³³ See the criticism of the Church in Chapter 1, §4.

²³⁴ *Public Opinion Foundation–2011*.

The comparison of the ratio of parish priests and parishioners in various countries also shows that the number of clergy in Russia limits the opportunity for regular participation in parish life and in the main Christian sacraments of confession and Communion. In 2014, in the USA, 76,700,000 people called themselves Catholics, and there were 38,275 Catholic priests²³⁵ (one priest per 2,004 Catholics). According to the official report of the Catholic Church in Germany, the overall number of Catholics in 2013 was 24,170,754 (29.9% of the population), with 14,490 Catholic priests (including administrators and those on special assignments), which gives a ratio of 1: 1168.²³⁶ In 2012, in Europe as a whole, this ratio was 1: 2177.²³⁷ In Russia, this ratio is about 1: 6050,²³⁸ and it is necessary to take into consideration a very different situation than that in Europe and the USA, with uneven distribution, remoteness, and an inaccessibility of parishes.²³⁹

The rapid growth in the number of clergy in the first twenty years after the decline of Soviet power essentially did not result in the growth of those regular church-goers who frequently take Communion, apparently due to a very rapid growth of the groups of beginning believers. If so, the specific religious situation in Russia characterized by a low level of religious practices will persist for quite a long time. In order for at least a hypothetical possibility of the growth of practicing

²³⁵ At the same time, only 66,600,000 people are related to parishes (*Frequently Requested Church Statistics*, Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), <http://cara.georgetown.edu/CARAServices/requestedchurchstats.html>, accessed 23.03.2015.

²³⁶ Katholische Kirche in Deutschland. Zahlen und Fakten (2013–2014), 12, 20, http://www.dbk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/Zahlen%20und%20Fakten/Kirchliche%20Statistik/Allgemein_-_Zahlen_und_Fakten/DBK_Zahlen-und-Fakten2013-14_Internet.pdf, accessed 25.03.2015.

²³⁷ *Global Catholicism: Trends and Forecasts*, CARA (June, 4, 2015), 20, <http://cara.georgetown.edu/staff/webpages/Global%20Catholicism%20Release.pdf>, accessed 26.12.2015.

²³⁸ In 1915, the ratio of priests and the Orthodox population of the Russian Empire was 1: 2058, and Church authorities indicated the lack of clergy and churches. To compare: in 1840, this ratio was 1: 1203 (eds. Yu. L. Orekhanov, A. V. Posternak., and T. Kh. Terentieva, “Kratkij statisticheskiy obzor uslovij religiozno-prosvetitel'skoj deyatelnosti Rossijskoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi pri izmenivshemsya ustrojstve Rossii i po otdelenii Tserkvi ot gosudarstva,” [A short statistical overview of conditions for religious-educational work of the Russian Orthodox Church after the changed structure of Russia and after the separation of the Church from the State], *Bogoslovskij sbornik* 1 (1997): 206).

²³⁹ Thus, in 2011, in Moscow, 475 parishes held weekly divine service, and parish clergy consisted of 1231 priests, which gives us the following numbers: 17,400 Orthodox Christians to 1 functional church, and 6730 people to 1 priest. For those who identified as Russians, this ratio will be 20,900 people to 1 church, and 8066 people to 1 priest (according to the All Russian Census of 2010, Moscow was populated by 11,503,500 people, which gives us an estimate of 8,282,500 Orthodox Christians) (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, *The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2015 (December, 21, 2015)*, (Moscow, 2015), 3).

believers to at least statistically reach the estimated 3%, it is necessary to increase the body of clergy by 12,620 priests, that is, more than half as much the current number of priests.

With a stable growth of the body of the clergy,²⁴⁰ the prospects of a qualitative change in the situation cannot be expected earlier than in twenty years, when and if the number of priests will reach 25,000–30,000. The number of priests in Russia needed to reach the same ratio of priests to parishioners, as the ratio in the Catholic Church in the USA is 51,000, requiring a triple increase in the existing number of priests. As long as the situation of the accessibility of priests remains the same, which primarily depends on the number of parish clergy, there is every reason to believe that this limiting factor will be decisive for the formation of the religious situation in Russia, and the influence of religion on other areas of life will remain virtually imperceptible at the level of the quantitative surveys and statistical data.

§5. Limitations on the Model's Correct Application

This section enumerates the factors that influence the precision of the achieved results, and discusses how reliable the obtained results are.

It is obvious that the proposed model does not account for many factors. The pastoral practice of each individual priest is not the same and is highly dependent on many factors, the main ones being the method of pastoral activities, the liturgical and extra-church load, and the term of the priest's service.

In studies that took place in Europe and the USA, the typology of priests explores the differences in the practice of pastoral care as one of the key factors of typology construction.²⁴¹ Field studies of the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church also show a fundamentally different attitude toward pastoral care, its value,

²⁴⁰ In three years, from 2011 to 2013, the number of clergy increased from 29,324 to 30,340 people, or by 553 people, or by 1.9% per year (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, "The Report of Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, at the Council of Hierarchs on February 2, 2013," *Zhurnal Moskovskoj Patriarkhii* 3 (2013): 20.

²⁴¹ S. Blizzard, *The Protestant Parish Minister: A Behavioral Science Interpretation*, The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Monograph Series 5 (Storrs, CT: The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1985); P. M. Zulehner, *Priester im Modernisierungsstress. Forschungsbericht der Studie Priester 2000* (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 2001).

and place in the structure of priest's time budget.²⁴² Finally, the 2009 report of Patriarch Kirill at the Moscow Diocesan Council directly contrasts the methods of priestly action, depending on different attitudes towards the practice of pastoral care.²⁴³ Based on this expert opinion, we may assume that there is a certain type of priest who practically does not provide pastoral care.²⁴⁴ If this is so, then the segment of religious supply that is based on this type of pastoral activity does not have an involving effect. This means that the formation of religious practices will be even slower.

The extra-ecclesial workload of a priest can vary greatly depending on a variety of circumstances such as his participation in extra-liturgical activities, the number of services on demand (that is, the rites and sacraments performed outside the church at the request of parishioners), and other conditions of a priest's service. Even a superficial analysis of the ledgers in which priests recorded the way they budgeted their time shows that the differences in the structure of time budget and, accordingly, the difference in the time of confession or conversation with parishioners can vary greatly.²⁴⁵ In addition, it must be remembered that the vast majority of parish priests in the Russian Orthodox Church act as the administrative

²⁴² In the framework of the research called *Organization Plans of Social Work in Moscow Parishes* (2010), we held 32 interviews with priests and parishioners of churches in Moscow and the Moscow region. These interviews demonstrated almost opposite attitudes towards practices of pastoral care. The major results of the research can be found in the article of Zabaev I. V., D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova. "Problemy metodologii organizatsii sotsial'noj deyatelnosti na prikhodakh Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi v nachale XXI v.," [Problems in methodology of organizing social work at the parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in the beginning of the 21st century], in *Materialy seminarov "Sotsiologiya religii"* 8 (Moscow, 2010), http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/WP_2010-08.pdf, accessed 29.12.2015).

²⁴³ A specific section in "General Questions of Pastoral Service" openly opposes ministerial duty and pastoral care (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, "The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2009 (December, 23, 2009)." in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 277–278.

²⁴⁴ A similar type was described by Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, who called it quite a typical phenomenon of church life: "In our case, a certain passivity of the priest is traditional" (Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, *Pokayanie, ispoved, dukhovnoe rukovodstvo*, [Repentance, confession, spiritual guidance] (Moscow: Svet pravoslaviya, 1997), 15).

²⁴⁵ During the research of ways of pastoral action, with the method of involved observation with a consequent interviewing, we achieved five pilot weekly journals of Moscow priests' time budget. The results are overwhelming and allow us to draw conclusions concerning different pastoral practices. The first priest spent almost all the time in his church and talked to parishioners; the second one took part in parish events, including those for the youth; the third one focused on Sunday school for adults; the fourth one is a hospital priest, so he dedicated much time to Communion and confessions in hospital; the fifth one spent most of the time at scientific seminars and administrative meetings. N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetrov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016.

head of the parish, the Rector,²⁴⁶ which entails a very time-consuming engagement in administrative, organizational, financial, and economic issues.

Another significant factor is the type of neighborhood in which the parish is located, as well as the type of parish.²⁴⁷ The former factor obviously affects the hypothetically possible size of the parish and the number of people in it. The latter factor is more complex. First of all, it is associated with the location of the parish in the neighborhood²⁴⁸: whether it is situated in an area with a large or small number of resident houses, near a transportation hub or away from it, near other frequently visited public places or far from them, as a separate building and on a separate territory, or on the territory of other organizations (for example, hospital or prison churches). Depending on all of the factors involved, each parish is formed in a given church in various ways: permanent parishioners or constantly new people, a limited or a more-or-less constant but very broad circle of people, etc.

Secondly, the type of parish²⁴⁹ significantly differs in terms of how long it has been in existence (has never been closed, opened over a decade ago, recently

²⁴⁶ In 2011, the Russian Orthodox Church comprised 29,324 priests, 30,675 parishes and 805 monasteries (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, “The Report at the Council of Hierarchs of 2011,” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoj Patriarkhii Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi, 2012), 193).

²⁴⁷ To construct a typology of parishes is no easier than a typology of the clergy (see D. A. Oreshina, “Prikladnye sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya katolicheskogo prikhoda v SShA do reform Vtorogo Vatikanskogo sobora (1962–1965 gg.),” [Applied sociological studies of the Catholic Parish in the USA Before the reforms of the Second Vatican Council], in *Materialy seminara “Sotsiologiya religii” 2010–4*, Moscow, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/WP_2010-04.pdf, accessed 29.12.2015; D. A. Oreshina, “Sotsial'naya deyatel'nost' prikhodskikh obshchin i konfessional'nykh organizatsij. Obzor sotsiologicheskikh issledovanij,” [The social activity of parish communities and confessional organizations. Overview of sociological studies], in *Materialy seminara “Sotsiologiya religii,” 2014–14*, Moscow, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/WP_2014-14.pdf, accessed 29.12.2015; Eadem., “Katolicheskij prihod vo vtoroj polovine XX veka: faktory formirovaniya prikhodskoj obshchiny,” [The Catholic parish in the second half of the 20th century: Factors for forming the parish community], in *Materialy seminara “Sotsiologiya religii,” 2010–3*, Moscow, http://socrel.pstgu.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/WP_2010-03.pdf, accessed 29.12.2015.

²⁴⁸ I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, “Obshchina pravoslavnogo khrama: prostranstvennaya lokalizatsiya i faktory formirovaniya (na primere g. Moskvy)” [Community of an Orthodox Church: Spatial localization and the forming factors (using the example of Moscow)], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1, *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (41) (2012): 57–67.

²⁴⁹ The mere presence and significance of the later-mentioned factors result from the tentative analysis of the data collected during two projects of Scientific Laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University. The first project was *Three Parishes during the Feast of the Protection* – in 2011 (for the main results, see I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, *Tri moskovskikh prikhoda: osnovnye sotsial'no-demograficheskie pokazateli i ustanovki predstavitelej obshchin krupnykh prikhodov*, [Three Moscow parishes: The main social-demographic indicators and attitudes of the representatives of large parish communities] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2012). The second project was conducted in 2012–2013 and was called *Organization of Social Work in Parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Early 21st Century. Sociological Analysis.* A series of in-depth interviews were taken in 14 parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow Region, Kaluga Region,

opened, or an emerging parish), the number of clergy in the parish (a parish with several priests is organized fundamentally differently in terms of pastoral work than a parish with only one priest). A special type of parish and special practice of pastoral care emerges in cathedrals where many official ecclesiastical events take place and festive services are performed. The parishes focused on a special ministry (hospital, prison, or military churches) have their own specific features, as well.

All these factors can influence the structure of a priest's time budget and make it very difficult to more precisely assess the time for the "care of souls" available to each individual priest. It should be noted that all additional adjustments of the model only limit the hypothetically maximum available time which the priest would spend on the "care of souls," and thus only strengthens our main thesis of the insufficient number of priests as the main factor limiting religious supply in present-day Russia.

§6. The problem of Using the Supply Model from a Theological Perspective

In this section the theological background of the idea of religious competition, as well as the understanding of religious interaction as the interaction of priests and believers, is discussed.

Sociological constructs in the study of religion always have a theological basis. Notions about the religious marketplace in rational choice theory are rooted in the theology denominationalism,²⁵⁰ and, for example, Weber's *Protestant Ethic* which itself was formed under the strong influence of the reformist and unionist theology of those such as Ritchle and Schnekenburger. Commons concepts like those of *Liebensfuehrung*, to name but one, may also have been borrowed from this type of theology.²⁵¹ The denominational vision of the Church does not

Yaroslavl' Region, Samara Region and Irkutsk Region, as well as Altai Krai, Krasnoyarsk Krai, and Khabarovsk Krai (a total of 147).

²⁵⁰ H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1954).

²⁵¹ P. Ghosh, *Max Weber and "The Protestant Ethic": Twin Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 134–135.

correspond to the Orthodox teaching on catholicity.²⁵² In this sense, the theory of the religious market regards involvement in church life as the engagement of a specific community. For Orthodox Christians, this involvement entails involvement in the Church at large, which gives a completely different meaning to the understanding of “community” in this process. In the theory of the religious marketplace, the idea of competition of communities (congregations, denominations, etc.) amongst themselves is a foundational assumption. This theory does not raise the question of the quantitative evaluation of religious supply, but only of its relationship to the competitiveness of different denominations or faith communities with each other.

Another problem, from the point of view of the correctness of applying the model of religious interaction, is the opposition between priests and believers. The priests themselves, in the full sense of the word, are also believers. Otherwise the rather grotesque situation would arise in which a believing laity is being served by unbelieving priests. At the level of basic political rhetoric, the Soviet era left a legacy of images of a social dynamic in which priests and believers were at odds, as if the priesthood and the laity were two hostile classes – the exploiters and the exploited “dark masses.”²⁵³

In a theological context, the concept of a “layperson” is used with a much broader connotation than the term “believer.” Thus, the term “layperson” does not encompass all of the psychological and spiritual nuance of “believer” in terms of how one confesses the faith, nor the fact of baptism, nor participation in the Sacraments. These terms refers to one's belonging to the people of God, which is more an intrinsic characteristic than an external one.²⁵⁴ At the same time, this term

²⁵² See G. V. Florovsky, “Kafolichnost’ Tserkvi,” [Catholicity of the Church], in Idem., *Izbrannye bogoslovskie stat’i*, [Selected theological articles] (Moscow, 2000), 141-158.

²⁵³ Such rhetoric can be seen in official documents from the very beginning of the Soviet regime (see, for example, “Stat’ya No. 336. Postanovlenie Narodnogo Komissariata Yustitsii. O likvidatsii moshchel,” [Article No. 336. Resolution of the People’s Commissariat of Justice. On the liquidation of relics], in *Sobraniye uzakoneniij i rasporyazhenij pravitel’sтва za 1920 g.*, [Collection of legalizations and government orders for 1920] (Moscow: Upravleniye delami Sovnarkoma SSSR, 1943), 504–506; ed. S. I. Kovalev, *Sputnik ateista*, [Companion of an atheist] (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1959).

²⁵⁴ Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Sluzhenie miryan v Tserkvi*, [Ministry of lay people in the Church] (Paris, 1955).

refers to that portion of God's people who do not belong to the clergy²⁵⁵. The theological terms “layperson”²⁵⁶ cannot be operationalized and, therefore, cannot be used in this research project.

The main issued related to the complexity of this concept is the nature of the priesthood in the Church. In a single Church, how can priests be distinguished from the other members of God’s people? G. Florovsky insists on the unity of priests and believers and so does not consider clericalism to be relevant for Orthodoxy.²⁵⁷ The two dichotomies which are salient in the Orthodox tradition are those of “episcopate/priesthood”²⁵⁸ on the one hand and “monastics/non-monastics (including non-monastic clergy”²⁵⁹ on the other. In his “Old and New,” which contains important reflections on pastoral care in post-revolutionary Russian, Protopresbyter Sergius Bulgakov insists that, “While still condoning hierarchy, Orthodoxy remains alien to its lust for power; Orthodox pastoral care, which is apostolically authorized, constitutes its authority in love and in blessing, and it is quite compatible with the notion that God’s people comprise a ‘Royal Priesthood’, i.e. the laity who are now being called to ecclesial creativity.”²⁶⁰ The theological concept of “layperson” represents an attempt to distinguish different groups within the Church without emphasizing their opposition.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, this concept is criticized to the extent that it leads to the rejection of the use of the term “layperson” itself. For example, Archpriest N. Afanasiev replaces it with the term “laics.”²⁶²

The proposed model rests on the assumption that in the religious marketplace in Russia (vis-à-vis Orthodoxy, to be exact) demand is made up by

²⁵⁵ The complexity of this concept and history of the development of its understanding after the Second Vatican Council make some authors conclude that this term “is dead in the theological sense” (L. Doohan, *The Lay-Centered Church: Theology and Spirituality* (Uitgever: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2016), 23) See also Y. Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of Laity* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965); E. H. Schillebeeckx, “The Layman in the Church,” *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 27 (1) (1963): 262–283.

²⁵⁶ See the definition in *Appendix 1*.

²⁵⁷ See G. V. Florovsky, “Tserkov’: ee priroda i zadacha,” [Church: Its nature and task], in Idem., *Izbrannyye bogoslovskie stat’i*, [Selected theological articles] (Moscow, 2000), 193–195.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 199.

²⁶⁰ Archpriest S. N. Bulgakov, “Staroe i novoe,” [Old and new], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 2, *Istoriya. Istoriya Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi* 1 (50) (2013): 122.

²⁶¹ For the definition, see *Appendix 1*.

²⁶² Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Sluzhenie miryan v Tserkvi*, [Ministry of lay people in the Church] (Paris, 1955).

believers and supply is primarily provided by the clergy and parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church. In reality, priests and believers jointly participate in the “production of religious meaning” and ecclesiologically constitute the one people of God. Finally, the metaphor of supply and demand, even when disabused of its crass commodity-money associations, implies the idea of exchange (à la Polanyi²⁶³) which flies in the face of the notion of Gift that is the only adequate basis for religious interaction.²⁶⁴

What ecclesiological underpinnings compel the study of the current situation of the Church in Russia? This question is directly related to theological evaluation of the outcomes of research results and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

§7. Conclusion

The specific features of liturgical praxis in the Russian Orthodox Church make it possible to single out an index of time, more precisely, the time of confession, as a single metric for the intersection of two drastically different approaches to understanding religion and assessing religiosity. “Religious demand” or imperatives of regular participation in church practices inevitably collide with “religious supply,” or simply the physical capacity to meet these imperatives. Such a vision of the religious situation in Russia is based on a number of presuppositions and requires a separate theological analysis.

Even if we do not raise the question of what comes first in the formation of religiosity – “demand” or “supply” (using the categories of economic religion theory) – or, to put it differently, the religious requirement of society to participate in church practices or the abilities of the existing clergy corps to perform regular pastoral care, we can surely state the following: different ratios of the number of parishioners and priests will form absolutely different types of religiosity. The time

²⁶³ See K. Polanyi, “*Ekonomika kak institutsional’no oformlennyy protsess*,” [Economics as institutionally formed process], *Ekonomicheskaya sotsiologiya* 3 (2) (2002): 62–73.

²⁶⁴ In more detail, see N. N. Emelyanov and G. B. Yudin, “*Strukturnaya pozitsiya svyashchennika v sistemakh daroobmena*,” [The structural position of the priest in gift-exchange systems], *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie* 17 (3) (2018): 9–29.

structure of the priest's activity is an important factor in religiosity formation, even if we consider it simply as the time the priest spends on hearing confession. This conclusion is based on two statements. First, pastoral care is the main way that people become enculturated to a committed life in the Orthodox Church, since such an enculturation on the part of family and society no longer practically exists in present-day Russian society. Second, there is, evidently, the mere fact of influence; as when certain believers' attitudes towards priests surpasses a degree that no pastoral care overcome. Confession is only possible in a form of "general confession," and as a result, it gets transformed from being a mechanism for the interaction of priest and believer into a private process of one-way worship (sanctity consumption), which produces an absolutely different type of religiosity.

This conclusion does not yet allow us to make a real assessment of "religious supply." However, it does allow us assume that the most complex and problematic processes of religiosity formation and evolution in Russia will take place not in the sphere of the Church's public influence, nor with a decrease of affiliation with Orthodoxy, but in the sphere of religious interaction and the measurements and qualitative processes linked to it. First and foremost, this is the interaction between priests and believers (pastoral care).

To appraise the achieved model and make sure it really meets the current religious situation, as well as to receive a tentative quantitative assessment of "religious supply" (i.e. the scale of religious demand for participation in church practices to which the modern Russian Orthodox Church can respond), we have to empirically measure the most variable indicator in the model. This is the average duration of a person's confession, i.e. the ratio of time spent by the priest on hearing confession (per day, per week, and per year) to the number of people he confessed in this period. The next chapter will be dedicated to this objective.

Chapter 3. Empirical Approbation of the Model: 50 Confessions in Moscow parishes Research Project

§1. Field Research Description

The research objectives include the following: empirical approbation of an evaluation model for religious supply in Russia; preliminary quantitative evaluation of religious supply; and an analysis of the hypothesis of the number of clergy as a limiting factor influencing the low level of involvement in religious practices.

The “Conceptualization” section provides a classification of believers and describes the mechanism for the limitation of religious supply for **practicing believers** due to the limited confession time a priest can spend with every person. The “Operationalization” section deals with variables and suggests an equation that makes it possible to numerically evaluate religious supply.

The “Approbation of Empirical Data” section describes the “50 confessions” empirical research, which allows us to characterize the basic variables of the religious supply equation and to get quantitative estimates of the limitation on religious supply in Russia. The “Data” subsection describes the process of observation, while the “Variables” subsection describes the variables recorded in the process of observation.

In the next section called “Research Results,” tables and diagrams are exhibited which summarize the results obtained, as well as statistical relationships and dependences. The main conclusion about the limitation of religious supply, depending on the number of clergy, is made in the “Marginal Indexes of the Growth of Religious Practices in Modern Russia,” where there is a graph evaluating the limitation and a preliminary evaluation of religious supply based on the existing number of clergy in Russia. The conducted measurements are also given there. This evaluation makes it possible to suggest that a growth in the number of practicing believers would be impossible with

the current number of priests in the Russian Orthodox Church parishes in Russia.

