

THE U.S. MAINLINE PROTESTANT CONTEXT

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Writing in 1929, the prominent theologian H. Richard Niebuhr argued that denominations in America were products of the larger social divisions of class, region, ethnicity, and race. At the time of his writing, mainline Protestants could easily be distinguished from their conservative brethren by each of these characteristics. Mainline Protestants were predominantly middle and upper-middle class, were centered in the Northeast, and traced their roots back to the United Kingdom. However, major changes in the social contours of American religion have rewritten many of these rules. Nearly 100 years later, Niebuhr's original observation—that religious divisions reflect other important social divisions—still applies, but in a different way. This chapter will explore how the mainline Protestant context in America has changed. The focus will be on the more recent changes of the past 30 years, which will be rooted in their larger historical framework.

Who Are “Mainline Protestants”?

Defining religious groups always involves more art than science. Boundaries are often elusive and exceptions always exist. With these caveats in mind, observers of religion in America use the terms “mainline Protestants,” “the Protestant establishment,” or “liberal Protestants” to encompass a group of denominations that, during the 19th and early 20th century, held a majority of the Protestants in America, provided the majority (upwards of 90%) of leaders and delegates to national and international religious federations and associations, and held influential positions in society. Traditionally, mainline Protestants are encompassed by seven denominations in America: Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and white Methodists

and Baptists. Waves of new immigrants in the early 20th century added the United Lutherans to the mainline fold. Various denominational realignments since the early part of the 20th century have created some new mainline groups. The United Churches of Christ; the Disciples of Christ; the Presbyterian Church, USA; and the Evangelical Lutheran Church are notable examples. Others have left the mainline fold, such as the Presbyterian Church in America and the huge Southern Baptist Convention.

The term *mainline Protestants* is used to distinguish these groups of denominations from evangelical or conservative Protestants and African American Protestants. Even though the distinction between mainline and conservative Protestants may seem a fundamental division, one of the most important sociological examinations of religion in 1950s America was entitled *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, demonstrating that Protestants were still largely considered a unified group. While observers of American religion have long been aware of the fractures in American Protestantism, the rise of the Religious Right in the 1970s was the primary catalyst that created a stark division between conservative and mainline Protestants.

Mainline Protestantism is not merely a group of denominations and affiliated religious institutions. Mainline Protestantism is as much a social as an institutional network. Historically, mainline Protestants were people of higher-than-average socioeconomic status (sociologists use the concept of socioeconomic status as a combination of income, wealth, education, and occupation to determine an individual's social standing). As one historian reports, in the 1931 *Who's Who*, a collection of biographies of the 16,600 most prominent people in America, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Northern Baptists

are strongly overrepresented. Politicians, presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, prominent philanthropists, and other cultural leaders drew heavily from the ranks of mainline Protestants. Many of the leaders of mainline Protestant seminaries, denominations, and federations enjoyed close personal networks with presidents and the power elite. Although this would change by the middle of the 19th century, almost without exception the upper crust of American society and the movers and shakers within Protestantism were members of mainline denominations.

Mainline Protestants are often equated with liberal theology. A theologically liberal stance generally lines up with a more accommodating stance toward modernity, a stronger emphasis on social justice, and a greater tolerance for a wider range of religious beliefs. And when pressed to choose, most mainline Protestants would adopt this orientation. But to equate mainline Protestantism in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries with theological liberalism would be a mistake. During this period, mainline Protestant groups encompassed wide theological diversity. Even into the 1970s, sociological surveys of congregations showed a weak relationship between conservative stances on social and theological issues and denominational tradition. Throughout the 19th and much of the 20th centuries, mainline denominations housed substantial proportions of both liberals and conservatives. Even today, mainline groups hold significant minorities of conservatives. This is evidenced by the contentious debates about the role of gays and lesbians in the church. The fact that these are *debates* bears witness to continued theological diversity within mainline Protestantism.

Some churches within mainline denominations explicitly identify with evangelicalism and its many para-denominational organizations, which also makes using a theological definition of mainline Protestantism troublesome. Far better to see mainline churches, throughout the 19th and for the first half of the 20th century, as providing homes to a large proportion of Protestants in America, generating a disproportionate number of the cultural elite, dominating national and international federations of religious groups, and possessing leaders who enjoyed the ears of presidents and prominent businessmen.