§2. Conceptualization

In this section, the conceptualization of the accumulated array of empirical data has been carried out, in which theoretical ideas have been introduced that provide the theoretical organization of the material with the accuracy of the assumptions made.

The principal difficulty in evaluating religious supply is to estimate the average time of confession per person in view of different kinds of parishes there are, as well as the different kinds of priests who all practice a variety of pastoral traditions.²⁶⁵ However, as it was shown in Chapter 2, section 5, all these particularities only limit supply and exaggerate this estimation even more.

Another difficulty in the supply limitation model is the analysis of the budgets of the priest's time, together with the time that can be devoted to hearing confessions. Such budgets will be totally different when we deal with each of the selected groups of believers. However, in view of the task that has been set — that is, to approbate (test) the model and to analyze the hypothesis of the gap between affiliation and religious involvement — it is enough to build an adequate evaluation for just one group: involved believers who take Communion once per month or more often. As Chapter 2, section 2.4 shows, a priest's time budget, which he is able to devote to this group, can be evaluated most accurately.

²⁶⁵ Based on expert interviews and observations in the framework of the research of the priests' time budgets (N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetrov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of pastoral action: Analysis of priests' time budgets. Research project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016) one can suppose that the existing counseling practices are connected to succession and orientation of the priest towards certain experienced and respected priests. These practices can be a lot different from each other. Such succession is recorded most distinctly in the case when the priest consciously orients towards or directly copies the practices of his spiritual guide.

§3. Operationalization

This section links the conceptual scheme with its methodological tools. This connection is carried out through the search for a means of fixation. The signs (characteristics) that are accessible to observation and measurement are variables that are also subject to justification as such.

Regular parishoners who take Communion once a month or more usually confess only in connection to the Saturday evening service and on Sunday morning. Believers of this type aspire to carefully follow the rule of compulsory attendance at the Saturday and Sunday service. In addition, they go to church services on every major feast. With such a schedule of service attendance, it is practically impossible to go to confession regularly (once a month or more) at some additional time. This does not mean that believers belonging to this group never go to confession or come to talk to a priest or to ask for his advice at another time that is not linked to Sunday or festal service. On the contrary, they are the ones who come for a priest's advice more often than others do, but this does not cancel or save the time required for confession on Sundays or on the feast days.

The budget of time a priest can set aside for the confession of the more involved portion of believers is calculated based on "the number of Sundays and feast days"; let us denote this (D). This comes to 52 Sundays and 20 feast days a year: the twelve Great Feast Days of the Orthodox Christian year, the 5 other Great Feasts (all highlighted in the official Church Calendar), the 3 venerated days (that of the Kazan icon and two St. Nicolas Days) and the Day of the Dedication of the local parish church or cathedral. Among those, 7 to 10 holy days, depending on the year, fall onto Sundays, and a priest spends no less than 4 Sundays and/or feast days on vacation; thus, in total (D) varies from 58 to 61 days.

$$58 \leq D \leq 61$$

Every Sunday or feast day confession take place in the evening not long before the evening service starts, or perhaps in the middle of it while the service is still being performed. In the morning, during the Liturgy, confession can only take place shortly before the service, or again during a very small pause before the end of the Liturgy, basically right before Communion. If one priest does not serve by himself in the parish, the morning confession is prolonged a bit, because two liturgies are usually served: the early and the late one. During both of these, one priest serves and the other is occupied entirely with confessions. Let us denote confession time in the evening (E) minutes and in the morning (M) minutes.²⁶⁶

This gives us no more than $D*(E+M)$ minutes a year.

The frequency of taking Holy Communion is an important variable in calculating the supply model. In mass polls, this indicator is accepted for the group of believers involved “once a month or more.” In fact, the answer to the question about Communion frequency usually reveals the rate at which the believer is only inclined to take Communion, which may not always coincide with actual fact.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the canonical norm for taking Communion once a month is precisely the lower threshold number,²⁶⁸ usually performed by

²⁶⁶ Field data show that this time can be serious enough. In some cases up to 6 hours (N. Emelyanov, I. Zabaev, T. Krikhtova, D. Oreshina, and E. Prutskova, *Pyat’desyat ispovedei na moskovskikh prikhodakh 9–10 aprelya 2016 goda*, [Fifty confessions in in different Moscow parishes, April, 9, 2016–April, 10, 2016]. Research project of the research laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University, Moscow, 2016).

²⁶⁷ In the longitudinal research *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest (Case Study)* showing the confession practice of one priest for 13 years, the frequency of Communion of church members varies in the following way: 10–11 times a year — 27 people; 12–19 times — 30 people; 20–29 times — 26 people; 30–39 times — 11 people; more than 40 — 2 people. In total 96 people with an average frequency of 19 times a year (N. N. Emelyanov, *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest (Case Study)*. Research project, Research project, Moscow, 2003–2016).

²⁶⁸ In the Russian Orthodox Church there are different traditions of regulating the frequency of Communion and confession. The 9th Apostolic Canon says that a Christian who did not attend Communion for 3 Sundays in a row should be excommunicated. Byzantine exegetes Zonaras (11th century) and Balsamon (13th century) believe that it is about compulsory Communion once every 3 weeks (*Pravila Svyatykh Apostol i Svyatykh Otets s tolkovaniyami* (Moscow, 1876), 28–29). The Document “On the Participation of Believers in the Communion,” adopted at the Russian Orthodox Church Archbishop Conference on 3.02.2015 insists on taking Communion no less than once a month as a threshold condition of normal Church life. Such a norm — making Communion no less than once a

involved churchgoers. The Frequency of Communion (F) indicator can be taken at no fewer than 12 times a year.

$12 \leq F$

Lastly, the average confession duration for one person (T) is an index that can vary quite significantly.²⁶⁹

The next variable in the equation of restriction of the religious supply is the number of priests (P) working in parish churches in Russia. This variable is the most stable one, its upper-bound estimate is 17,000.²⁷⁰

$P \leq 17,000$

A general model of the upper-bound evaluation of the supply limitation can be calculated in the following way:

The limited number of involved believers (Y) = the number of priests *

month — serves as a guide for the modern Russian Orthodox Church. This does not interrupt modern church publicists from insisting on two absolutely contrary interpretations of the original Apostolic Canon. Some say that it is precisely about making Communion regularly, others think it is about attending the Sunday divine service. For example, cf. the opinion of Hegumen Petr (Meshcherinov), “On the Necessity of Constant Incessant Communion to the Saint Mysteries of Christ for a True Christian,” <http://igpetr.jimdo.com/статьи/>, accessed 24.09.2016, or an alternative opinion on an ultra-conservative site “Russkaya narodnaya liniya,” http://ruskline.ru/analitika/2010/03/15/obyazany_li_miryane_prichawatsya_svyatyh_hristovyh_tain_na_kazhdoj_liturgii/, accessed 14.09.2016.

²⁶⁹ See N. N. Emelyanov, “The Temporal Structure of the Activities of Priests, and the Substantive Effects of Religious Life in Contemporary Russia,” *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie* 4 (2016): 133–134.

²⁷⁰ With all the difficulty of getting accurate statistics on the number of clergy in Russia, one can use the summing up data from the reports at Bishops’ Councils. The total number of clerics (as of 2011 — 29,324 people) includes not only parish clergy but also monastery clergy (just in stauropegic monasteries, meaning, those reporting directly to the Patriarch, there are about 1000 priests), as well as clerics from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Belarusian Exarchate, foreign dioceses and the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia. If we only exclude the Ukrainian (about 10,000), Belarusian (1485) and monastery clergy (about 1000), the total number of parish priests in Russia will be no more than 17,000 people (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, “The Report at the Council of Moscow Dioceses of 2011,” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatel'ia (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The word of the Primate. Collected works], series 1, vol. 1 (Moscow, 2012), 385; Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, “The Ukrainian Orthodox Church Today. The Report of the Eminent Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, at the Council of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on January, 4, 2011,” <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1401848.html>, accessed 26.12.2015; Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, The Report of Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, at the Council of Dioceses of the Minsk Eparchy on January, 5, 2012,” <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1934395.html>, accessed 24.03.2015).

the number of Sundays and feast days * (the evening confession time + the morning confession time) / (the average confession time of a person * the frequency of Communion),

or

$$Y = P * D * (E + M) / T * F$$

or, taking the previously made estimates into account,

$$Y \leq 17,000 * 61 * (E + M) / T * 12$$

In other words, the possible number of practicing believers (religious supply) is limited by the number of priests multiplied by the total amount of morning and evening confession time on Sundays and feast days throughout the church year, and then divided by the average Communion frequency for believers.

§4. Approbation of Empirical Data

4.1. Empirical Objectives

Model approbation and testing the hypothesis of substantial religious supply limitation require an evaluation of the main index of the supply model — the average confession time for one person (T). The definition of this index was the goal of an empirical study of “50 Confessions” conducted by the “Sociology of Religion” research laboratory at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University from April 9 to April 10, 2016.²⁷¹ The additional research objectives included the following: to evaluate the second supply model index — confession time budget (E+M) and to try to separate the approaches according to the predominant method of priestly action — counseling or conducting

²⁷¹ N. Emelyanov, I. Zabaev, T. Krikhtova, D. Oreshina, and E. Prutskova, *Pyat’destat ispovedei na moskovskikh prikhodakh 9–10 aprelya 2016 goda*, [Fifty confessions in in different Moscow parishes, April, 9, 2016–April, 10, 2016], Research project of the research laboratory “Sociology of Religion” at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University, Moscow, 2016.

sacraments.²⁷²

4.2. *Data*

The research was conducted by a simultaneous observation of 50 Moscow parishes. In every parish the observer recorded a series of indicators during the evening service (the all-night Vigil) on Saturday and the morning service (the Liturgy) on Sunday. The main indicators were the following: total confession time for one of the priests in a parish and the number of people whose confessions he he heard.

The observations took place on Saturdays and Sundays during Great Lent. The yearly cycle of services in the Russian Orthodox Church features several special periods; first of all, there are the four feasts and two major festal periods: the Christmastide (January, 7–January, 17) and Bright Week (immediately following Easter Sunday). This annual cycle also includes 12 Great Feasts and several days of saints who are the objects of special veneration. During these periods, the number of penitents, oblationaries, and churchgoers usually increases. By contrast, during the long public holidays (the New Year holidays and those that occur in the month of May), as well as during vacation time (July and August) and on the Sundays coming right after the “Great” Church Feasts, the number of oblationaries decreases.

The yearly cycle of church services is made up in such a way that it is nearly impossible to find a completely “ordinary” Sunday. Such Sundays are so few that they are to be considered atypical and thus unsuitable for use as the basis for the evaluation of the number of penitents. Choosing one of the Great Lent Sundays would seem more logical since, on the one hand, this is a time when the Church strongly urges all Orthodox believers to go to confession and take Communion and, on the other hand, this is not the public holiday period. It is not the pre-Easter Lenten period, nor feast days, and not the first Sunday of

²⁷² On various types of pastoral action, see Chapter 2.

the Great Lent, which always sees a substantial rise in the number of penitents at confession.

Sampling parishes is also a challenge. A simple list of registered religious organizations belonging in the Moscow Patriarchate makes it impossible to construct such a sample.²⁷³ Parishes can be of several types. From the point of view of research, the following types parishes are important: 1) those located in monasteries, 2) house churches (including those attached to various institutions), 3) those located in closed territories, 4) those with irregular divine services (not every Saturday and Sunday), 5) those under construction or not functioning due to other reasons, so that divine services are not there.

The study used random mechanical sampling. The choice of observation units was based on a list of Moscow churches featured on the website of the Moscow Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church (www.moseparh.ru). Monasteries, convents, chapels and churches located on closed territories were excluded from the list, leaving a total of 542 churches from the entire list. Then a random mechanical selection was performed in increments of 10, meaning every 10th church got into the sampling. If there were no worship services in the selected church every Sunday, then the next (11th) church was included in the sample. After analyzing the sample obtained, it turned out that two distinctly liberal parishes were on the list. So that the sample did not show an obvious bias on this basis, two distinctly conservative parishes²⁷⁴ were added.

Volunteers were briefed at a general meeting or in person; six people received instructions by mail. Every observer (52 people in total) received the church's address, written instructions, and an observation sheet.²⁷⁵ On the day when the research was conducted, five observers did not make it to their churches, and a week later additional observation was held in three of the churches. As a result, observation data was collected from 50 Moscow parishes.

²⁷³ Since 2015, in his report, the Patriarch counts only the parishes where divine services regularly take place on Saturday and Sunday.

²⁷⁴ Those rare Moscow parishes reconstructing "ancient" divine service or those intentionally "modernizing" it, are considered "conservative" or "liberal."

²⁷⁵ See *Appendix 4*.

Part of the information about the age and the date of ordination of the priests, along with the rules for baptism, were later collected from open sources and from parishes via the phone.

4.3. Variables

The observation included recording variables characterizing the church, the priest, and the indicators of confession.

Church characteristics
Location. How many minutes did the walk from the metro take?
Does a godparent have to say confession before baptism?
Can they do that on the day of baptism?
Priest's characteristics
Age
Ordination year
Confession characteristics
Confession's beginning
Confession's end
Number of people who took confession
The number of children who went to confession.
Total number of priests hearing confessions

The church's characteristics were recorded to find out whether it possibly belonged to one of the types of parish according to the orientation of clergy towards counseling or performing sacraments.

One of the factors influencing this orientation is the parish's location, because if it is situated close to a transportation hub (in Moscow this is often a metro station) then even if there is a sustainable community core, people whose church attendance is usually low are more prone to attend. Such a situation

provokes an inevitable shift in a church's inclination towards performing sacraments. This is due to the impossibility of offering counseling to a large number of people, who often do not intend to regularly attend this church, but only come there in passing.

The arguability of this indicator is related to the fact that such an overload may arise in a church that is not close to any metro station, but is located in a big residential area. Contrarily, churches in the city center can be close to the metro, but have a limited tight-knit community because the density of the population in the downtown areas of the city is low.

Questions linked to the practice of performing the sacrament of Baptism in this parish were to show the degree to which this practice is connected to spiritual counseling. Since 2011, Patriarch Kirill has proposed a compulsory rule for performing Baptism in Moscow: to have two catechetical conversations²⁷⁶ and a confession with those who want to be baptized. The need to hear confession from the future godparents when baptizing children was not regulated in any way. Expert interviews show that priests who emphasize the importance of spiritual care do not, in principle, allow non-practicing godparents to participate in the baptisms of their godchildren without hearing their confession beforehand.²⁷⁷ The difficulty in the interpretation of this indicator is related the fact that it can only be considered together with the answers to both questions, and only yes-no answers single out that special group of churches that are presumably focused on the care of the soul through spiritual counseling.²⁷⁸ It should be born in mind that in a church

²⁷⁶ "The Report of Kirill, the Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia at the Council of Moscow Dioceses on (December, 22, 2010)," <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1346828.html>, accessed 17.10.2016.

²⁷⁷ "This rule is connected to conscious participation in Baptizing which later requires compulsory Communion together with the newly-baptized child" (expert interview, priest, 22 years of ordination, Moscow, 2015). In the framework of the project "Ways of Pastoral Action" 23 priests from various regions of Russia and various types of residential areas were interviewed (during 60 to 120 minutes) in 2015–2016. (N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetrov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016).

²⁷⁸ A simple yes to the first question could mean practically nothing. If a confession before baptizing is necessary, but it can be performed right before it, it can only be very short. In fact, such practice does not suggest the possibility of putting a godparent aside because there is nobody to replace them. On the other hand, as an additional telephone survey has shown, even a no to the first question could mean that the question of confession is always up to the priest who decides during a detailed confessional discussion which takes place beforehand and completely matches the counseling orientation of the priestly action.

with where there are many priests, but no general proclivity towards spiritual counseling, there can always be a priest practicing a pastoral method of priestly action.

A priest's profile is limited by his age and ordination time, meaning the number of years he has served as a priest. This research's working hypothesis has been the idea that these two characteristics can determine the priest's pastoral style. First, in his initial five years of service, this style is only being formed; moreover, there is a general idea that it is inadmissible for inexperienced priests to perform counseling.²⁷⁹ On the contrary, an experienced priest (with more than 35 years of service) usually has a stable community, knows his penitents well and in this case it can be assumed that the confession time can be greatly reduced due to their mutual experience of constant communication. Second, the priest's age can keep him from standing up for 5 hours 50 minutes, like one 63-year-old priest in this research; on the contrary, young priests (before 35–40) tend to bring more emotion into confession, making it a longer conversation.

Lastly, the characteristics of confession itself were recorded according to four indicators: confession time, number of penitents, number of children, and number of priests hearing confessions. Children's confession is very different from adult confession, and this indicator was recorded separately in order to prevent possible distortions. The number of priests hearing confessions can also influence the speed of confession. When a priest is alone, the necessity to speak to everyone who came to confession makes him overly aware his time, which forces him to hurry. On the contrary, if there are many priests at one parish, or serving together at the same service, they have an ability to speak to a single penitent hoping that one of his fellow priests will share the burden of hearing the confessions of others.²⁸⁰

Within the framework of this study, apart from the essential characteristics

²⁷⁹ Read about "mladostarchestvo" in more detail in Section 2.4.

²⁸⁰ This characteristic may be crucial for determining the church's orientation. In churches oriented towards counseling every priest always hears confessions because every one of them tries not to miss the people who know him and come to speak exactly to him. In churches oriented towards performing sacraments priests take turns in hearing confessions to distribute the load evenly and not to cultivate the idea of confessing to one priest only.

of the supply model, the characteristics of the priest (age and ordination time), the church (distance from the metro, practice of confession before Baptism), confession context (whether there was one priest hearing confession or several priests) were all measured as part of the empirical research. The hypothesis of the field study was the assumption that those additional characteristics may affect the value of the main characteristics – the duration of the average confession for one believer (the number of people whom the priest has confessed divided by the total time he heard confessions on Saturday evening and Sunday morning) and the total time he heard confessions during the two main weekend services, Saturday Evening Vigil and the Sunday Divine Liturgy.

The formulated program of empirical research made possible the collection of an array of data to test the theoretical model. This array of empirical material was tabulated and then analyzed using special means of sociological analysis. Special tools for mathematical data analysis lets one evaluate the essential characteristics of the supply model. These were: 1) the average duration of a confession per person and 2) the average total confession time for a priest on Saturday evening and Sunday morning. The results of this analysis are given in the following section.

§5. The Results of the Empirical Research

5.1. Statistics for the Average Duration of a Confession

Considering the diversity of parishes and priests who have heard confessions, the analysis of the collected data helped establish the average duration of a confession, which allows us to assess this characteristic with a high degree of precision.

Table 1. Statistics for the average confession duration for one person, in minutes²⁸¹

Descriptives	Saturday	Sunday	Average Saturday+Sunday
Mean	4,5	3,7	3,9
Std. Error	0,5	0,5	0,4
95% Confidence Interval for Mean – Lower Bound	3,5	2,6	3,2
95% Confidence Interval for Mean – Upper Bound	5,4	4,7	4,7
Median	3,5	2,4	3,1
Variance	10,3	10,0	7,1
Std. Deviation	3,2	3,2	2,7
Minimum	0,0	0,4	0,7
Maximum	18,1	13,8	11,4
Range	18,1	13,3	10,7
Interquartile Range	3,6	2,7	2,6
N	47	38	50

Moreover, there is no statistically significant difference between the average duration of a confession on Saturday and Sunday (check with a t-test for dependent samples). They are correlated to a considerable extent.

²⁸¹ The average duration of a confession was estimated as follows:

Saturday= d_{lit_sat}/n_{sat} .

Sunday= d_{lit_sun}/n_{sun} .

d_{lit_sat} — total duration of Saturday confession

n_{sat} — the number of confessing parishioners

ending with “_sun” — the same for Sunday

If a church only had data for a single day, this day was used to estimate the overall mean. If there was data for two days, the estimation was conducted according to the following formula:

Average= $(d_{lit_sat}+d_{lit_sun})/(n_{sat}+n_{sun})$.

Pearson Correlation	.544
Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
N	35

The fact that the average duration of a confession on Saturday and Sunday is statistically the same is quite unexpected and raises a certain issue. On Sunday, the priest is strictly limited by the ending of the Liturgy. After that time, confession is not possible since the Communion has ended. But this is not so during the evening service when many priests hear confessions until late into the night and there is no definite limitation apart from closing time at the metro stations (1:00 a.m. in Moscow). It appears that we can suggest that the average duration of a confession depends mostly on the priest himself, rather than on external factors. If this suggestion proves to be correct, our proposed assessment becomes even more trustworthy.

The following diagrams demonstrate how the average duration of a confession is distributed by frequency for Saturday and Sunday (the X-axis shows the average duration of a confession in minutes; the Y-axis shows the number of priests whose average confession duration falls within the corresponding interval on the X-axis):

Diagram 2. The Average Duration of a Person's Confession on Saturday.

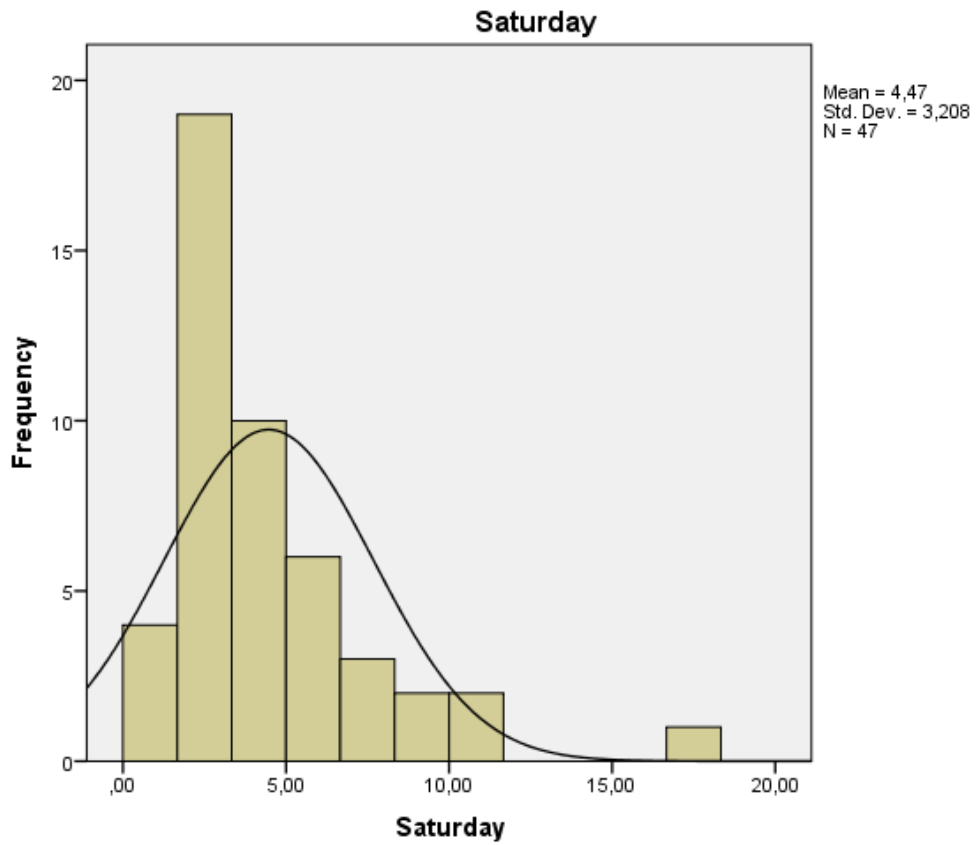
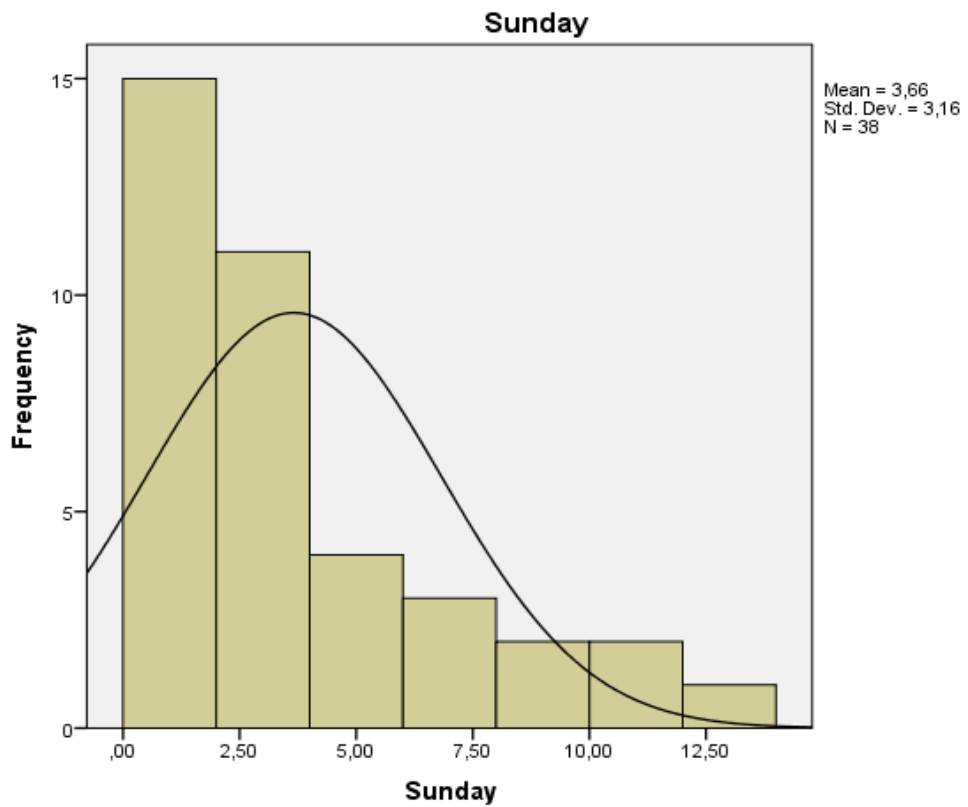


Diagram 3. The Average Duration of a Person’s Confession on Sunday.



On the contrary, these diagrams clearly show that on Sunday there is obviously a certain shift toward a shorter average duration of a confession. Thus, the conclusion that this factor is not statistically significant is only more important.

It may seem obvious that in the evening, when the priest may stay longer and nothing except the metro timetable limits him, the average confession should last longer. On the contrary, confession at the Liturgy, which is limited by its ending, must be obviously shorter. However, statistically this is not true, apparently due to the great number of churchgoing believers who confess briefly in the evening.

5.2. Dependence of the Average Duration of a Confession on the Age and the Service Period of the Priest

Table 2. Dependence of the average confession duration of one person on the priest's age

Duration of person's confession		Total	Priest's age groups			
			1938–1958	1959–1969	1970–1987	No data
Sat	Average	5.20	3.99	5.32	4.19	10.64
Sun	Average	3.66	4.50	3.64	3.52	2.30
Sat+Sun	Average	4.53	3.92	4.36	3.52	8.04
Database (Number of Respondents)		51	13	16	14	8

The correlation of the average duration of a confession to the age of the priest shows growth in the age group of 47–57 years old, whereas after the age of 57 the average time decreases. This fact does not confirm the assumption that the average time of confession is characteristic in younger priests (younger than 40 years old) who are more likely to demonstrate the average duration of a confession. This may be explained by a certain shift in the sampling. Another conjectural

explanation says that, in spite of their age, all the priests were ordained at a maximum of twenty years ago, which can explain this result, as is clear when we consider the dependence of the duration of a confession on the period of time in which an active priest has been ordained.

Table 3. Dependence of the average confession duration of one person on priest's ordination period.²⁸²

Duration of person's confession		Groups (depending on service period)						
		Forming priest (ordained less than 5 years ago)	Mature priest-1 (ordained 5–15 years ago)	Mature priest-2 (ordained 15–25 years ago; age 60 or less)	Mature priest-3 (ordained 15–25 years ago; age 60 or more)	Experienced priest (ordained over 25 years ago; age 65 or less)	Priest sharing his experience (ordained over 25 years ago; age 65 or more)	No data
SAT	Average	4.19	3.83	5.58	6.30	2.83	3.66	39.00
SUN	Average	4.44	4.46	3.02	9.67	3.24	0.96	1.48
SAT+	Average							
SUN	Average	3.61	3.78	4.33	6.57	2.64	2.70	20.24
Database (number of respondents)		5	10	16	4	9	4	3

This table demonstrates that the average duration of a confession increases in the group of 16–25 years of service and decreases steeply after 25 years of

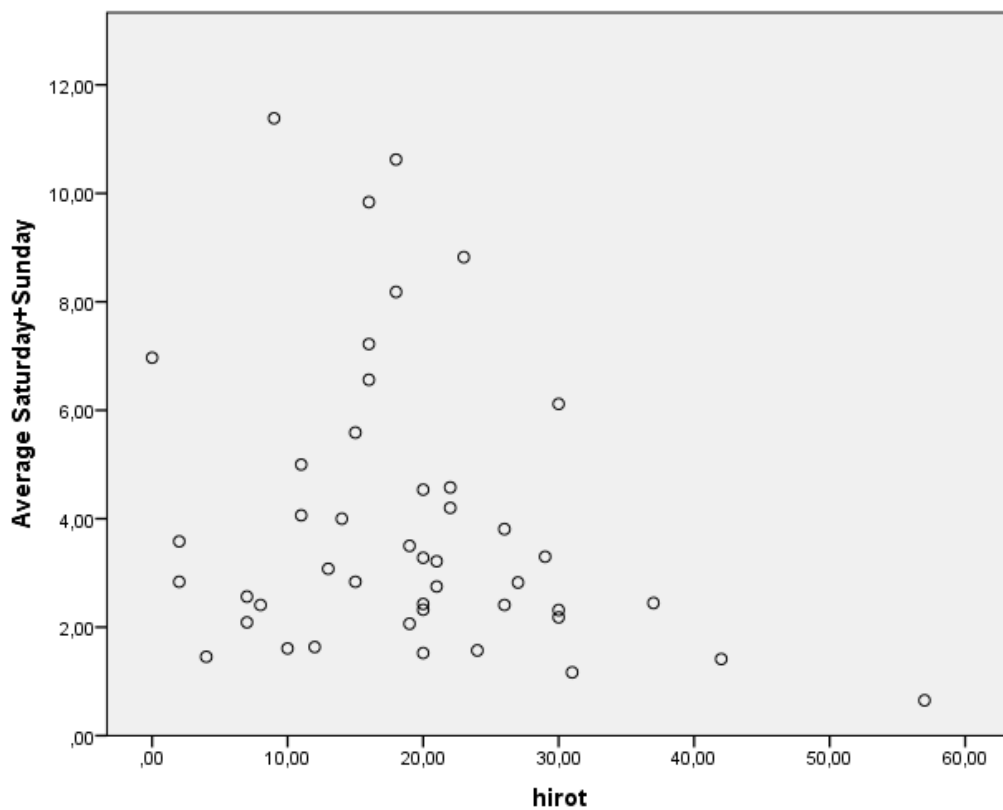
²⁸² Types of priests according to their service term is based on the working assumption of the project N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016. In this case, the groups are given names for convenience purposes. These names are not majorly significant for this study.

service. As is clear from the previous table, this can be explained not only by the age of the priest, but also, perhaps, by the fact that the period of 16–25 years of service is the main period of community formation around the priest, which demands a lot of his attention and time to organize.

The next figure shows how the average time of a confession is distributed in total on Saturday and Sunday depending on the priest's ordination period.

Figure 3. Dependence of the Average Confession Duration of One Person (Sat+Sun) on the Priest's Ordination Period.

(The X-axis "hirot" – priest's ordination period by 2016 (=2016 – [the year of ordination]); the Y-axis – the average duration of a confession on Saturday and Sunday in total).



5.3. Links between the Duration of a Confession and the Priest's Age, His Ordination Period and the Remoteness of a Parish from the Subway Lines

There are no links between the duration of a person's confession and the priest's age. However, there is a very weak negative correlation between the service period and the remoteness from the metro, which just touches on the brink of statistical significance.

	Ordination period	Age	Way to the subway in minutes
Pearson Correlation	-.251	.009	-.241
Sig. (2-tailed)	.097	.956	.099
N	45	44	48

The Tamhane criterion (all groups are compared in pairs) has shown that differences in service period are only significant between groups of 16–25 and 26+

Tamhane						
Service Period		Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
0–15	16–25	-1.02685	.93940	.631	-3.3935	1.3398
	26–57	1.21547	.77462	.340	-.7691	3.2000
16–25	0–15	1.02685	.93940	.631	-1.3398	3.3935
	26–57	2.24232*	.82555	.034	.1377	4.3470
26–57	0–15	-1.21547	.77462	.340	-3.2000	.7691
	16–25	-2.24232*	.82555	.034	-4.3470	-.1377

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

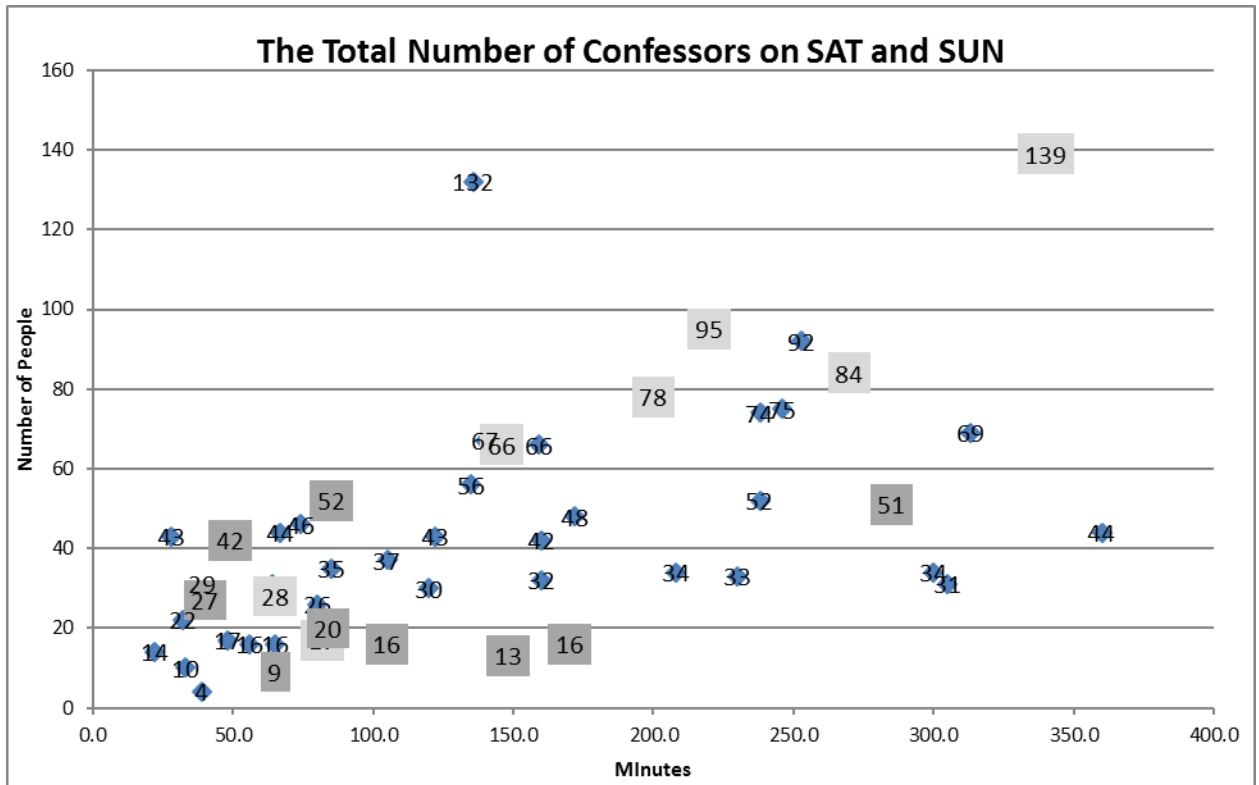
When these two groups are compared with the t-test for independent samples, differences are also significant.

It means, in fact, that only links between groups “mature priest” (service period of 15–25 years) and “experienced priest” (service period of 25 years and more) prove to be significant. This link is stronger than the age link or any other link. It demonstrates that we can really single out a service period of more than 25 years as a critical stage in the priest’s life. Without any doubt, this fact needs additional justification and research, and cannot be the subject of this study. From the perspective of this study, what is important is rather the contrary: almost insignificant differences in age and service period. This makes us believe that the assessments drawn of the main characteristics are quite solid and, to a certain extent, invariant in relation to each priest’s characteristics.

5.4. The Average Duration of a Confession and the Characteristics of the Prevailing Type of the Priest’s Activity in a Parish

The attempt to separate a parish on the basis of the priest’s activity proved to be inefficient. A considerable number of parishes were perplexed with this question. In other parishes, the answers to the question of how necessary it is for godparents to confess before baptizing a baby often did not correspond to how things really are. The difference in the average duration of a confession between those priests that demand confession before baptizing and those who do not, as well as between those who allow confession on the same day and those who do not, are statistically insignificant. Diagram 4 demonstrates the total dependence of the number of confessors on Saturday and Sunday on the total duration of confession. The priests that belong to the parishes that gave a clear “yes-no” answer to the question of baptizing are marked with a lighter shade. We assumed that these parishes focus on pastoral activity. Those parishes that gave a clear answer that the confession of godparents is not necessary at all are marked with a darker shade. We assumed that these parishes do not focus on pastoral activity.

Figure 4. Attempt to Single out Different Types of Parishes.



Based on the collected data, we can only draw the following conclusion. On the whole, the difference in the average duration of a confession between the priests that demand godparents confess before baptizing babies and those who do not, as well as between those who allow making this confession on the same day of the baptism and those who do not, is statistically insignificant.

§6. Marginal Indexes of the Growth of Religious Practices in Modern Russia

The main result of the empirical research was the opportunity to prove the adequacy of the religious supply assessment model, as well as to assess the supply that is hypothetically the factor limiting the growth of religious involvement in Russia. There are either none or only completely closed mass surveys and statistical data analyses that could help assess religious supply in the Russian

Orthodox Church.²⁸³ This study is the first one to produce the results of quantitative field research of this significant component of modern religious life in Russia.²⁸⁴

This assessment can be achieved with the help of the equation describing the supply model:

$$Y = X * 61 * (E + M) / T * 12$$

Where (E) is the time it takes the priest to hear confession in the evening, (M) – in the morning at weekends and on feast days, and (T) – the average duration of a person's confession.

The “50 Confessions” research states that the average duration of a person's confession $T=3.94$ minutes; total duration of confessions in the evening and in the morning (E+M) does not exceed 360 minutes; the mean value amounts to 143 minutes. Notably, the dependence of the average duration of a person's confession on the priest's personal data that are not the principal ones (his age and service period) is statistically insignificant.

That being said, when determining the average duration of a person's confession, in 95% of the cases, the confidence interval shows the lower bound at 3.2 minutes and the upper bound at 4.7 minutes, which cannot change the total result of the research significantly.

Chart 1 demonstrates how the number of priests limits religious supply. The Y-axis shows the upper borderline of involved believers (in thousands); the X-axis shows the number of priests (in thousands). The three charts correspond to the three values of the average duration of a person's confession $T_{min}=3.2$, $T_{med}=3.9$,

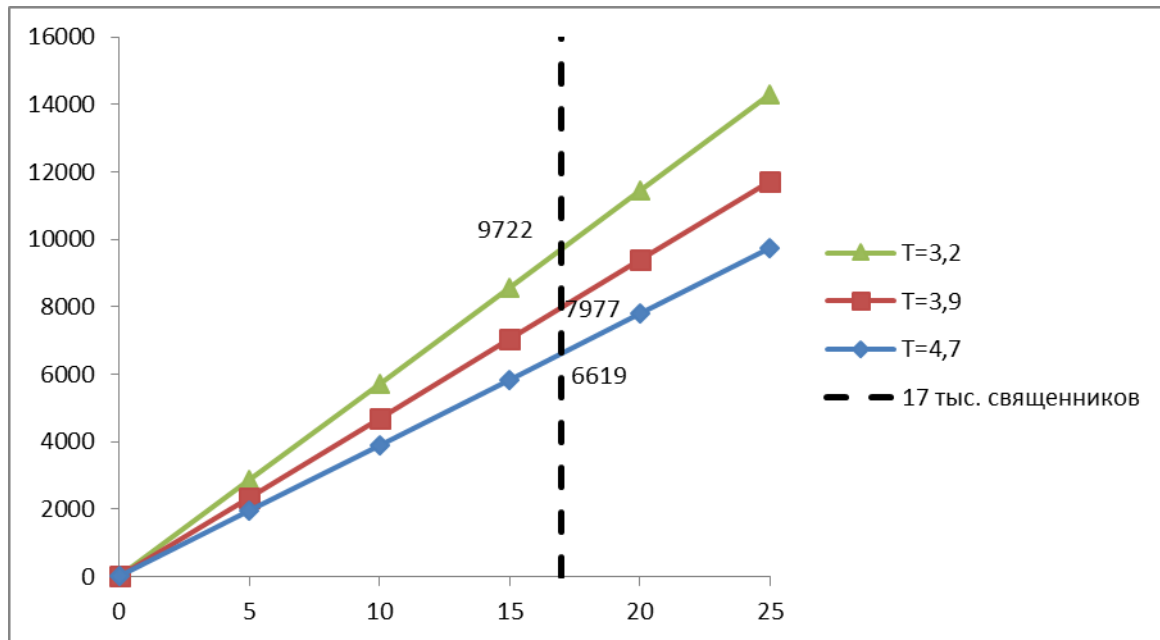
²⁸³ In the Church community, survey practices as well as statistics data collecting are often deemed untrustworthy. Historical memory about the Soviet Census of 1937 that led to another wave of excesses and persecutions of the Church, is still strong (M. V. Shkarovskij, *Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Tserkvov' pri Staline i Khrushcheve*, [The Russian Orthodox Church at the time of Stalin and Khrushchev] (Moscow, 1995), 95–118).

²⁸⁴ N. Zorkaya openly states that the Russian Orthodox Church “covers up statistics of church life in almost every sphere of its activity” from public opinion. (N. A. Zorkaya, “Pravoslavie v bezreligioznom obshchestve,” [Orthodox Christianity in a non-religious society], *Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya: Dannye. Analiz. Diskussii* 2 (100) (2009): 83).

$T_{max}=4.7$ where the priest's maximum time budget value for confessions at weekends and on feast days is $(E+M)=360$.

Figure 5. Dependence of Limited Religious Supply in Russia on the Number of Priests.

(The X-axis – priests in thousands of people; the Y-axis – the maximum possible number of involved believers in thousands of people).



When $X=17,000$ (the vertical line on the figure), i.e. the number of clergy in modern Russia, supply will be limited by 7,977,000 people if we take the maximum duration of a confession in the morning and in the evening $(E+M)=360$ min. If we take the mean duration of a confession $(E+M)=143$ min, the limitation will be at 3,169,000 people. This result corresponds to the number of involved believers that mass surveys give: 4,290,000 people represent 3% of the population. There are also about 10 million of those who confess several times a year, which fully uses up the supply.

In reality, the limitation is much stricter. It is strengthened by a series of factors: the absence of churches in the neighborhood, and by the rural clergy that live in smaller settlements and cannot be taken into consideration to the same degree as can the urban clergy. The model takes account of the fact that in most

cases, the priest of a parish is the one who holds the services, and is overcharged with administrative and management tasks. He must also hold services on demand, primarily, baptisms and weddings on Saturday and Sunday, which makes it impossible to devote a proper amount of time to hearing confessions and talking to parishioners.

We have to draw the conclusion that however great the growth of Orthodox affiliation, we cannot hypothetically expect any growth in the number of practicing believers until the number of clergy in Russian parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church grows accordingly as well.

§7. How Is This Paradox Resolved?

At the beginning of this study, the paradox of religiosity in Russia was identified and associated with the steady growth of religious self-identification with Orthodoxy in the period from 1991 to 2014 (from 31% to 70–80%) with almost no increase in serious involvement with the liturgical life of the Church – that is, a stable 3% of those who take part once a month or more. In fact, this contradiction is even more pronounced. From 1988 to 2008, the number of priests in the Russian Orthodox Church more than quadrupled, from 6674 (in 1988) to 27,216 (in 2008), and the number of parishes 4.25 times from 6893 to 29,263.²⁸⁵ And here we again come into contact with another paradox: the number of parishes and priests is steadily rising, while the number of practicing believers remains consistently constant at 3% of the population.²⁸⁶ It would seem, in the light of the proposed model, that this should also grow proportionally.

What immediately emerges from the model of religious interaction is the important hypothesis that the presence of active Orthodox parishioners obstructs the

²⁸⁵ This is the number of priests on the canonical territory of the Russian Church, including the Ukraine, Belarus, and other foreign clergy [Kirill, Metropolitan of Smolensk, “Report by the *Locum tenens* of the Patriarchal Throne, Metropolitan of Smolensk Kirill, at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church on January 27, 2009,” <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/541724.html>, accessed 29.12.2015.

²⁸⁶ See the main results of analyzing this problem in N. N. Emelyanov, “Paradoks religioznosti: otkuda berutsya veruyushchie?” [The paradox of religiosity: where do believers come from?], *Monitoring obshchestvennogo mneniya: Ekonomicheskie i sotsial'nye peremeny* 2 (2018): 32–48.

involvement of new believers. When new people appear, they are prevented from implementing the normal practice of interacting with the priest.

Several alternative scenarios can be objected to this hypothesis²⁸⁷: a) The “veteran” believers, having noticed a reduction in the time allotted for confession, diversify their participation in this Sacrament; for example, they might attend monastery services more often, or even reduce the frequency with which they take Holy Communion; b) The priest, reducing the time allotted for confessions and private conversations, might extend his sermon and organize catechism to be performed by practicing Orthodox believers; c) The priest might conduct general confessions from time to time, etc.

It is necessary to recognize that all of these scenarios presuppose the same result: the formation of a fundamentally different kind of religiosity, to a lesser extent due to the interaction with the priest and other believers. One of these forms of religiosity will mean involvement of a different type, one with rare participation in Holy Communion. Due to the limited possibilities of interaction with the priest, this model is supposed to become the dominant one.

The last consideration is fully explained by another hypothesis, which makes it possible to make important assumptions about the transformation of religiosity in modern Russia. During the period from 1991 to 2011, the proportion of those who received Holy Communion several times per year, but less than once per month, increased significantly. This portion of the faithful takes most of the time the priests spend on confession.

Table 8 shows how the proportion of believers in the frequency of participating in Holy Communion changes from 1992 to 2011.

²⁸⁷ I would like to thank Dr. I. S. Vevyurko from the Department of Philosophy of Religion and Religious Aspects of Culture at St. Tikhon’s Orthodox University for his objections to this hypothesis.

Table 8. Distribution of responses to the question, “How often do you usually receive the Holy Communion?” (Percentage of the number of believers surveyed).²⁸⁸

Variant of Answers	1992	2000	2002	2004	2006	2011 (Hesitant believers)	2011 (Only believers)
Practially never take Communion	57	63	64	54,5	54	40	36
Less than once per year	26	12	13	25	23	26,5	26,5
Once or twice a year	10	13	14	9	8	12	13
Several times per year, but less than once a month	3	6	5	5	7	10	11,5
Once per month or mor	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	3	5	3	4	5	10	10

At first glance, the distribution of believers in frequency of Communion is fairly stable. Outliers, mostly likely, are due to measurement errors or random fluctuations, since no single stratum shows steady growth or decline. At the same time, the group of believers who “take Communion several times a year, but less often than once a month,” steadily grows from 3% in 1991 to 10% in 2011. These percentages are taken from the number of believer-respondents. The proportion of

²⁸⁸ The data was taken from Yu. Yu. Sinelina, “O dinamike religioznosti rossiyan i nekotorykh metodologicheskikh problemakh ee izucheniya (religioznoe soznanie i povedenie pravoslavnykh i musul'man),” [On the dynamics of the religiosity of Russians and some methodological problems of its research (Religious consciousness and behavior of the Orthodox Christians and Muslims)], *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 10 (2013): 111. Yu. Yu. Sinelina referred to the evidence provided by V. F. Chesnokova (V. F. Chesnokova, *Tesnym putem: protsess votserkovleniya naseleniia Rossii v kontse XX veka*, [Through the narrow way: The process of churching in Russia in the late twentieth century] (Moscow: Akademicheskij proekt, 2005) and studies of the Department of Sociology of Religion at the Institute of Social and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In V. F. Chesnokova’s study, the question about religion was asked together with the question of faith in God, therefore all Orthodox were automatically considered to be believers. Yu. Yu. Sinelina separated these two issues, so in 2011 there were two columns: believers+ and для верующих+hesitating and only believers.

believers among the population also grew steadily during this period. Unfortunately, the data do not make it possible to correlate them correctly so as to the share of communicants with different frequencies among the population as a whole. It can be assumed that the growth of the group of believers “who receive Communion several times a year, but less often than once a month” was the most significant. This group could grow more than four times, and completely exhaust the limit of religious interaction, which was provided by an increase in the number of priests.

The above observations demonstrate that the increase in the number of priests does not automatically lead to an increase in the number of parishoners. What is important is the “quality” of the priest, the type of pastoral performance that promotes the formation of a community and does not interfere with the generation of new social connections (networks) that do not close the community in on itself. It is the kind of generativeness (a priesthood rooted in tradition and in traditional social structure) that generates a wide periphery that will demand new priests, and not an increase in the “demand for religious services.” This does not contradict the theoretical and empirical program of this study, but it does give a different explanation for the religious supply models and others that go beyond the theory of the religious market.²⁸⁹

§8. Conclusion

The empirical approbation proves that the model for religious supply assessment is adequate. It is obvious that there is a rough agreement of the assessment made after a specific sampling of Moscow churches and the general

²⁸⁹ Thus, the work of the Seminar “Sociology of Religion” in terms of empirical research was devoted to criticizing the theory of rational choice using the theory of network analysis as well as the role of weak ties and trust (see I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, “Sotsial’naya set’ pravoslavnoj prikhodskoj obshchiny: vozmozhnosti primeneniya analiza sotsial’nykh setej v sotsiologii religii,” [Social network of Orthodox parish community: Opportunities for applying social network analysis in the sociology of religion], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1, *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 4 (48) (2013): 120–136; I. V. Zabaev, D. A. Oreshina, and E. V. Prutskova, “Sotsial’nyj kapital russkogo pravoslaviya v nachale XXI v.: issledovanie s pomoshch’yu metodov sotsial’no-setevogo analiza [The social capital of Russian Orthodox Christianity at the beginning of the twenty first century: A study using the methods of social-network analysis], *Gosudarstvo, religiia, Tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 1 (32) (2014): 40–66).

assessment of religious supply in Russia. However, there is, of course, a certain limitation to our conclusions. The religious situation in Moscow is a very particular one, as is the region itself – the metropolitan capital city. The main question for measuring the indicators of the assessment model can only be answered by performing additional valid assessments on the territory of Russia, starting with locations outside of big cities.

The conclusions of this Chapter concerning the limited growth of religious practices may raise some doubts. The most fragile point in the model of the limited religious market is whether or not all of the data collected is simply a result of specific religious demand in Russia. For instance, if there were more people who wanted a regular churchgoing lifestyle, priests would hear confessions more quickly. To put it differently, the average duration of a confession that we were able to determine corresponds to the present-day religious demand. This proposition in no way disproves the study's main thesis: that of the principal influence of the priest's activity time structure on religiosity in Russia. It is evident that as soon as confession shifts to a "general" manner, it will be followed by major changes in the religious life of practicing believers. Another issue remains open: that of a possible increase of the clergy corps with a hypothetical increase of "religious demand," driven by a higher number of churchgoing believers and, accordingly, a higher number of those who await their ordination.

Undoubtedly, this question requires additional analysis. In expert interviews though, as well as in largescale biographic interviews of priests conducted under the auspices of the "Sociology of Religion" laboratory of St. Tikhon's Orthodox University, important grounds for the results obtained can already be discerned.

The next Chapter will continue with the analysis of the obtained results from the perspective of their significance for Russian church life. This analysis cannot be performed without discussing the theological background of the research, as well as a pastoral evaluation of the obtained results.

Chapter 4. A Theological Analysis and Pastoral Assessment of the Problem of the Interaction of Priests and Believers in Russia

In this chapter, the results of the empirical research are analyzed from the standpoint of the ecclesiological conventions assumed by the Russian Orthodox Church today. A pastoral evaluation of the sacerdotal deficit based on expert interviews is also performed.

§1. Ecclesiological Background in the Study of the Current Situation of the Russian Church

What are the ecclesiological conventions that might underlie the study of the current situation in the Russian Church?

Cardinal A. Dulles identifies five basic models of the Church, which are formed using the following images: the Institution; the Mystical Community; the Sacraments; the Herald; the Servant.²⁹⁰ There are other models that correspond to these images to a greater or lesser degree.²⁹¹ The status of various models, along with their adequacy to the life of the church and to theological correctness, are a separate and complex problem. In the current literature, it is argued that it is impossible to use one model exclusively.²⁹² A. Dulles himself argues that each of the models of the Church gives rise to a corresponding model of pastoral performance,²⁹³ as well as a different understanding of the priesthood.²⁹⁴ Thus, the

²⁹⁰ A. Dulles, Cardinal, *Models of the Church* (New York: Image Books, 2002).

²⁹¹ The “Eucharistic ecclesiology” of Archpriest N. Afanasiev (Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Tserkov’ Dukha Svyatogo*, [The Church of the Holy Spirit] (Paris, 1971)) can be correlated with the images of community and sacrament, while the “Practical ecclesiology” of P. Zulehner and P. Neuner (P. Neuner and P. M. Zulehner, *Dein Reich komme. Eine praktische Lehre von der Kirche* (Ostfildern: Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 2013)) can be correlated with the image of the servant.

²⁹² R. Gaillardetz argues that contemporary challenges are such that no single model or even a combination of models is adequate to contemporary Church life (R. R. Gaillardetz, *Ecclesiology for a Global Church. A People Called and Sent* (New York, 2008); cf. M. S. Massa, *The Structure of Theological Revolutions: How the Fight Over Birth Control Transformed American Catholicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)).

²⁹³ A. Dulles, “Models for Ministerial Priesthood,” *CNS – Catholic News Service* 20 (18) (11.10.1990).

²⁹⁴ In more detail, see A. Dulles, *The Priestly Office. A Theological Reflection* (New York, 1997).

primary question is which model best reflects the reality of life in the Church in practice.

The institutional model, which goes back to Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), analogizes the Church with the government. Bellarmine argued that the Church is as visible and palpable as the community of the Roman people, the Kingdom of France, or the Republic of Venice.²⁹⁵ This model, with some reservations, and without the literalness that is characteristic of Bellarmine, remains normative for the Russian Orthodox Church. Indeed, it is a model that is suggested in the dogmatic textbook of Metropolitan Macarius (Bulgakov),²⁹⁶ which remains uncontested with respect to its authority and recognition. It should be noted that the authority of this theological compendium has given rise to a major tradition of criticism – including theological criticism – directed toward it.²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the institutional model is reproduced in Archpriest Oleg Davydenkov’s recent, widely accepted textbook of dogmatic theology.²⁹⁸ Similar models can also be found in the works of modern Orthodox theologians of the Paris School,²⁹⁹ as well as in works of Greek theologians.³⁰⁰ The indubitable strength of this model is the objective expression of church unity and the defined limits of the Church.

Cardinal A. Dulles also points out the obvious shortcomings of this model as “rigid, doctrinaire, and conformist; it could easily substitute the official Church of God, and this would be a form of idolatry.”³⁰¹ It is in this sense that the internal church problems are interpreted in the theology of the new martyrs from the period of persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church in the early twentieth century.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ A. Dulles, Cardinal, *Models of the Church* (New York: Image Books, 2002), 26.

²⁹⁶ Makarius Bulgakov, Metropolitan, *Pravoslavno-dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie*, [Orthodox dogmatic theology], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1883).

²⁹⁷ Criticism of the institutional theory, sometimes addressed directly to Metropolitan Makarius, became almost a standard starting point in the arguments of Russian theologians of the 19th–20th centuries from Samarin and Khomyakov, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky to the theologians of the Paris School and contemporary authors.

²⁹⁸ Priest O. Davydenkov, *Dogmaticheskoe bogoslovie*, [Dogmatic theology] (Moscow, 2005).

²⁹⁹ See B. Bobrinskoy, *Le mystère de la Trinité: cours de théologie orthodoxe* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1986).

³⁰⁰ E. Timiadis, Metropolitan, *Lectures on Orthodox Ecclesiology*, 2 vols. (Joensuu, 1992).

³⁰¹ Cardinal A. Dulles, *Models of the Church* (New York: Image Books, 2002), 186.

³⁰² P. V. Ermilov, “Obraz Tserkvi v tvorennykh svyashchennomuchenika Damaskina Tsedrika,” [Image of the Church in the writings of Hieromartyr Damaskin Tsedrik], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1, *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya. Religiovedenie* 75 (2018): 28–47.

Bishop Damaskin (Tsedrik) argues that the desire “to maintain the visible structure and management of the Church at all costs” led to a distortion of the “inner truth of the Church of Christ.”³⁰³

However, this model is more than just a dogmatic theory; it serves as a real basis for the construction of contemporary life in the Church. The institutional model, originally patterned on the secular state, is still suitable for representing the Church in state and in society. The current *Regulations* of the Russian Orthodox Church do not offer any other model of the Church but the institutional, and no other interpretation of the constituency of the Church, except for the unity of Church hierarchy.³⁰⁴

Another model of the Church that is relevant for the modern church life in Russia is “Eucharistic ecclesiology.”³⁰⁵ The term itself was introduced by Archpriest N. Afanasiev as the theological reflection of the Eucharistic revival in Orthodoxy in the twentieth century. The main idea behind this model is the identification of each Eucharistic community with the Church in its entirety. According to this model, the Church is first and foremost a community united by an internal unity of faith, rather than an institution that unites people externally.³⁰⁶ This model focuses not on the external definitions of the Church, but on the unity of grace-giving gifts of the Holy Spirit. Eucharistic ecclesiology makes a clear

³⁰³ O. V. Kosik, *Istinnyj vojn Khrstov: Kniga o svyashchennomuchenike episkope Damaskine (Tsedrike)*, [True soldier of Christ: The book on the Hieromartyr Damaskin (Tsedrik)] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2009), 301.

³⁰⁴ The Regulations define a rigid vertical hierarchy at all levels of Church life (chapter I, 6). In the event of withdrawal from the “hierarchical structure and jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church, the parish shall lose its confirmation of membership in the Russian Orthodox Church” (chapter XVII, 8) (see *The Regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church*, <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/document/133114/> accessed 25.09.2018).

³⁰⁵ See Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Tserkov' Dukha Svyatogo*, [The Church of the Holy Spirit] (Paris, 1971); Idem., *Vstuplenie v Tserkov'*, [Entering the Church] (Moscow, 1993); J. Zizioulas, Metropolitan, *Bytie kak obshchenie*, [Being as communion] (Moscow, 2006); Archpriest J. Meyendorff, “Spasenie v pravoslavnom bogoslovii,” [Salvation in Orthodox theology], in Idem., *Paskhal'naya tajna*, [The Easter mystery] (Moscow: PSTGU, 2013), 208–230; Idem., “O pravoslavnom ponimanii Evkharistii,” [About Orthodox understanding of the Eucharist], in Idem., *Paskhal'naya tajna*, [Easter mystery] (Moscow: PSTGU, 2013), 731–737; Protopresbyter A. Schmemmann, *Za zhizn' mira*, [For the life of the world] (Elektrostal', 2001); Idem., *Tainstva i pravoslavie*, [Sacraments and Orthodoxy] (New York, 1965); Idem., *Evkharistiya: Tainstvo Tsarstva*, [The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom] (Moscow, 2006).

³⁰⁶ Father Nikolas Afanasiev contrasts these two models. In his opinion, institutionalism affirms the existence of a single universal organism in which the local Churches are only parts. Such universalism inevitably leads to centralism, expressed in some form of power, for example, the Papal power. The Eucharistic ecclesiology insists on the fundamental equality of all local Churches, each of which already possesses the fullness of grace of the Church of God (see Archpriest N. Afanasiev, “Apostol Petr i Rimskij episkop,” [Apostle Peter and the Bishop of Rome], *Pravoslavnaya mysl'* 10 (1955): 7–32).

understanding of the supra-individual nature of life in the church possible when it is the community – not just the individual – who is the recipient of the grace-giving gifts of the Holy Sacrament. This model has obvious drawbacks. Cardinal A. Dulles points to the danger of eroding Christian identity and turning the church community into a group without any distinctive theological content.³⁰⁷ A. Dulles also claims that the “Church as Sacrament” model does not have sufficient grounds in Scripture and in the tradition of the early Church.³⁰⁸

Eucharistic ecclesiology is not represented either in dogmatic textbooks or in contemporary documents of Church doctrine.³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it is possible to confidently assume that this vision of the Church is an important component of life in today’s Russian Church. First, despite the rigid institutional model underlying the Charter of the Russian Orthodox Church, membership in the parish is not designated as a formal registration, but as a “living connection with the parish.” Among the characteristics of this connection, regular participation in worship, confession, and Holy Communion is its only visible expression. However, the very enumeration of these signs of “live connection” in a legal document reduces them to the level of “obligation” understood in a strictly legal sense of that word. Second, among all the conciliar documents adopted after the liberation of the Church since 1992, perhaps the only document aimed not at the problem of the relations of the Church with the world, but at her inner life, is devoted to the partaking of Holy Communion “On the participation of the faithful in the Eucharist.”³¹⁰ This document actually legitimizes both the practice of the frequent Communion (once a month or more often) and the practice of clergy, confession, and preparation for the sacrament associated with it. Actually, the history of the adoption of this document and its preliminary discussion at the Inter-Conciliar

³⁰⁷ A. Dulles, Cardinal, *Models of the Church* (New York: Image Books, 2002), 52.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

³⁰⁹ In the overview works of the authors belonging to the Paris School, the concept of the Eucharistic ecclesiology, like the term itself, is used (see, for example, P. Evdokimov, *Orthodoxy* (Moscow, 2002)). However, neither these works, nor these authors are well known among the Church circles in Russia, nor are they widely used in higher theological education or priest training programs.

³¹⁰ The only reference to other models of the Church is a paragraph on parishioners, containing a requirement to maintain a “living relationship with the parish,” “participate in worship, regularly go to confession and take Communion,” and “perform the works of faith” (chapter XVII, 32; see *The Regulations of the Russian Orthodox Church*, <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/document/133114/> accessed 25.09.2018).

presence of the Russian Orthodox Church was primarily associated with this issue. The rest of the document is historical or informative and does not contain anything new.

The Institutional and Eucharistic models of the Church in the tradition of the Russian Orthodox Church are rigidly connected and interdependent. This interdependence is associated with the well-established practice of the Russian Orthodox Church (which has no direct analogues in other local churches), rigidly connecting the partaking of the sacraments of confession and Communion. In the above-mentioned document “On the participation of the faithful in the Eucharist” this coupling of the two sacraments is explicit³¹¹; moreover, the confessor, through whom these sacraments are enacted, is included in it. Accordingly, membership in the Church, understood in the statute of the Russian Orthodox Church as regular participation in “confession and Communion” takes on an obligatory commitment between priest and believer. In an ideal situation, this is a relationship with one's personal confessor, and in the confessor's absence, with a priest “of the church where he wishes to partake of the Sacrament.”³¹²

In the context of the theology of the New Martyrs, there are attempts to rethink these models and their practical combination beyond the scope of both models. New Martyr Damakin (Tsedrik) defines the community through the figure of a priest (or bishop) confessor.³¹³

*Unite for the grace-giving nourishment around one of the worthy shepherds, and engage individually and all together to prepare yourself for the ever greater service of Christ ... the union of at least a few people in such a life is already a small Church.*³¹⁴

In the model of Holy Martyr Damascene, it is precisely religious interaction that is defined by him as “spiritual and grace-filled ties”:

³¹¹ Ibid., chapter III.

³¹² Ibid., chapter II.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ E. Lopushanskaya, *Episkopy-ispovedniki*, [Bishops-confessors] (San Francisco, 1971), 83.

*All our efforts must now be directed at establishing strong spiritual and grace-filled ties between pastors and flock, then the Church will be unshakeable in the present storm in the face of even more subtle temptations without churches.*³¹⁵

Martyr Mikhail Novoselov introduces the figure of the “holy bishop” into this model.³¹⁶ His model of the Church is constituted through an opposition of the Church-organization and the Church-Organism. Membership in the Church-organization does not yet mean membership in the Church-Organism, but it is an indispensable condition for membership in it.

*It is necessary to distinguish the Church-organism from the Church-organization: not everyone who is in the latter is part of the former; not all the members of the church organization (make up) ... the essence of the Body of Christ.*³¹⁷

In Novoselov’s understanding, one can belong to the church-organization without belonging to the Church-Organism. The principal position of M. Novoselov’s views is the conviction that the reverse situation is impossible: one cannot belong to the Church-Organism without belonging to the church-organization.

*The pure, spotless, unblemished, infallible Bride of Christ grows only in the depths of the historic church*³¹⁸; *the most worthy members of the Body of Christ,*

³¹⁵ O. V. Kosik, *Istinniy voin Khristov: Kniga o svyashchennomuchenike episkope Damaskine (Tsedrike)*, [True soldier of Christ: The book on the Hieromartyr Damaskin (Tsedrik)] (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo PSTGU, 2009), 318, see also 314.

³¹⁶ See Priest P. V. Ermilov and K. Ya. Paromov, *Ekkleziologicheskie vzglyady M. A. Novoselova po materialam 1920-kh godov*, [Ecclesiological views of M. A. Novoselov using the sources of the 1920s], preprint (Moscow: PSTGU, LITsI, 2018).

³¹⁷ M. A. Novoselov, *Pis'ma k druž'yam*, [Letters to friends] (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Pravoslavnogo Bogoslovskogo Svyato-Tikhonovskogo instituta, 1994), 12.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 194.

*who are the core of the Church, the core of the Organism, all come out of the church organization in which they steadily remain their whole lives.*³¹⁹

Novoselov himself found himself in a situation where unity with the official church organization was considered impossible for himself. At that time, the head of the official church organization had entered into an unacceptable relationship with a militantly atheistic government, in effect recognizing as legitimate its illegal actions against the Church. At the same time, he did not believe that he had fallen outside the unity of the Church. Belonging to the church-organization was testified by liturgically commemorating the canonical but imprisoned primate, Metropolitan Peter (Polyansky).³²⁰

It is precisely this personage of the holy bishop-martyr who comes to the fore, in whom all the signs of Church-Organism and church-organization are united.

*In the religious consciousness of the great Father of the Church (Irenaeus of Lyons – N.E.), as we see, the Church-Organism and the church-organization are united in their inseparability and unmerged. On the one hand, the course of Orthodoxy is strictly determined in him by the line of canonical succession of the hierarchy. It is determined, so to speak, mechanically and legally, apparent to all; on the other hand, it exhibits a spiritual aspect: “the gifts of the Lord” with “an unbroken life and an intact teaching.”*³²¹

In Novoselov’s model, which is substantially different from the previous one, the problem of religious interaction and the associated responsibility of each Christian to choose pastors around whom the community unites also becomes a

³¹⁹ Ibid., 254.

³²⁰ “The ‘First’ Bishop of the Russian Church is Metropolitan Peter... [Metropolitan Sergius] is a temporary representative of the First Bishop... Departure from Metropolitan Sergius is the expression of fidelity to Metropolitan Peter – the First Bishop” (Answer by those who ask, 9, cited in Priest P. V. Ermilov and K. Ya. Paromov, *Ekklesiologicheskie vzglyady M. A. Novoselova po materialam 1920-kh godov*, [Ecclesiological views of M. A. Novoselov using the sources of the 1920s], preprint (Moscow: PSTGU, LITsI, 2018)).

³²¹ M. A. Novoselov, *Pis'ma k druž'yam*, [Letters to friends] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Pravoslavnogo Bogoslovskogo Svyato-Tikhonovskogo instituta, 1994), 261.

prominent concern. This model receives a certain canonical foundation in the Resolution of Patriarch Tikhon of November 7/20, 1920.³²² The decree regulates situations where there arises an impossibility of communication with the Supreme Church Administration “due to the movement of the front, changes in the national borders, etc..” In particular, one of the provisions of the Ordinance says that

*If the position indicated in paragraphs 2 and 4 (an absence of communication with the Supreme Church Administration – N.E.) is a diocese devoid of a bishop, then the diocesan council or, in its absence, **clergy and laity** (highlighted by N. Emelyanov) appeal to the Diocesan Bishop of the nearest diocese, or the one most accessible to send a message, and the designated bishop either sends his vicar to the diocese in need, or manages its administration...*

This resolution became the basis of disputes about hierarchical succession and the structure of Church authority after the death of Patriarch Tikhon.³²³

The explication of the “ecclesiology of the New Martyrs”³²⁴ remains an urgent task; however, it can be assumed that it has sufficient heuristic potential to provide answers to a number of questions about current life in the Church.³²⁵

What does this mean from the point of view of a theological evaluation of the results obtained by applying the model of religious supply in modern Russia?

³²² Resolution of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon, the Holy Synod and the Supreme Church Council of the Orthodox Russian Church on November 7/20, 1920, No. 362, http://russianorthodoxchurch.ws/synod/documents/ukaz_362.html, accessed 14.06.2019.

³²³ Thus, Metropolitan Kirill (Smirnov) (1863–1937) – one of the most influential bishops in the time of persecutions, constantly referred to it in his letters (comp. M. Ye. Gubonin, *Akty Svyatejshego Tikhona, Patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseya Rossii, pozdnejshie dokumenty i perepiska o kanonicheskom preemstve vysshej tserkovnoj vlasti. 1917-1943 gg.*, [Acts of His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence on the canonical succession of the higher Church power. 1917–1943] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Pravoslavnogo Svyato-Tikhonovskogo Bogoslovskogo Instituta, 1994), 699–702).

³²⁴ For the initial attempts at such elaboration, see, for example, Priest A. Mazyrin, “K voprosu o bogoslovii Novomuchenikov,” [Towards the question of theology of New Martyrs], in *Tserkov'. Bogoslovie. Istoriya: Materialy IV Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-bogoslovskoi konferentsii, posvyashchennaya Soboru novomuchenikov i ispovednikov Tserkvi Russkoi*, [Church. Theology. History: Materials of the Fourth International scholarly and theological conference dedicated to the Choir of New Martyrs and Confessors of the Russian Church] (Yekaterinburg, 2016), 81–91.

³²⁵ The events of 2018 in the Ukraine, associated with uncanonical action of the Patriarch of Constantinople to establish a parallel hierarchy, make the idea of the Martyr Mikhail Novoselov relevant again. In the absence of any political will, the strongest and possibly the only argument for maintaining the unity of a local Church, is a moral argument. Each believer has a responsibility for fidelity to the Church, which will be expressed in the search and canonical unity with the “Holy Bishop.”

First of all, it should be once again noted that the model proposed in this study fundamentally goes beyond the theory of the religious marketplace and it is not aimed at analyzing the competitiveness of individual communities/congregations, but it does provide a quantitative estimate of the religious supply. The question of the competitiveness of communities, central to the theory of the religious market, is not at all central for the model proposed in this study. On the other hand, a preliminary analysis of ecclesiological models relevant to contemporary Russian Orthodoxy makes it possible to understand membership in the Church as participation in the Eucharist and a relationship with a priest who hears confessions. Thus, the model of interaction emphasizing priests and believers, corresponds to rather relevant theological assumptions. Moreover, this relevance is indirectly confirmed by the existing mass survey/critique of the Russian Orthodox Church, and especially its clergy, as incapable of interacting with believers (see Section 1.5), and the fact that other forms of religious involvement – through the family, community, and other forms of social interaction – are extremely limited (see Section 2.1).

The theological evaluation of this study presumes two more questions, far beyond the scope of this study. This is a question about the possibility of quantifying or measuring a sacrament and about the fundamental incorrectness of the problem of the “shortage” of the clergy as a whole.³²⁶ The first question is connected with the mystical side of the Sacrament of Confession always prevailing over its external objectification. With regard to confession, this problem can be formulated as follows: “The shortest confession can completely change the life of a person, and the longest can have no effect; that is, if nothing depends on the time in which a confession takes place, why bother to measure it?” The Biblical basis for the understanding are the words of Scripture which say, “But Jesus did not trust himself unto them because he knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man: for he knew what was in man” (John 2: 24–25). Section 4.4 attempts to

³²⁶ It is remarkable that precisely these questions, which were in no way connected with actual religious component of the study, provoked the most severe negative reaction on the part of secular scholars in the field of Religious Studies, who were not experts in theology.

provide a practical answer to this question, based on expert opinions based on the experience of confession. This does not ignore the theological side of the question. Without trying to answer this question, you could point out only one fact, which may lie at the basis of the required answer. The main characteristic of the Sacraments of the Church is their objectification in some kind of visible sign.³²⁷ A Sacrament is always an action identified with two layers of being: the sacred and the profane. Insisting on the immeasurability of the visible side of a Sacrament it is easy to run the risk of over-spiritualizing it.

The question about the “shortage” of the clergy, or of the required number of priests to respond to a specific demand from believers, can be seen from a theological standpoint as Christ himself choosing those whom He wants and how many He wants (Matthew 3: 9). It does not make sense to say that the theological problems of vocation imply a reciprocal human action that can be partially rationalized. The Lord himself says, “Ask the Lord of the harvest to send workers to His harvest” (Luke 10: 2). Theological reflection on the concept of vocation occurred in the context of Western culture in the twentieth century and for obvious reasons did not receive systematic reflection in Orthodox theology.³²⁸ Moreover, in Orthodox theology, it seems that the concept of “vocation” is opposed to the concept of “humility,”³²⁹ which makes the question of human action more problematic.

³²⁷ The literature on the subject is vast. See, for example, Archpriest J. Meyendorff, *Vizantijskoe bogoslovie: Istoricheskie napravleniya i verouchenie*, [Byzantine theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes] (Moscow, 2001); G. Agamben, *Opus Dei: An Archeology of Duty* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); M. G. Lawler, *Symbol and Sacrament: A Contemporary Sacramental Theology* (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1995).

³²⁸ In the twentieth century, Weber's understanding of calling (M. Weber, *Protestantskaya etika i dukh kapitalizma*, [The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism], in Idem., *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, [Selected works] (Moscow: Progress, 1990)) became the topic which to a large extent determined not only development of Social Sciences, but also of theological discourse (see E. P. Hahnenberg, *Awakening Vocation: A Theology of Christian Call* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010). Karl Barth first wrote the volume of *Church Dogmatics* dedicated to calling (K. Barth, *Tserkovnaya dogmatika*, [Church Dogmatics], transl. V. Vitkovskij, vol. 2 (Moscow: Biblejsko-bogoslovskij institute sv. apostola Andrey, 2011). Catholic theology of the twentieth century offered a rethinking of the concept of calling (see, for example, K. Rahner, *Osnovanie very. Vvedenie v khristianskoe bogoslovie*, [Foundation of faith. Introduction to Christian theology] (Moscow Biblejsko-bogoslovskij institute sv. apostola Andrey, 2006). In contrast to the vast Western literature, there are preliminary attempts to discuss the Weberian concept of in the context of the Orthodox tradition (see I. V. Zabaev, “The Economic Ethics of Contemporary Russian Orthodox Christianity: A Weberian Perspective,” *Journal of Economic Sociology* 4 (2015): 148–168).

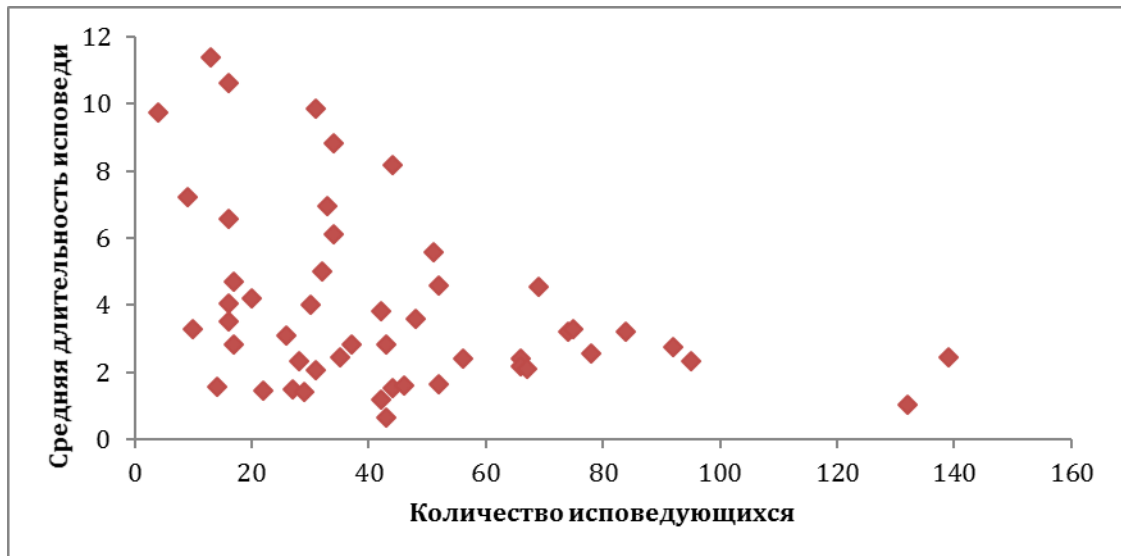
³²⁹ I. V. Zabaev, *Osnovnye kategorii khozyajstvennoj etiki sovremennogo russkogo Pravoslaviya: Sotsiologicheskij analiz*, [Main categories of economic ethics of Russian Orthodoxy: Sociological analysis] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2012).

Nevertheless, the image of church life in its full proportionality, including the perspective gained from looking at it on a nationwide scale, makes it possible to draw important theological conclusions. They make it possible to identify those areas of the life of the church requiring support and development, as well as the special attention of the church hierarchy and the people of God in general. From this point of view, this study might be included among theological works that deal with practical studies of the priesthood and modern ecclesiology.

§2. Religious Interaction in the form of Expert Interview: A Pastoral Assessment

The most vulnerable point of the model of religious interaction is the question: Are not all the data obtained a direct consequence of the specific religious demand in Russia? For instance, if there were more people willing to lead a regular church life, then the priests would perform confessions more quickly. In other words, the average time of confession, which was fixed, does not characterize the religious supply, but simply corresponds to the religious demand in reality. This interpretation is also supported by the stable negative relationship between the number of confessors and the average time of confession, recorded in the empirical study “50 Confessions.” Figure 7 clearly shows this dependence: the more confessors there are, the average time of confession per person.

Figure 7. Dependence of the average duration of confession of one person to the number of confessors.



Y - Average duration of confession

X - Number of people going to confession

Interview of experts and large biographical interviews of priests³³⁰ make it possible to consider the religious situation in Russia as a problem of interaction between priests and believers. At the same time, the data of the narratives allow us to confirm that the religious supply is still estimated by priests as the primary problem in relation to religious demand.

In expert interviews it is often suggested that the fundamental absence of any communication with a priest is due to a lack of time. This time deficit influences not only the formation of the religious life of the believers, but also the way priests' practices are structured. An important research problem is the question of crossing a certain line in the average time for hearing the confession of one person when communication with a priest becomes physically impossible. In such conditions, the pastor's performance ceases to be involving.

³³⁰ The interviews were recorded as a part of the following projects of the Laboratory "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tiukhon's Orthodox University: 1) *Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*, 2016–2017; the description of the project, see at <http://socrel.pstgu.ru/RU/grants/analysis>, accessed 12.10.2018), and 2) *Social Work of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Twenty First Century*, 2010–2018; ; the description of the project, see at <http://socrel.pstgu.ru/RU/grants/social-work>, accessed 12.10.2018).

Thus, respondent K. (42 year-old priest) responds:

*I remember how confession was back then (in the early 1990s – N.E.). In the evening it was almost impossible to preach; in many churches, it wasn't just in the evening, and in the morning it went so quickly so it was impossible to have a talk, or simply to list your sins! The thought of having time to speak at length and deeply with the priest was out of the question.*³³¹

The priest Fyodor Lyudogovsky in the above-mentioned interview experiences his confessions in a Moscow parish as a constant “sense of haste.”³³²

At the same time, in church practice there are examples pastoral activity under conditions of an extreme shortage of time while simultaneously possessing an obvious “involving” disposition. But all such examples were not a *regular* form of religious interaction. Consider the pastoral experience of St. John of Kronstadt (1829–1908), a famous, charismatic priest who received hundreds of people and practiced “general confession.”³³³ His influence was enormous. However, those who confessed to St. John were not his *regular parishioners*. People got to talk to him once in a lifetime, or just came specifically from afar to see him. If they became practicing believers, then it was in other parishes.

There is an important testimony from another revered spiritual father of the Soviet period, Archimandrite Seraphim (Tyapochkin) (1894–1982). He served in a

³³¹ Interview with priest K, age 42, Moscow (*Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*, 2016–2017).

³³² See Section 3.2.1. Practice of confession in the Russian Orthodox Church: Current state. Interview with the priest Fyodor Lyudogovsky (age 40, 8 years since ordination, Moscow) (A. Borzenko, “‘Ya khristianin, ya redaktor-korrektor, ya svyashchennik. Teper' eshche i kouch.' Pravoslavnyj svyashchennik rasskazyvaet, kak reshil vse izmenit' i svoit' novuyu professiyu,” [‘I’m a Christian, I’m a content editor, I’m a priest. Now I’m a coach as well.’ An Orthodox priest tells the story of how he decided to change everything and to get a new profession], *Meduza* (February, 16, 2017), <https://meduza.io/feature/2017/02/16/ya-hristianin-ya-redaktor-korrektor-ya-svyashchennik-teper-eshe-i-kouch>, accessed 23.06.2017).

³³³ This was a simultaneous confession of hundreds of people, for whom he read a general “permissive prayer,” without any individual conversation. This practice was justified by the exceptional personality of Fr. John and the pastoral situation (Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, “Pastyrskoe sluzhenie v Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Tserkvi. XX v.,” [Pastoral service in the 20th century Russian Orthodox Church], in *Pravoslavnyaya entsiklopediya (Vvodnyj tom)*, [Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia (Introductory Volume)] (Moscow: Pravoslavnyaya entsiklopediya, 2000), 301–302).

large village near Belgorod and numerous pilgrims from all over the USSR came to him.

*You would come to church at 5 a.m. The priest performs the proskomedia, and the other priest confesses, then reads the morning rule...He finishes the proskomedia by 12 o'clock ... then he also serves the Liturgy without haste. After the Liturgy he serves a prayer service. He leaves the church (literally held up by the arms, as he was quite old) at four or five...And then he says at the meal, "Here is the big village of Rakitnoe where many people live, but none of the locals go to church, only people who travel far distances. Well, its undestandable that people are coming from Kamchatka to see Fr. Seraphim once in their lives... would be willing to spend from five in the morning until five in the evening in church, but ... this can't be a regular occasion every Sunday. Nobody could do that."*³³⁴

A number of priests remarked that there was no "religious demand" before the priests who later created numerous parish communities, started their activities. For example, the village priest K. recalls:

*There were storage sheds standing alongside the church on its premises when I first moved in. The territory around the church needed to be cleaned up, so I had to build the storage spaces for the locals in another location to free up the space. The locals didn't like this and started cursing at me. For seven years I worked and I didn't see any results from my work. I started to despair. Only after the seventh year did I begin to notice some results. People started to change their attitudes gradually ... the parishoners and local administration, but there were times when I came to factory to ask for supplies and they would say, "We don't give supplies to priests. We only have enough for the people..."*³³⁵

³³⁴ Interview with priest V, age 75, Moscow (*Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*).

³³⁵ Interview with priest K, age 44, district town, Volga Federal District, 2013 (*Social Work of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Twenty First Century*).

The hospital priest, Archpriest Ioann Emelyanov, notes that among the patients of the city hospital who represent a cross-section of all segments of the population, the number of people who want to speak with a priest is limited not by the desire of the sick, but solely by the possibilities of the hospital clergy:

*At the hospital, we have time only to serve by request. Actually, we don't even have time to do that, since demand exceeds what we can respond to. We ask the nurses to arrange no more than ten to fifteen people at a time to talk with a priest. It would be possible that would be 20, 30 or 50 patients, but it is most effective to visit with no more than 10 to 15 people at a time so there is enough time for everyone.*³³⁶

In expert interviews, an estimate of the number of regular parishoners who regularly confess to a priest does not exceed 200–300 people.

*A community of 200 – 300 people is usually the result of many years of work which can only be done by a priest who has experienced 15–20 years of ministry in one parish. In very rare cases, the scale of the community can be estimated at 500 people. The followers of Christ did not amount that much more. It says that right in the Gospel.*³³⁷

Similar data was obtained in *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest* longitudinal study. The size of the parish is estimated at 177 people in the tenth year of priest's ministry and 396 in the year of church' consecration.³³⁸

Such an expert assessment of involvement (200–500 believers per priest) consists of about 3400–8500 people and roughly corresponds to the one proposed in this study.³³⁹

³³⁶ Interview with the hospital priest Ioann Emelyanov, age 48, Moscow (I. Karpova, “Ya ne govoryu s bol'nymi o smerti,” [I do not speak with the sick people about death], <https://www.miloserdie.ru/article/ya-ne-govoryu-s-bolnymi-o-smerti/>, accessed 12.10.2018).

³³⁷ Interview with a priest, age 42, Moscow, 2015 (*Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*).

³³⁸ *The Liturgical Ledger of the Priest (Case Study)*. Research project (ongoing project). See the description in Appendix 5.

Turning to the estimates of volume of religious interaction in the existing discourse about the priest, we find a good deal of additional evidence. Professor S. I. Smirnov argued that the size of the penitential group in Old Russia was not strictly established. Sources point to 15–20 people as being the ideal limit. At the same time, there is evidence that Avvakum would hear confession of about 500–600 people, but this number is considered to be quite substantial. Finally, the sources attempt to justify the limitation of the penitential group on the basis of the parable of the lost sheep, that is, no more than 100 people.³⁴⁰

It is remarkable that with the differences between the epochs, historical contexts and various Christian denominations, starting with the community of Christ himself, mentioned by the Apostle Paul (1 Cor.15: 7), a general limit of about 500 people (involved/echurched believers) remains more or less invariant.³⁴¹ In a study from the second half of the twentieth century, Protestant denominations in the United States based on the answers of respondents cited a range of 350–500 people as the maximum load on the pastor.³⁴² In the Anglican Church, researchers from the mid-twentieth century estimate the corresponding limit of 265 people per priest.³⁴³

The above calculations allow us to state that, in fact, today in Russia there is an analogue of Say's law: *the growth of religious supply immediately creates demand. Each new priest enables regular religious interaction and increases the number* of practicing believers to the extent that his physical and psychological abilities allow. In other words, this means that the situation of lack of clergy is fixed in the sense that there is no saturation of the “religious market.” There is no effect that is described by the law of decreasing marginal utility when an increase in supply does not correspond to demand. It can be assumed that this situation

³³⁹ Assuming that each of 17,000 priests has a parish community of 200 people (17,000*200=3,400,000) or 500 people (17,000*500=8,500,000) accordingly.

³⁴⁰ Archpriest S. Smirnov, *Drevnerusskij dukhovnik. Issledovanie s prilozheniem: materialy k izucheniyu drevnerusskoj pokayannoj distsipliny*, [Old Russian penitentiary. Study with the appendix: Materials for studying Old Russian penitential discipline] (Moscow: Sinodal'naya tipografiya, 1913), 39.

³⁴¹ In more detail, see Section §2.2.

³⁴² J. W. Carroll and R. L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors? The State of the Clergy Job Market* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980), 57. In more detail, see §2.2.

³⁴³ A. B. Miskin, “The Shortage of Clergy: A Scientific Answer,” *Prism* 1 (1963): 15.

should be maintained until the moment when the attitude of priests toward believers reaches the average European level. Priests engaged in counseling unanimously distinguish confession as the central and most problematic practice of religious interaction in Russia. Bishop A. gives the following assessment of the pastoral activities of the priest:

*...very many priests ...do not want to perform confessions. They do not want to take confessions. They do not want to delve into the needs and problems of the people who come to them. They do not want to be confessors. They do not want to devote time to this...And so, some people go to psychologists. Therefore, they go to some sects where they do get attention paid to them. And the priest has no time. He is in a hurry. He is on the run all the time. He cannot even say a few words. He says (to the penitent) "Faster, faster, faster, faster...well, let's get to the point...confess your sins and let's get it over with...."*³⁴⁴

It is clear that no simple increase in the number of clergy solves the problems of interaction between priests and believers. The type of priestly activity is an informal indicator, which makes it possible to contrast the pastor's action which tends to involve people with non-religious practices, which is fundamental for analyzing the evolution of religious processes in Russia. This factor is deeply subjective and cannot be reduced to any external characteristics of the priest's active duties. Evidence of a personal nature suggests that it is the influence of the very priest's personality that can be decisive:

When I got to know Father Vsevolod,³⁴⁵ I was going through a very difficult time in my life. It can be said that a very great misfortune befell me, and I could not find any way out of the situation. Then, by the Grace of God, I turned to Fr. Vsevolod. He revealed how he, through the power of his love, solved difficulties I

³⁴⁴ Interview with a bishop, age 65, Moscow (*Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets*).

³⁴⁵ Archpriest Vsevolod Shpiller (1902–1984) was a well-known Moscow spiritual father and Church leader, Rector of the Church of St. Nicholas in Kuznetsy. For more details, see I. V. Shpiller, *Vospominaniya ob o. Vsevolode Shpillere*, [Recollections about Father Vsevolod Spiller] (Moscow: Izdatelstvo PSTBI, 1995).

*had. This just transformed the whole situation and all the circumstances of my life. It was a miracle that happened before my eyes. And afterwards, I have repeatedly seen Fr. Vsevolod with his love which, one might say, can save someone.*³⁴⁶

Of course, this subjective factor defies any quantification. One can speak only by alluding as a whole to the orientation of a priest and how he approaches pastoral care. There is no mechanism to formally fix upon his performance of his duties. It can be stated unequivocally only that it is essentially connected with the personal interaction of priests and believers – first of all with the clergy – and that its focus is confession. Confession maintains this position in connection with the consequences of forced secularization in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Due to the fact that regular communication with the priest was extremely difficult, and communities were directly persecuted and destroyed until late into Soviet times, confession remained the principal form of religious interaction. Nadezhda Kitsenko shows how during Soviet times it was confession that, in a sense, became the “central point in spiritual life.”³⁴⁷

§3. Conclusion

1. Current Ecclesiology

Despite the fact that modern authors insist on the impossibility of identifying an exclusive model of the Church, it can be argued that a specific vision of the Church was formed in the Russian Orthodox Church, which comes from the legacy of the era of large-scale persecution at the beginning of the twentieth century. This

³⁴⁶ Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, “Vospominaniya ob o. Vsevolode,” [Recollections about Father Vsevolod], in *Vospominaniya ob o. Vsevolode Shpillere*, [Recollections about Father Vsevolod Shpiller] (Moscow: PSTBI, 1995), 18. Similar evidence is abundant, see for example: comp. Archpriest V. Vorob'ev, *Ieromonakh Pavel (Troitskii). Zhizneopisanie*, [Hieromonk Pavel Troitsky. Biography] (Moscow: PSTBI, 2003); comp. Hierodeacon Sophronius Makritsky, *Belgorodskij starets Arkhimandrit Serafim (Tyapochkin)*, [The Belgorod Holy man Seraphim Tyapochkin], 13th edition (Moscow: Blagochestie, 2017); comp. E. S. Tugarinov, *Mitropolit Antonij Surozhskij, Biografiya v svidetel'stvakh sovremennikov*, [Metropolitan Antony of Surozh. Biography based on the recollections of his contemporaries] (Moscow: Nikeya, 2015); *Zhivoe Predanie: Arkhimandrit Ioann (Krest'yankin): Zhizneopisanie i vospominaniya* (St. Petersburg, 2009).

³⁴⁷ See N. Kitsenko, “Ispoved' v sovetskoe vremya,” [Confession in the Soviet period], *Gosudarstvo, religiya, Tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 3–4 (30): 10–33.

model of the Church might conditionally be named the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs. It successfully competes with other influential, working models of Church – namely, the institutional and the eucharistic models. The ecclesiology of the New Martyrs singles out the “bonds of spirit and grace” of the pastor and his flock as the basis of life in the Church. The church is conceived as a community united around a priest (or bishop). At the same time, each Christian and the community as a whole are responsible for choosing a worthy confessor. If a priest (or a bishop) turns out to be unworthy (to the extent that they depart from the faith), then the Christian must leave that parish, look for a worthy confessor, and join his community. At the same time, the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs simultaneously sees the ultimate value in maintaining unity with the Church-organization. The empirical result obtained in this study confirms the relevance of the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs. Conversely, the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs enables the interpretation of the outcomes in a practical manner for the Church.

2. Consequences of a Practical Nature regarding the Church

The problem of the shortage of priests, which has been confirmed in the empirical study, from the perspective of the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs becomes a problem of interaction between priests and the laity. Moreover, it puts this problem of the figure of the priest (or bishop)-confessor, as the head of the community, at the center. From the point of view of the practical organization of church life, such a vision leads to a number of important conclusions.

Today, the Church requires of a priest, first of all, pastoral work, and more specifically, spiritual work, involving personal interaction with each layperson and involving every member of a particular church community. Accordingly, two questions can be raised: one about the methods for training priests, and the other about the selection of candidates for ordination. The training of priests should include both the personal experience of interactions with a spiritual father, and the experience of life in a religious community.

Personal interaction with the spiritual father cannot be turned into an individual interaction between a priest and believer; it can only be fruitful in a community. This requires not only some effort on the part of priests themselves (and bishops) – the confessors of the church administration – but also on the part of the laity. The ecclesiology of the New Martyrs places special emphasis on the responsibility of the People of God for building this community. This responsibility is primarily related to the choice of a community and a confessor, with whom a lay person is prepared to carry out a ministry, and taking responsibility for the life and development of this community, including the preparation of new candidates for ordination. This condition requires compulsory freedom in the development of Church communities.

First, such a development is possible only when a confessor and a community can be freely chosen. Because of the reality of church life in Russia today – a strict territorial division into parishes – such a possibility is non-existent. Nevertheless, the issue of being able to freely choose one's community remains problematic when the layperson, due to whatever circumstances, belongs to several communities.

Second, from this perspective, the selection of candidates for ordination cannot be considered a recruitment method, nor even the fostering of the vocation of some specific individual. In the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs, no institutional form of preparation will properly train a priest. A candidate for ordination can only grow naturally within the nourishing matrix of a strong community; therefore, the development and support of old as well as the formation of new communities is required.

Thus, the problem of lack of priests can be largely interpreted as a problem of religious interaction in the community and, moreover, as a problem of the formation of communities. Such a vision makes essential the systematic support of communities at all levels and in all forms of church life — institutional and extra-institutional, pastoral, administrative, hierarchical, etc.

Finally, an important practical conclusion can be drawn hypothetically that has a theological significance for understanding the very model of the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs. In this model, the figure of the confessor, the head of the community, is not necessarily associated with the priest. It may be a bishop. Moreover, the era of persecution produced examples of many bishops, whose ministry was largely determined by their spiritual practice. There are such examples today, and it is these bishops who are the most authoritative in the Church. Conversely, the church administrator is not always the bishop. The most common type of church administrator is the priest, who is the rector of the parish. Moreover, in some cases these two functions can be combined in one person at any level of the church hierarchy. Thus, the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs is neither contradictory, nor is it a continuation of the institutional model of the Church, but it offers a fundamentally different vision, making it possible to overcome the limitations of both the institutional and Eucharistic models of the Church.

FINAL CONCLUSION

This study proposed the replacement (replenishment) of a widely used approach to the study of religiosity in Russia today, which has the conceptualization of religion as a one-sided worship of believers in divine services (consumption). Instead of considering the religiosity of Russians as an integral system of values and practices, it was suggested to look at it as the result of interaction - in this case, as the actions of believers in response to the actions of priests, i.e. to consider religiosity in the context of the entire religious complex and determine it by a method that corresponds to a metatheoretical approach.

To analyze the question of the interaction of priests and believers, it was necessary to develop a methodology that would make it possible to relate, on the one hand, the religious needs of believers, and on the other hand, the real mechanisms and possibilities of spiritual care from the existing corps of clergy.

In order to formalize these constructions, the conceptual apparatus of the theory of rational choice in religion was used (which is concretized in this case as the theory of religious economies and even as the theory of the “religious market”). The use of a categorical apparatus, mechanically transferred from a completely alien religious context, must inevitably introduce additional assessments and meanings that are not inherent in the object under study. In this regard, the model of the religious market has been substantially overcome and rethought. In the theory of the religious market, the provisions for cooperation within a specific congregation, and the competition of various congregations among themselves are fundamental, which corresponds to the denominational concept of the Church. In the model of religious interaction proposed in this study, the emphasis is on interaction with the priest, such that the idea of competition between communities/parishes ceases to be of any significance. In this version, the model corresponds to the context under study, as well as the institutional and Eucharistic models of Orthodox ecclesiology, and in fact is innovative in relation to the apparatus that borrows from the theory of the religious market.

To conceptualize, and then to operationalize, the interaction of priests and believers, it was necessary to conceptualize and operationalize the “religious supply” in modern Russia. To be able to correlate supply and demand, it was necessary to explain the mechanism of this interaction. It was shown that such a mechanism is confession, in principle connecting the practices of personal contact with the priest and the central practice of Communion specific to Russian Orthodoxy. In the Russian tradition, Communion is possible only after confession. Due to the specific practice of preparing for the sacrament, and due to the unique significance that this individual indicator of religiosity has in Russia, the study was limited to the influence of the priest on the formation of specific religious practices – confession and Communion. Studies of religiosity in Russia show that the practice of Communion represents an indicator with significant social consequences.

An analysis of the existing practice of confession shows its extreme complexity and diversity. Confession can be made both in the church and outside it, during and in connection with the public worship and outside of this venue. The practice of confession is very dependent on the priest himself, his pastoral tradition, and even on the practice of a particular church, parish, and/or community. Nevertheless, it can be argued that this mechanism involves a very specific operationalization through the category of time and, more precisely, the time that the priest spends on confession. The central factor in terms of evaluating religious supply is always personal contact with the priest and the questions arising from this: 1) the time structure of the activity of the Orthodox priest, or rather, the time budget that he spends on each confession and 2) the duration of a confession of one person. Thus, *the time of confession* is a parameter that makes it possible to intersect two fundamentally different approaches to the understanding of religion and link them together. The parish priest becomes the central element in this model of religious supply, and the attitude of priests toward practicing believers is the main indicator of the evaluation of the supply.

Such operationalization makes it possible to propose a model of a religious supply, which quantifies religious interaction in modern Russia (within the ambit of the Russian Orthodox Church). For approbation of the model, measurements were made of the average time of confession, which the priest spends on confession during the Saturday and Sunday worship in Moscow, as well as the number of believers whose confessions he hears during this time. Following the results of this work, it is possible to formulate the initial quantitative characteristics of religious interaction in Russia, and to offer reasonable estimates in order to constructively analyze the discussions related to the question, “why the Church does not affect believers?” A clearer view of possible scenarios for this work becomes possible when it is articulated this way.

The study showed that the quantitative assessment of the “religious proposal” in modern Russia (Y is the possible number of practicing believers) is determined by the following factors: the number of priests (X), the time of confession in the evening and morning (V + V) on Sundays and public feast days of the church year (D), the average duration of confession of one person (T) and the average frequency of Communion (H). This made it possible to construct a formula for estimating the volume of religious supply: $Y = X * (B + Y) * D / (T * H)$.

This formula estimates the volume of “religious supply” in modern Russia equal to the number of priests multiplied by the time of confession in the morning and evening on all Sundays and feast days of the Church Year, divided by the average duration of confession of one person and the average frequency of Communion. A fundamentally important conclusion is the fact that the time of confession in the time structure of a priest’s activity influences the duration of individual communication with parishioners and in extreme cases leads to the formation of religious practices that preclude regular personal contact with a priest. Despite the complexity of the analysis of the practice of confession, it can be assumed that there is a certain limit, after which the formation of pastoral practices, which have an involving effect on parishioners, is impossible. In such a case, the

Sacrament of confession from the mechanism of interaction between the priest and the believers turns into one-sided worship (on the part of believers) and forms a kind of religiosity that excludes such interaction (and, consequently, the influence of the clergy on a person's religious life). In expert interviews and biographical interviews of priests, it is noted that in certain strained situations due to lack of time (for example, due to the large number of believers) individual confession becomes impossible; such situations are considered by priests as a deviation from the normative understanding of confession. This fact opens up a broad horizon for research. The question of how (physically) and under what conditions a potentially involving pastoral action is possible is of decisive importance. It is not only about the influence of religion on the family, fertility, or reduction of social dysfunctions (like drug addiction and alcoholism; see Section 3.1.1). Problems of trust in society and the very possibility of social action are connected with this question.

On the other hand, interview materials provide examples when no “religious demand” preceded the appearance of a priest and a parish. These important examples of the fact that the explicitly “religious demand” was a consequence – rather than a cause – of “religious supply,” are essential expert and empirical tests of the model. To this central conclusion of the research a number of explanations must be made.

Empirical approbation provides an approximate limitation of the religious supply of 7,977,000 people, which is exhausted by the existing number of practicing believers in Russia (taking Communion once a month or more often, and receiving Communion several times a year), which leads to the conclusion that religious supply is limited as one of the possible reasons obstructing further growth of practicing believers as a group.

The religious situation in Russia is quite distinct from the European or American situations. However, a simple consideration of the similarity of the place occupied by a priest in Catholicism and Orthodoxy prompts the comparison of its influence on the formation of religiosity in Catholicism and Orthodoxy. The temporal load on the Catholic and Orthodox priest when performing the

sacraments is not the same, but similar. Comparison of the number of laity per priest in Catholic countries (1357 in Europe on average) and in Russia (6050) makes one think about the formation of a specific type of religiosity in modern church life in Russia associated with the inaccessibility of the priest. Even more strikingly different is the number of clergy in Orthodox countries — Greece (1056) and Romania (1092).³⁴⁸

In certain contexts of scientific study of the priesthood, the question was raised about how many priests are necessary for the Church, but the answer is almost never given. The only assessment that was found was an assessment given in the context of studying the oversupply of pastors in Protestant denominations of the United States. This estimate ranges from 350 to 500 people, as the marginal minimum rate per pastor, resulting primarily from the possibility of his material maintenance by the community, and not from the possibilities of the pastor and the need for soul-care. It is interesting to compare this estimate with the expert estimate of the size of the average Orthodox community of 200–300 people, given on the basis of the psychological capabilities of the priest to carry out regular counseling.

The typologies of priests in Western studies take into account differences in the practices of interaction between priests and believers (including soul-care), as one of the key factors for its construction. The field studies of the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church also show a fundamentally different attitude toward counseling, and its meaning and place in the structure of the priest's time budget. It can be assumed that there is a certain type of priestly performance, which practically does not carry out counseling or does not form involving church practices. In this sense, the study of various practices of pastoral action (first of all, soul-care) is one promising scientific directions.

³⁴⁸ For the data of the Greek Orthodox Church, see S. Mitralaxis, "Clergy Wages in Greece—and their Correlation to Church Assets: Overview, Facts, and Proposals for Future Developments," *The Jean Monnet Papers on Political Economy* 17 (2017): 16. For the data of the Romanian Church, see *Ce ne spune recensământul din anul 2011 despre religie?* Bucharest: Institutul Național de Statistică România, 2013; *Cifre și date. Cancelaria Sfântului Sinod. Biserica Ortodoxă Română la 31 decembrie 2014 / 1 ianuarie 2015*, <http://patriarhia.ro/biserica-ortodoxa-romana-la-31-decembrie-2014-2875.html>, accessed 12.04.2017.

Despite the fact that the question of the number of clergy remains an important component of priesthood study in modern scientific discourse, neither in an Orthodox context, nor in a Catholic one, does the question of the influence of the number of clergy on the formation of religious practices get raised. The peculiarity of Russian specificity, in which confession occupies a central place in spiritual life, makes it possible to effectively analyze this influence. Perhaps the result can be a starting point for a more detailed study of the interaction of priests and believers in other Christian denominations.

In addition to a number of questions about the refinement of the model and the estimates obtained, the question of a more detailed analysis of trends in the lack of growth in religious practices may be raised, as opposed to the growth of the total number of clergy after the liberation of the Russian Orthodox Church from state pressure and control. Several hypotheses may be proposed as explanations of this fact.

During the same period, the share of those participating in one-time Sacraments (baptisms, weddings, funeral services), as well as the share of those who partake of Communion several times a year, once a year and less often, increased significantly. It is possible that this particular group – those who take Communion several times a year – will have an important influence on the formation of religiosity in modern Russia. Therefore, it requires careful study. For the same period of time, the so-called “general confession” almost completely disappeared from church life. It is obvious that the return of the normal practice of individual confession requires much more time from the priest. The simplest explanations are related to the fact that this period was a time of the permanent construction of churches. Finally, the most difficult issue is the question of the formation of a form of spiritual care was the practice non-involving pastoral care.

The model of religious interaction allows us to pose a number of promising research questions about the evolution of religiosity in various situations of religious supply. For example, one such issue is the hypothesis that an increase in the number of practicing believers may be accompanied by effects in the form of a

formalization of church life, a decrease in solidarity, interoperability, and crowding out communal forms of church life. An important research question remains the hypothesis of the formation of various types of religiosity, depending on the different volume of religious supply.

Another research task is to clarify the interdependence of the number of priests and believers involved, both as a whole in Russia and within a particular parish or diocese. Expert interviews give reason to believe that, in the religious situation in Russia, there is an analogue of Say's law: *the growth of religious supply immediately creates demand*. Each new priest enables regular religious interaction and increases the number of practicing believers as much as his physical and psychological abilities allow. On the other hand, the Paul Report³⁴⁹ shows that each additional priest at the parish gives a smaller increase in the number of parishioners involved than a newly opened parish. It can be assumed that the mechanism of religious interaction, as well as its quantitative assessments, will be significantly different, both in terms of a parish, a diocese, or the whole of Russia, and depending on the overall ratio of the number of laity to one priest.³⁵⁰ With a different ratio of the number of believers (from 2000–3000 people and above, from 2000 to 1000 people and up to 1000 people per priest), the religious situation as a whole, the methods of pastoral action, and even the methods of governing the diocese will be significantly different. For example, the “Paul Report” shows that in a situation of acute “lack of clergy” (from 3000 per priests and above), the bishop will always strive to open new parishes and distribute priests from parishes with large staffs to them, thereby weakening them. Such a course of action can lead to a number of serious consequences in the long term.

The parish priest in Russia remains an understudied figure. Both in the scientific discourse and in the public sphere, perception about the priest is mediated by a number of prejudices, including the simple fact of an extremely

³⁴⁹ L. A. Paul, *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy: A Report* (Church Information Office for the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, 1964).

³⁵⁰ Continuing the metaphor of the religious economy, we can assume that there is a kind of law of “diminishing marginal utility” in relation to the increase in the number of believers involved depending on the increase in the number of clergy.

small number of clergy compared to other European states that did not experience the effects of forced secularization and the physical destruction of the clergy. This study assumes the priest to be a participant in religious interaction. Such a view makes it possible to see its central role in the religious life of Russia and raise questions about the priest himself, the demand and the requirements of him, and his significance for the life of the Church and society in a new way.

Finally, the result obtained empirically allows us, on the one hand, to state that a certain model of the Church remains relevant for the Russian Orthodox Church today, on the other hand, allows us to draw a number of conclusions of a practical nature for the Church.

The current model of the Church can be called the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs. It is a consequence of the era of persecution and singles out the “bonds of spirit and grace” of the pastor and his flock as the basis of the church life. The church is conceived as a community united around a priest (or bishop). At the same time, each Christian and the community as a whole are responsible for choosing a worthy confessor. If a priest (or a bishop) turns out to be unworthy (to the extent that they depart from the faith), then the Christian must leave his parish, look for a worthy confessor, and join his community.

The problem of the shortage of priests, which is fixed in an empirical study, in the perspective of the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs becomes a problem of interaction between priests and laity. Moreover, it puts at the center of this problem the figure of a priest (or bishop) confessor, as the head of the community. Such a vision from the point of view of the practical organization of church life leads to a number of important conclusions.

Today, the Church requires from the priest, first of all, pastoral work and, even more accurately, spiritual work, involving personal interaction with each layman and involving everyone in a particular church community.

Personal interaction with the spiritual father cannot be turned into an individual interaction between a priest and a believer; it can only be fruitful in a community. The ecclesiology of the New Martyrs places special emphasis on the

responsibility of the People of God for building the community. This condition requires compulsory freedom in the development of church communities.

First, such a development is possible only when a confessor and a community can be freely chosen. Second, from this perspective, the selection of candidates for ordination cannot be considered as a recruitment effort, nor even as a vocation addressed to a specific individual. In the ecclesiology of the New Martyrs, the candidate for ordination can only be nurtured naturally in a strong community that already exists.

Thus, the problem of the lack of priests can be largely reinterpreted as a problem of religious interaction in the community and, moreover, as a problem of the formation of church communities. Such a vision makes the systematic support of communities at all levels and in all forms of church life – institutional and extra-institutional, pastoral, administrative, hierarchical, etc. – essential.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

What might be important in this study from the point of view of the practice of modern church life?

1. In modern Russia there are two distinct groups of believers.

The first group is 3% of the population who regularly confess and take Communion (once a month or more). This group practically sees no growth, but it consists of those Orthodox believers who belong to the core of a particular parish community, who demonstrate social behaviors that differ sharply from that of average Russians in a number of ways. Leaving aside the question of the possible growth of this group, we can assume that, in the first place, it is this group which maintains the life of the church, and which provides the Church with priests. It is this group that takes most of the time that priests are able to set aside for pastoral work. The preservation and distribution of people from this group is possible only in parochial communities. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the question of the creation and construction of parish communities, as opposed to an individualistic understanding of church life.

The second group is about 18% of the population, which goes to confession more often than once a year, but less often than once a month. This group has grown significantly since 1992 after the liberation of the Church. These are people who have come to the Church, but who have neither deep church culture, nor any personal rootedness in church life, nor have regular contact with the parish, the parish community or priest, or who have lost all these signs of religiosity for one reason or another. This group is barely noticeable to the parish priest, because these believers have practically no connection with him. As a result, pastoral activity, which could be involving for these people, does not get developed. It is this group that requires special pastoral care from the clergy.

2. It is necessary to expand and develop pastoral work toward the formation of communities.

The groups of believers indicated above require the development of work toward the formation of parochial communities. Appropriate research work, analyses of positive modern church experience, and the practical integration of this experience into educational programs and the training of young priests are needed.

The development of spiritual care inevitably raises the question of comparing pastoral care with externally similar wellness and self-improvement sectors in today's rapidly developing areas such as coaching, psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, psychological counseling, etc. There is a professionalization of specialists in human resources (specialists in developing an individual educational trajectory, career development, family counselors, nutritionists, fitness trainers, etc.). What unique position does a priest occupy on this palette of professions?

3. The Russian Orthodox Church is experiencing an acute shortage of clergy on the territory of the Russian Federation.

On the one hand, this deficiency is registered by a simple comparison of the number of clergy in relation to believers, baptized members of the church, in Russia and other Christian countries in the Catholic Church in the USA 1: 1629; in the Catholic Church in Germany 1: 1640; in the Greek Church 1: 1056; in the Romanian Church 1: 1092; and in Russia 1: 5017. The average number of lay people per priest in Russia is three to five times greater. This estimate suggests the need to increase the number of clergy in Russia to a number in the range from 62,700 to 102,500 people.

On the other hand, the lack of clergy can be determined through an assessment of the necessary pastoral care. If you count enculturating a group of believers into life in the Church who receive Communion several times a year (about 18% of the population, or 25 million people), then the required number of clergy will be based on the estimates obtained, from 43,700 to 135,800 people.

This lack of clergy cannot be filled with the available forces. Neither the number of seminaries, nor the available material resources are enough to prepare and maintain this amount of clergy. Thus, a qualitative expansion of church life in Russia is necessary. This implies a shift in emphasis from the extensive expansion

of the system of spiritual education to the search for new forms of both preparing candidates for entering seminaries and pastoral training itself, as well as increasing the number of individual parishes to search for new forms of organization of parish life and material support of the clergy. First and foremost: to support existing communities, and to create new ones.

4. Establish strong parishes with a large staff.

One of the possible forms of such an extension of church life is the creation of strong fully-staffed parishes with a large number of clergy of different experiences and ages, as well as the inclusion of new parishes and young priests. In part, this practice already exists in the form of the creation of assigned parishes. There are other forms of creating strong horizontal connections between the parishes. This practice complicates the administration of parishes. However, this form of organization of parish life allows young priests to gain the experience of pastoral service under the direct supervision of more experienced pastors, and does not place young inexperienced superiors in front of difficult administrative, financial, and economic problems that should get solved by several parishes. The parishes with large staffs make it possible to form a community, provide support to young priests in crisis situations, and form communities of priests who adhere to the pastoral tradition. It is this form of parish development that could possibly strengthen horizontal ties between parishes and create conditions for the large-scale creation of new communities, and, consequently, attract new candidates for pastoral training. An important condition for the formation of such parishes is the ordination of priests who were prepared as candidates for the priesthood within these parishes.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

„Religiöse Angebote und pastorale Perspektiven zur Überwindung der Nicht-Beteiligung von Kirchenmitgliedern in Russland“

Die Ergebnisse soziologischer Studien zeigen, dass im zeitgenössischen Russland eine starke Diskrepanz zwischen den Menschen, die sich als orthodoxe Christen identifizieren (nach verschiedenen Umfragen 60 bis 80 Prozent), und den aktiven orthodoxen Gläubigen zu verzeichnen ist. Nach verschiedenen Schätzungen besuchen 3 bis 15 Prozent der Bevölkerung regelmäßig Gottesdienste mit Beichte und Kommunion.

Werden die Studien durch zusätzliche Fragen ergänzt, die den Einfluss der Religion auf andere Lebensbereiche bewerten lassen, fällt das Ergebnis eher negativ aus: Ein Einfluss der Religiosität lässt sich kaum feststellen. Die bestehenden Studieninstrumente belegen kein Wachstum der sozialen Relevanz der Religion, obwohl die religiöse Selbstidentifikation deutlich stärker geworden ist.

In der russischen Religionsforschung verfestigte sich der Trend, die zunehmende religiöse Selbstidentifikation auf soziokulturelle und ethnische Gründe zurückzuführen. Zugleich erklären einige Autoren die entstandene Situation mit der Unfähigkeit der Kirche, unter gegenwärtigen Umständen adäquat zu agieren. Es ist jedoch auch hervorzuheben, dass man dazu neigt, auf den Priester als Hauptverantwortlichen und auf seine (mangelnde) Präsenz in den Medien zu verweisen.

Die Dissertation setzt sich zum Ziel, den Einfluss der Geistlichkeit auf die Herausbildung der Religiosität zu untersuchen. Der Verfasser versucht außerdem, diesen Einfluss mit den gängigen Theorien und praktischen Studien der Religiosität zu vergleichen. Er unterzieht die gegenwärtige Kirchensituation und die pastorale Sicht auf das Problem der Überwindung der inaktiven Religiosität in Russland einer Analyse.

Für eine solche Analyse wurden alternative Ansätze erarbeitet, die sowohl die spezifischen Methoden der Messung der orthodoxen Religiosität im russischen Kontext als auch die Momente berücksichtigen, die die Einbeziehung Gläubiger in die religiösen Praktiken behindern bzw. fördern.

Die theologische Einschätzung dessen, wie die Priester die gegenwärtige religiöse Situation in Russland beeinflussen, machte eine Analyse der Ekklesiologie der Neumärtyrer notwendig. Von den Ergebnissen dieser Analyse ausgehend, wird in der Arbeit ein pastoraler Weg zur Überwindung der entstandenen Situation angeboten.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Definitions for Main Terms and Notions

Religiousness (or *religiosity*) is an individual characteristic of a person's attitude toward religion, which may be described according the following qualifications: experiential (religious emotions, feelings), ritualistic (religious behavior), ideological (content of beliefs), intellectual (knowledge of faith), integrating (the implementation of these four aspects in everyday life).³⁵¹

Religious practices are external manifestations of the ritualistic dimension of religiosity, i.e. religious behavior (in this study: church attendance, participation in church rites and practices prescribed by church rules or traditions — fasting, prayer rules, reading the gospel, etc.).

Primary religious socialization is a religious upbringing received by a person in childhood, measured as the proportion of the population attending religious services at the age of 12 once a month or more often.³⁵²

Believer – in this study, this term has no additional meanings, except for indicating the fact of an affirmative answer to the question “Do you believe in God?” addressed to this particular person.

Layperson is a complex theological concept that goes far beyond the concept of “believer.” It does not boil down to the fact of confession of faith, nor to the fact of

³⁵¹ C. Y. Glock, “On the Study of Religious Commitment,” *Religious Education* 42 (4) (1962): 98–110.

³⁵² See E. V. Prutskova, “Religioznost' i ee sledstviya v tsennostno-normativnoj sfere,” [Religiosity and its consequences in the value-normative sphere], *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 2 (2013): 72–88; Eadem., “Vliyanie religioznosti na bazovye tsennosti naseleniya evropejskikh stran: effekt pervichnoj religioznoj sotsializatsii,” [The influence of religiosity on the basic values of the population of European countries: The effect of primary religious socialization], in ed. E. Yasin, *XIV Aprel'kaya mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya po problemam razvitiya ekonomiki i obshchestva*, bk. 3 (Moscow: NIU VShE, 2014), 527–536, <http://www.hse.ru/data/2014/03/21/1318421862/Конф.КН.3-текст.pdf>, accessed 29.12.2016.

baptism, nor to participation in church practices. This term refers to belonging to the people of God, which is more of an intrinsic characteristic than an external one.³⁵³ At the same time, this term refers to that portion of the people of God that does not belong to the clergy³⁵⁴.

Practicing believers are believers regularly using some religious practices. By this term, this research implies by those who regularly practice confession and Communion.

Churched (enchurched) believers – those regularly taking part in church practices, attending confession and making Communion no less than once a month.³⁵⁵

Involved believers are believers, regularly taking part in church practices suggesting some form of interaction with priests and/or other believers.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ Archpriest N. Afanasiev, *Sluzhenie miryan v Tserkvi*, [Ministry of lay people in the Church] (Paris, 1955).

³⁵⁴ The complexity of this concept and history of the development of its understanding after the Second Vatican Council make some authors conclude that this term “is dead in the theological sense” (L. Doohan, *The Lay-Centered Church: Theology and Spirituality* (Uitgever: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2016), 23) See also Y. Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of Laity* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965); E. H. Schillebeeckx, “The Layman in the Church,” *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 27 (1) (1963): 262–283.

³⁵⁵ In the long-term research project *The Liturgical Ledger of a Priest* that describes a priest’s confession practice for the period of 13 years, the frequency of enchorched parishioners taking Communion fluctuates in the following way: 10–11 times per year – 27 people; 12–19 times per year – 30 people; 20–29 times per year – 26 people; 30–39 times per year – 11 people; more than 40 times per year – 2 people. In total, this makes 96 people with the average frequency of 19 times per year (N. Emelyanov, *The Liturgical Ledger of a Priest (Case Study). Research Project*, Moscow, 2003–2016). In the Russian Orthodox Church there are different traditions of regulating the frequency of Communion and confession. The 9th Apostolic Canon says that a Christian who did not attend Communion for 3 Sundays in a row should be excommunicated. Byzantine exegetes Zonaras (11th century) and Balsamon (13th century) believe that it is about compulsory Communion once every 3 weeks (*Pravila Svyatykh Apostol i Svyatykh Otets s tolkovaniyami* (Moscow, 1876), 28–29). The Document “On the Participation of Believers in the Communion,” adopted at the Russian Orthodox Church Archbishop Conference on 3.02.2015 insists on taking Communion no less than once a month as a threshold condition of normal Church life. Such a norm — making Communion no less than once a month — serves as a guide for the modern Russian Orthodox Church. This does not interrupt modern church publicists from insisting on two absolutely contrary interpretations of the original Apostolic Canon. Some say that it is precisely about making Communion regularly, others think it is about attending the Sunday divine service. For example, cf. the opinion of Hegumen Petr (Meshcherinov), “On the Necessity of Constant Incessant Communion to the Saint Mysteries of Christ for a True Christian,” <http://igpetr.jimdo.com/статьи/>, accessed 24.09.2016, or an alternative opinion on an ultra-conservative site “Russkaya narodnaya liniya,” http://ruskline.ru/analitika/2010/03/15/obyazany_li_miryane_prichawatsya_svyatyh_hristovyyh_tain_na_kazhdoj_liturgii/, accessed 14.09.2016.

³⁵⁶ C. Glock and R. Stark have developed a methodology of empirical assessment of religiosity. It includes two relative indexes: “friendship within belief” and participation in activities of religious organisations, i.e. “involvement in the community” (R. Stark and C. Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 163). J. Fichter deems it necessary to include the social component (social communication) in the definition of religiosity (communication, associationalism, and solidarity) (J. H. Fichter, “Sociological Measurement of Religiosity,” *Review of Religious Research* 10 (3) (1969): 173). G. Lenski included

Pastoral action is a priest's action addressed to the community in general and to every believer in particular, performed by the power given to the priest to the spiritual revival of a person, and suggesting a responsibility for saving the other³⁵⁷; consistent with the notion of "leading the community" and going back to the evangelical image of the shepherd and the flock, he should "keep watch over" and "oversee" (Acts 20: 28).

Involving pastoral action is a pastoral action suggesting regular participation of believers in this or that religious practice; engaging believers in such participation and creating a mechanism for such participation.³⁵⁸

Dushepopechenie ("the care for souls"); *counseling*; *pastoral counseling* is the care for souls in the proper sense of the word refers to pastoral action (that is, the action produced by the authority of the priest and implying responsibility for the other): (1) active and conscious, (2) directed to a specific person (that is, entailing the

involvement in community (primary relationship and fraternity) in his research of religious orientation (G. Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961)). He distinguished it from associative involvement, i.e. simple churchgoing, and discovered a low correlation between them. In *A Theory of Religion*, R. Stark defined "involvement" as a "measure of the total volume of resources donated by somebody in exchange." In this definition, both "resources" and "exchange" have a very loose interpretation (Def. 63, see R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Lang. 1983), 328). "Involvement" is defined there as a form of "participation in the activity of religious organisations, including such incommensurable things as a choir, a dance club, or a bachelors' club" (Ibid., 46). In the 2011 research project "Three Moscow Parishes," I. Zabaev, D. Oreshina, and E. Prutskova operationalized the involvement in community through three indexes: 1) collective participation in religious practices, 2) "the feeling of community," and 3) participation in activities that are not connected with divine service, or being aware about them (I. V. Zabaev and E. V. Prutskova, "Obshchina pravoslavnogo khrama: prostranstvennaya lokalizatsiya i faktory formirovaniia (na primere g. Moskvy)," [Community of an Orthodox church: Spatial localization and the forming factors (Using the example of Moscow)], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Series 1, *Bogoslovie. Filosofiya* 3 (41) (2012), 66).

³⁵⁷ *Prostrannyi khristsianskij katekhizis Pravoslavnoj Kafolicheskoi Vostochnoi Tserkvi*, [Detailed Christian Catechesis of the Orthodox Ecumenical Eastern Church], comp. Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov, introd. and ed. A.G. Dunaev (Moscow, 2006): question No. 354; *Trebnik*, [Book of needs] (Moscow, 1991), 68–70; *Nastol'naya kniga svyashchenoslužhitelya*, [The priest's resource book], vol. 1 (Moscow, 1992), 295–297; Antony Khrapovitsky, Bishop, *Lektsii po pastyrskomu bogosloviyu*, [Lectures on pastoral theology] (Kazan, 1900); G. Shavel'sky, Archpriest, *Pravoslavnoe pastyrstvo*, [Orthodox pastoral care] (Saint Petersburg, 1996); Veniamin Fedchenkov, Metropolitan, *Lektsii po pastyrskomu bogosloviyu s asketikoi*, [Lectures on pastoral theology and asceticism] (Moscow, 2006); Kiprian Kern, Archimandrite, *Pravoslavnoe pastyrskoe sluzhenie*, [Orthodox pastoral ministry] (Moscow, 2002); Antony Blum, Metropolitan of Sourozh, *Pastyrstvo*, [Pastoral care] (Minsk, 2005).

³⁵⁸ The working title of the project is: N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologii religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016.

establishment of personal relationship), (3) responding to this person's specific request (about his internal state or pain), (4) helping to solve a specific problem (aimed at his internal change), and (5) directed to the future (that is, implying continued personal relationship with the person in the prospect of his future life and in the prospect of Eternal Life).³⁵⁹

Pastoral practice is a stable counseling practice, repeated in a particular pastoral situation.³⁶⁰

Pastoral tradition is a complex of pastoral practices passed on from the spiritual father to the spiritual son.³⁶¹

Time budget is systematic recording of daily time expenses – assumed or actual – according to a certain programme with different levels of details for different periods.³⁶²

Priest's time budget suggests the existence of a programme according to which it is constructed. There are examples of developing such programmes³⁶³ based on defining the roles of a priest.³⁶⁴ In this research we speak only about the time a

³⁵⁹ *Nastol'naya kniga svyashchennosluzhitelya*, [The priest's resource book], vol. 1 (Moscow, 1992), 296–297; N. Emelyanov, "The Temporal Structure of the Activities of Priests, and the Substantive Effects of Religious Life in Contemporary Russia," *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie* 4 (2016): 125–150.

³⁶⁰ For the description of the project, see N. N. Emelyanov, I. V. Zabaev, T. M. Krikhtova, and D. A. Oreshina, *Sposoby pastyrskogo dejstviya: analiz byudzhetrov vremeni svyashchennikov. Issledovatel'skij proekt nauchnoj laboratorii Sotsiologiya religii PSTGU* [Ways of Pastoral Action: Analysis of Priests' Time Budgets. Research Project of the Scientific Laboratory, "Sociology of Religion" at St. Tikhon's Orthodox University], Moscow, 2015–2016.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² P. A. Sorokin, "Sostoyanie russkoj sotsiologii za 1918–1922 gg.," [The state of Russian sociology in 1918–1922], in Idem., *Obshchedostupnyj uchebnik sotsiologii. Stat'i raznykh let*, [Sociology handbook for general use. Articles of different years] (Moscow, Nauka, 1994): 417; see also V. A. Artemov, "K istorii vozniknoveniya issledovaniy byudzhetrov vremeni," [On the history of research into time budgets], *Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya* 5 (2003): 141–149; Idem., "Sotsiologicheskie aspekty vremeni v otechestvennykh nauchnykh rabotakh 1920-kh–1930-kh gg.," [Sociological aspects of time in Russian research of 1920s–1930s], *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal* 3 (2007) 124–136.

³⁶³ S. Blizzard, *The Protestant Parish Minister: A Behavioral Science Interpretation*, The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Monograph Series 5 (Storrs, CT: The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1985); P. M. Zulehner, *Priester im Modernisierungsstress. Forschungsbericht der Studie Priester 2000* (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 2001).

³⁶⁴ In S. Blizzard's research, the notion of "role," that is the basis upon which to systematize the priest's activity, is not narrowed down to the Berger-Luckmann definition of role (P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *Sotsialnoe*

priest takes to perform liturgical services, the time required to perform the sacraments and other activities of a priest.

Temporal structure of the activities of priests – the structure of a priest’s time budget, in this research we speak only about the time a priest spends on hearing confessions and other types of activities. A yearly structure for confession time budget is considered.

Religious goods are the fundamental answers to the deep philosophical questions about life, which have as their basis some appeal to a supernatural force.³⁶⁵

Religious Firms are social enterprises whose primary purpose is to create, maintain and supply religion to some set of individuals.³⁶⁶

Religious Economy consists of all the religious activity going on in any society. Religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market of current and potential customers, a set of firms seeking to serve that market, and the religious “product lines” offered by the various firms.³⁶⁷

konstruovanie real'nosti, [Social constructing of reality] (Moscow, 1995), 89–113). S. Blizzard himself does not offer any definition. The analysis of his study though allows us to suggest that the role is objectivization of the priest’s normative understanding of the clergy’s specific function, in comparison to the situation in which the priest is in, and to his other roles. This understanding is, in a way, similar to Sunden’s understanding of the role (Th. Källstad, “The Application of the Religio-Psychological Role Theory,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26 (3) (1987): 367–374), though S. Blizzard did not refer to his works.

³⁶⁵ A. Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* (New York, 2008), 231.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.; R. Stark and L. Iannaccone, “A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the ‘Secularization’ of Europe,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (3) (1994): 232.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

APPENDIX 2
Systematisation of the English-Language Research Literature on Priests
based on the Web of Science Database

No.	Topic	Number of Articles
1	What priests do in connection with the psychological health of the laity in a community	23
2	How priests maintain their psychological health	8
3	Priests' psychological burnout	11
4	Priests' help in overcoming problems	8
5	Studying priests' psychological particularities	22
6	Considering a priest in the categories of profession	28
7	How satisfied a priest is with his work	12
8	What a priest should do according to the Church	7
9	Priest's functioning	37
10	Priest's influence on the laity	37
11	Cooperation of priests with other professions	37
12	Studying the priests' attitude towards various social phenomena	37
13	How people treat priests	5
14	Functioning of the institution of priesthood in society	8
15	Changes in priesthood	7
16	Studying historic events / a historic period	42
17	Studying clericalism/anticlericalism	24
18	Priest's marriage	12
19	Woman as priest	19
20	Priest in art	40

No.	Topic	Number of Articles
21	What are priests' illnesses	16
22	Studying priests from the point of view of archeology	7
23	Considering biographies of priests / someone else as a priest	10
24	Priest as a metaphor	4
Total		453

The thematization was made by choosing relevant articles from the 500 most quoted in the World of Science Database.³⁶⁸ The priest is regarded either in a very specific aspect of his work or from the point of view of the work's influence on the priest, e. g. many quoted works on the priests' taking care of the churchgoers' psychological and mental health,³⁶⁹ belong to the first type работы as well as works on some special pastoral programmes for help or pastoral counseling,³⁷⁰ or works on the issue of interaction with other professions. Works on the issues of psychological burnout,³⁷¹ priests' attitude towards something,³⁷² priest's marriage,³⁷³ etc. There are no special works on the issue of counseling in general or even considering separate aspects of counseling, not in the context of other social or psychological problems but in the context of religious life.

³⁶⁸ The total number of articles chosen by an automatic request – 11,109, from which 500 are most quoted, those of them, which were on the list because of matching words and word forms but not on the topic were, in turn, excluded. (Ibid. p. 2).

³⁶⁹ R. J. Taylor, C. G. Ellison, L. M. Chatters, J. S. Levin, and K. D. Lincoln, "Mental Health Services in Faith Communities: The Role of Clergy in Black Churches," *Social Work* 45 (1) (2000): 75–105; J. S. Payne, "Variations in Pastors' Perceptions of the Etiology of Depression by Race and Religious Affiliation," *Community Mental Health* 49 (2009): 355–365.

³⁷⁰ S. M. Stanley, H. J. Markman, L. M. Prado, A. P. Olmos-Gallo, L. Tonelli, M. Peters, D. B. Leber, M. Bobulinski, A. Cordova, and A. W. Whitton, "Community-Based Premarital Prevention: Clergy and Lay Leaders on the Front Lines," *Family Relations* 50 (2001): 67–76.

³⁷¹ W. N. Grosch and D. C. Olsen, "Clergy Burnout: An Integrative Approach," *Psychotherapy in Practice* 56 (5) (2000): 619–632.

³⁷² G. Domino, "Clergy's Attitudes toward Suicide and Recognition of Suicide Lethality," *Death Studies* 9 (3–4) (1985): 187–199.

³⁷³ B. J. Niswander, "Clergy Wives of the New Generation," *Pastoral Psychology* 30 (3) (1982): 160–169.

APPENDIX 3

Quantitative Evaluations of the Religious Supply Model in Russia

Table 1. The number of priests needed for speaking with the given number of people once a year, provided that each conversation takes a fixed amount of time from 1 minute to 1 hour. It is assumed that the priest, being on permanent duty in the church on all weekly service days, continuously receives people, that is, at the rate of 1,360.5 hours a year per priest.

“Those who take Communion once a year”	Number of people	1 min.	5 min.	15 min.	30 min.	1 hour
1. Russians	111,017	1360	6800	20,400	40,800	81,600
2. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)	102,857	1260	6300	18,901	37,801	75,602
3. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)	75,086	920	4599	13,797	27,595	55,190
4. Have never taken Communion (40% of Orthodox Christians)	41,143	504	2520	7560	15,120	30,241
5. Once a year or less frequently (39% of Orthodox Christians)	40,114	491	2457	7371	14,742	29,485
6. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)	10,286	126	630	1890	3780	7560
7. Once a month of more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)	2057	25	126	378	756	1512

Table 2. The number of priests needed for speaking with a given number of people once a year provided that each conversation takes a fixed amount of time from 1 min. to 1 hour. It is assumed that the priest receives people only at Sunday, festal, and weekday services immediately before and after the morning service and during the evening service, that is, at the rate of 813.5 hours a year per one priest.

“Once a year”	Number of people	1 min.	5 min.	15 min.	30 min.	1 hour
1. Russians	111,017	2274	11,372	34,117	68,234	136,468
2. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)	102,857	2,107	10,536	31,609	63,219	126,438
3. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)	75,086	1538	7692	23,075	46,150	92,299
4. Have never taken Communion (40% of Orthodox Christians)	41,143	843	4215	12,644	25,288	50,575
5. Once a year or less (39% of Orthodox Christians)	40,114	822	4109	12,328	24,655	49,311
6. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)	10,286	211	1054	3161	6322	12,644
7. Once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)	2057	42	211	632	1264	2529

Table 3. The number of priests needed for speaking with a given number of people six times a year, provided that each conversation takes a fixed amount of time from 1 minute to 1 hour. It is assumed that the priest receives people only at Sunday, festal, and weekday services immediately before and after the morning service and during the evening service, that is, at the rate of 813.5 hours a year per priest.

“Several times a year”	Number of people	1 min.	5 min.	15 min.	30 min.	1 hour
1. Russians	111,017	13,647	68,234	204,703	409,405	818,810
2. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)	102,857	12,644	63,219	189,656	379,313	758,626
3. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)	75,086	9230	46,150	138,449	276,898	553,797
4. Have never taken Communion (40% of Orthodox Christians)	41,143	5058	25,288	75,863	151,725	303,450
5. Once a year or less (39% of Orthodox Christians)	40,114	4931	24,655	73,966	147,932	295,864
6. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)	10,286	1264	6,322	18,966	37,931	75,863
7. Once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)	2057	253	1264	3793	7586	15,173

Table 4. The number of priests needed for speaking with a given number of people twenty-four times a year, provided that each conversation takes a fixed amount of time from 1 minute to 1 hour. It is assumed that the priest receives people only at Sunday and festal services immediately before and after the morning service and during the evening service, that is, at the rate of 335.5 hours a year per priest.

“Once a month or more frequently”	Number of people	1 min.	5 min.	15 min.	30 min.	1 hour
1. Russians	111,017	134,36 2	671,81 2	2,015,43 7	4,030,87 4	8,061,74 9
2. Orthodox Christians (72% of the population)	102,857	124,48 7	622,43 3	1,867,29 9	3,734,59 8	7,469,19 5
3. Believers (73% of Orthodox Christians)	75,086	90,875	454,37 6	1,363,12 8	2,726,25 6	5,452,51 2
4. Have never taken Communion (40% of Orthodox Christians)	41,143	49,795	248,97 3	746,920	1,493,83 9	2,987,67 8
5. Once a year or less frequently (39% of Orthodox Christians)	40,114	48,550	242,74 9	728,247	1,456,49 3	2,912,98 6
6. Several times a year (10% of Orthodox Christians)	10,286	12,449	62,243	186,730	373,460	746,920
7. Once a month or more frequently (2% of Orthodox Christians)	2057	2490	12,449	37,346	74,692	149,384

APPENDIX 4

Field Research Tools

Volunteer Checklist

Dear Volunteer,

Thank you for taking part in the Moscow Priest's Time Chronotope research.

Your objective is to count the number of churchgoers having confessed to one priest on Saturday, April, 9 and on Sunday, April, 10.

Your plan for the days to come:

- Come to the church you have been assigned to 15 minutes before confession.
- Look around.
- When the confession starts choose the first priest you see and record the time.
- If several priests started hearing confessions simultaneously, choose the one on the right of the altar.
- Count the number of people having confessed to this priest.
- Count the number of children among them.
- Count the number of priests hearing confessions that day.
- Find out the priest's name.
- Do not leave the church before the end of confession. At the end, record the time.
- Write the data down in the form.
- If something you saw seemed significant to you, write that down in the form or send via email.

❑ Take a photo of the church, the service timetable and the advertisement board.

❑ Look up the priest's age and his ordination time on the church website.

❑ Take a picture of the observation form and send it along with other photos to *****@gmail.com

In case of difficulties call +7 963 *****

Important:

- ★ Do not forget the observation form, a map to the church, a pen, a watch, a phone, a camera (a phone camera will do).
- ★ A person for whom a priest said the prayer of absolution is considered as having confessed.
- ★ Try to behave in a way not to annoy the churchgoers and the priests. Ideally, your presence should not draw any attention to yourself.
- ★ So try not to fill in the form in the church where everyone can see you.
- ★ If someone talks to you, be polite and reserved. Do not take part in theological discussions and tell everyone about our research.
- ★ Do not make your confession to this priest that day. Your objective is to observe.
- ★ Remember, you are not doing anything illegal, so you should not be afraid of any reaction.
- ★ The recorded result of your observation is the most important outcome of your work. Please, be scrupulous when filling in the form and sending the result. In case of loss or other problems, contact the coordinator.

Observation Form

Moscow Priest's Chronotope

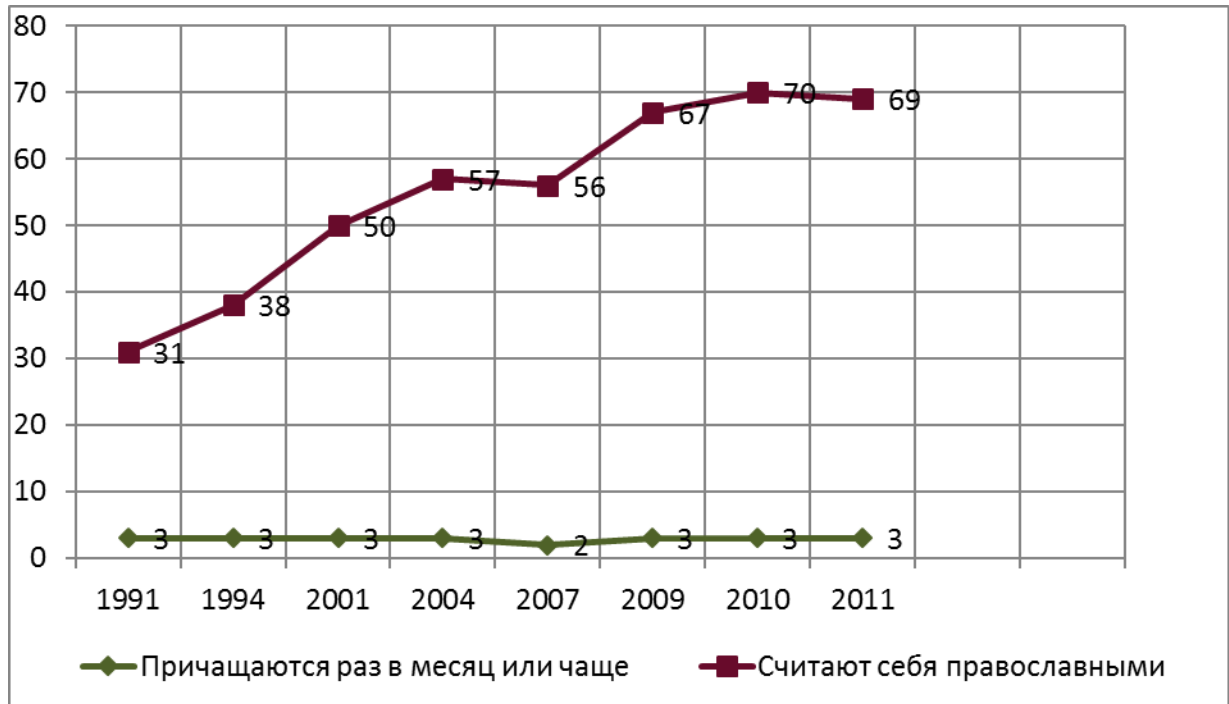
Observer's name

Church	
Church's name	
Location. How many minutes did the way from the metro take?	
Does a godparent have to take confession before baptism?	
Can they do that on the day of baptism?	
Priest	
Name	
Age	
Ordination year	
Confession	
Confession's beginning	
Confession's end	
Number of people who took confession	
Among whom there are children	
Total number of priests hearing confessions	
Comments	

APPENDIX 5

Figures, Diagrams and Tables

Figure 1. Dynamics of those considering themselves Orthodox Christians and regularly taking Communion, 1991–2011 (data of Levada-Center).³⁷⁴

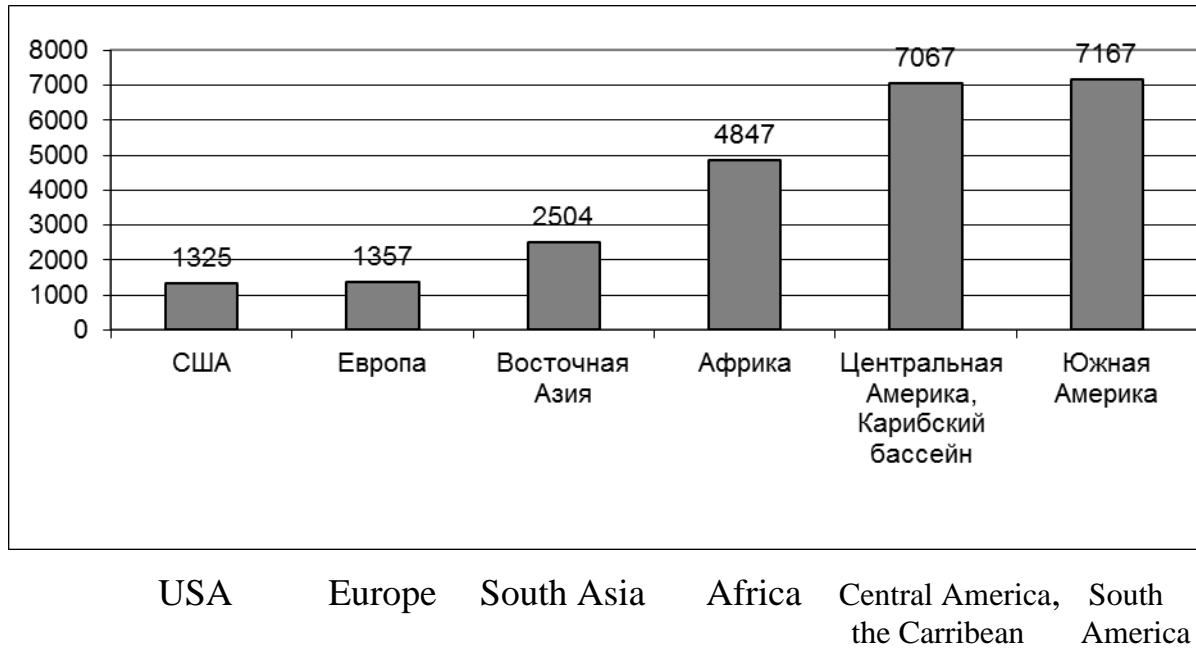


Red (upper) – those making Communion once a month or more often.

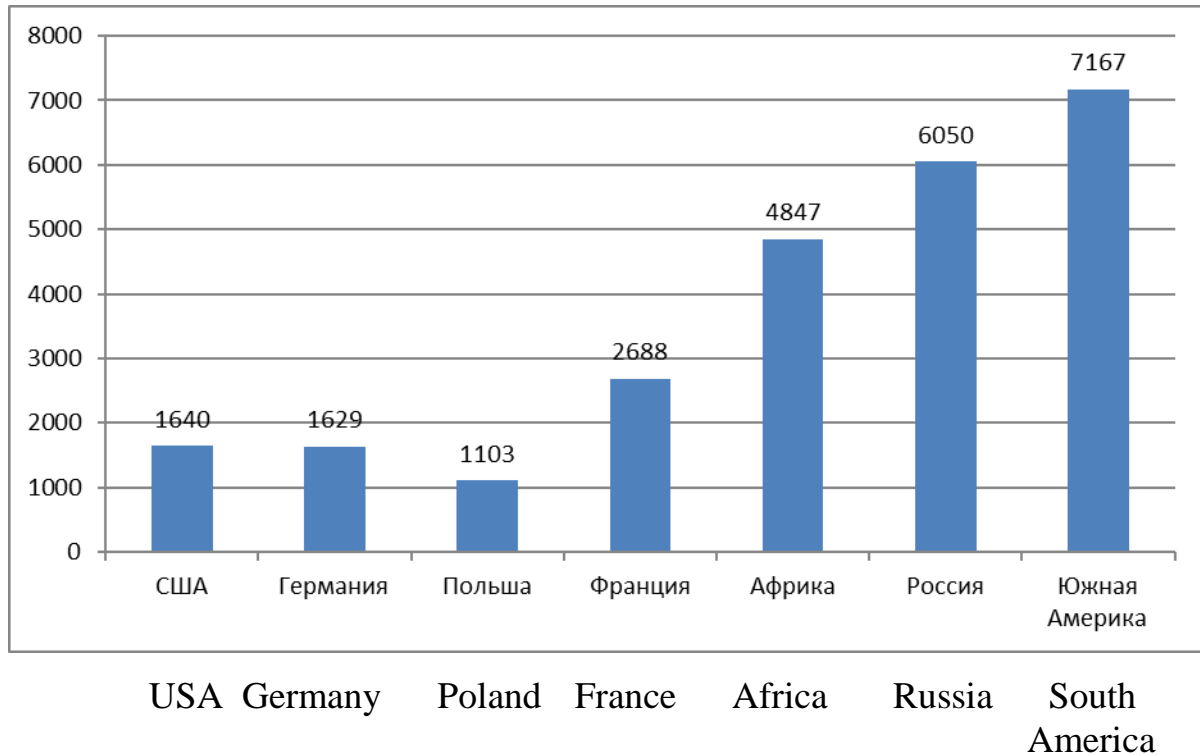
Green (lower) – those considering themselves Orthodox Christians.

³⁷⁴ “Religioznaya vera v Rossii. Press-vypusk,” [Religious faith in Russia. Press-Release], Yury Levada’s analytical center “Levada-Center,” <http://www.levada.ru/2011/09/26/religioznaya-vera-v-rossii/>, accessed 23.03.2016.

Diagram 1. Ratio of Catholics to Priests, 2001³⁷⁵ and of Orthodox to Priests in Russia, 2011

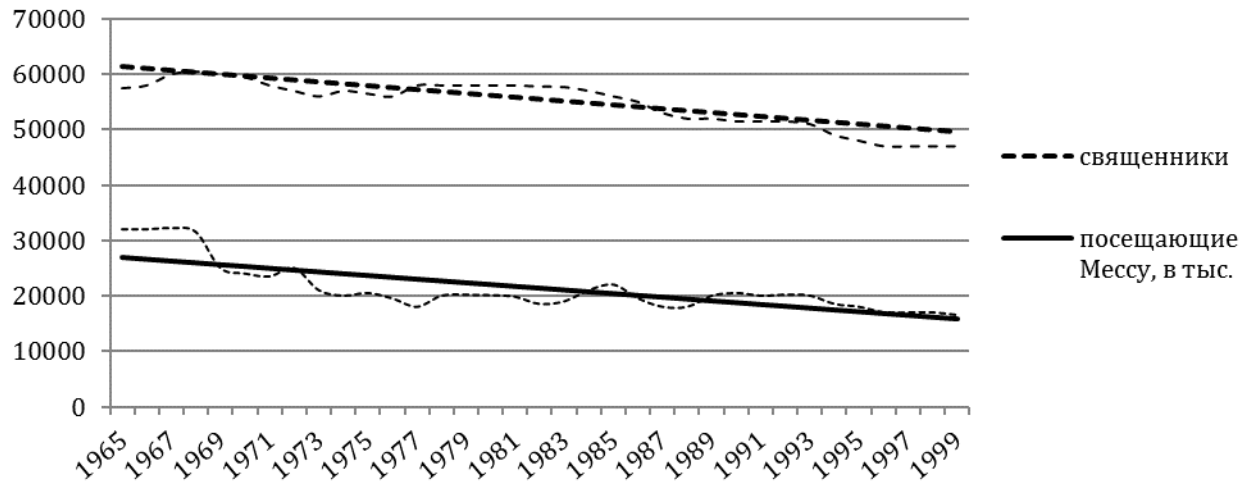


³⁷⁵ Data from the *Statistical Yearbook of the Church*, published yearly in Vatican.

Diagram 4. Number of laity per priest (2011)³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ The data on the Catholic countries was taken from: *Statistical Yearbook of the Church* (Vatican, 2011). The total number of clerics (as of 2011 — 29,324 people) includes not only parish clergy but also monastery clergy (just in stauropegic monasteries, meaning, those reporting directly to the Patriarch, there are circa 1000 priests), as well as clerics from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Belarusian Exarchate, foreign dioceses and the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia. If we only exclude the Ukrainian circa 10,000, the Belarusian (1485) and monasterial clergy (ca. 1000), then the total number of parish priests in Russia will be no more than 17,000 people (Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, “The Report at the Council of Moscow Diocese of 2011,” in Idem., *Slovo Predstoyatelya (2009–2011). Sobranie trudov*, [The word of the Primate. Collected works], vol. 1 (Moscow, 2012), 385; Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, “The Ukrainian Orthodox Church today. The report of the Eminent Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, at the Council of Hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church on January, 4, 2011” (<http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1401848.html>, accessed 26.12.2015); Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, “The report of Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk, at the Council of Dioceses of the Minsk Eparchy on January, 5, 2012” (<http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1934395.html>, accessed 24.03.2015).

Figure 1. Decline in priests and Mass attendance compared³⁷⁷



----- Priests: $y = -347.59x + 61,834$

..... People attending the Mass: $y = -324.63x + 27,313$.

³⁷⁷ P. Sullins, "Empty Pews and Empty Altars: A Reconsideration of the Catholic Priest Shortage," *The Catholic Social Science Review* 6 (2011): 269.

Table 1. Ratio of Church members to priests or ministers and number of clergy per one church.³⁷⁸

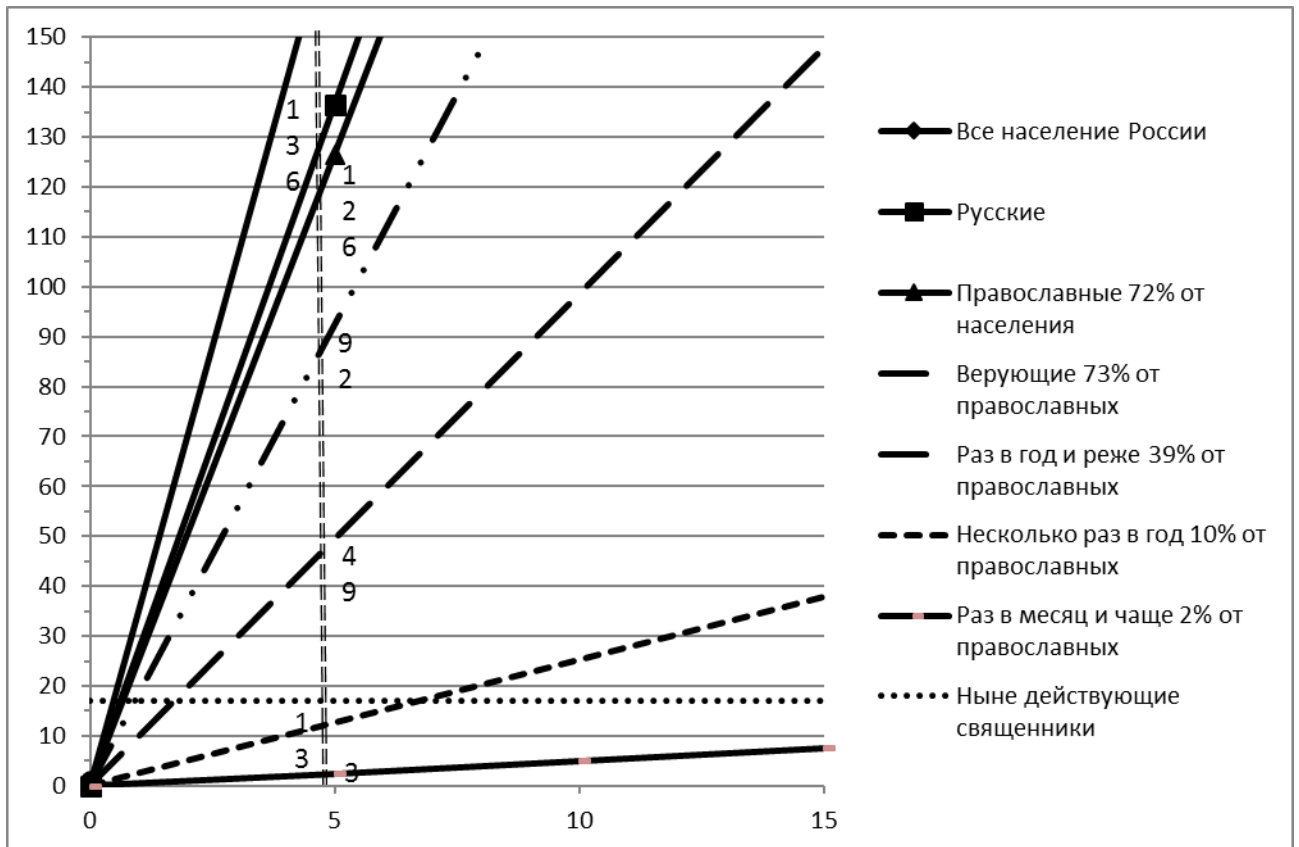
Denominations	Ratio of Church members to priests or ministers	
	1950	1977
American Baptist Churches	251.8	180.0
The Church of God	43.7	56.9
The Church of the Nazarene	49.8	60.9
The Disciples of Christ	215.4	190.5
The Episcopal Church	373.5	229.1
The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	507.8 ^c	381.5
The Presbyterian Church (USA)	251.3 ^c	167.7
The Reformed Church in America	320.7	236.3
The Southern Baptist Convention	317.6	235.6
The United Church of Christ	239.1 ^c	183.4
The United Methodist Church	353.4 ^c	273.5
The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	60.6	185.3

(^a – Full membership, ^b – Total number of clergy including those retired, ^c – data for 1951).

³⁷⁸ J. W. Carroll and R. L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors? The State of the Clergy Job Market* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980), 36.

Figure 3. Supply Model for Russia

The Y-axis – number of priests needed (thousands of people), the X-axis – confession duration (minutes). Supposing that priests hear confessions at every week day and Sunday service (time budget 813.5), and the churchgoers are practicing believers (making Communion once a month).



1. Total population of Russia
2. Ethnic Russians
3. Orthodox Christians (72 % of the population)
4. Believers (73 % of the Orthodox Christians)
5. Once a year or less frequently (39 % of the Orthodox Christians)
6. Several times a year (10 % of the Orthodox Christians)
7. Once a month or more frequently (2 % of the Orthodox Christians)
8. Currently active priests

Figure 5. Dependence of limited religious supply in Russia on the number of priests.

The X-axis – priests in thousands of people; the Y-axis – the maximum possible number of involved believers in thousands of people, T – average duration of a confession for a person. The vertical line – 17,000 priests in fact in Russia in 2011.