Recent Developments

Since the 1950s, things have shifted. The major social upheavals in America following the Second World War began to open cleavages in American religious groups, which had long been fermenting in the so-called fundamentalist-modernist controversy. This controversy began to simmer in the 1920s with the publication of a twelve-volume series entitled *The Fundamentals: A Testimony of the Truth* (published between 1910 and 1915) by a group of influential Protestants. Among the contributors were many mainline Protestants, including Princeton theology

professors B.B. Warfield and Charles Erdman, Methodist minister Arno Gaebelein, and the Congregationalist minister R.A. Torrey. The emerging fundamentalist movement had roots in the Great Awakenings in the 18th and 19th centuries and came to be associated with a renewed commitment to religious orthodoxy, reaction against Darwin's theory of evolution, and call for deeper social and political engagement. The modernists, on the other hand, pressed for a more open stance toward modern science, skepticism about the historical accuracy of the Bible, a desire for interreligious cooperation, and a call for deeper social engagement.

By the 1950s, fundamentalists had begun to sound a more alarmist tone towards the modern world—this was the beginning of the Cold War. The movement began to emphasize evangelism over other social concerns and withdrew from direct political involvement. This period marks the rise of Billy Graham and his influential crusades. The fundamentalist movement continued its fight against Darwinian evolution and, in light of the sexual revolution of the 1960s, pressed for traditional approaches to sexuality. Increasingly, mainline Protestant groups were identified with views on gender and sexuality that stressed equality and choice, while conservative Protestants held to more traditional forms of family, gender roles, and sexuality. During this period, denominations began to align themselves more consciously with liberal and conservative positions on theological and social issues. This religious realignment was also reflected in the political realignments of southern Democrats to the Republican Party.

One major factor that allowed this realignment to occur was the changing relationship between socioeconomic status and religious tradition. As mentioned before, prior to WW II, members of mainline Protestant groups were solidly middle and upper-middle class. They had higher incomes, more and better education, and held jobs with higher prestige—conservative Protestants, the opposite. Typically, conservative Protestants would switch to a mainline affiliation if they managed to move up the socioeconomic ladder. Affiliation with a conservative group was a major liability for someone trying to enter the ranks of the middle and upper class. However, since WWII, the gap between mainline and conservative Protestant groups has narrowed. Mainline Protestants still enjoy a social advantage, but the differences are much smaller today than in the early 1950s. The main impact of these changes is that upwardly mobile conservative Protestants could remain in their religious groups. Throughout the last half of the 20th century, mainline groups have received fewer and fewer high-status conservative Protestants.

Macro Trends in American Religion

Larger trends in American religion are exerting a significant impact on the mainline Protestant context. Three deserve special mention. First, denominations are declining

in significance. Since World War II, the importance of denominations as the central, organizational unit in American Protestantism has steadily eroded. The lines separating different denominations are blurring, and there is a great deal more mobility between denominations. Fewer ministers are training at denominational seminaries, opting instead for larger interdenominational seminaries. There is less antagonism between denominational groups, and people move between denominations with greater ease. This decline has meant that denominations are having a more difficult time justifying their usefulness and are receiving less financial support from their constituency. This does not mean that boundaries are no longer significant. Over the past 30 years, as denominationalism has declined, people are increasingly identifying with the Left and the Right. Whether a person is a liberal or conservative/evangelical Protestant is more important than whether one is a Methodist or a Baptist. Local congregational affiliation has remained a significant part of religious identification in America, so the fact that a person belongs to First Methodist Church of Fort Worth is more important than identifying as Methodist.

Geographic mobility steadily increased during the 20th century, which served to break down denominational loyalty. People continued to leave rural areas for the city. A large westward expansion of Southerners to California; the movement of Southern Blacks to cities in the North and West; and the more recent migration of large numbers of Northerners to the South have altered the geographic distribution of religious groups. For much of American history, denominations have possessed strong regional ties: think of Lutherans in Minnesota, Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, or New England Congregationalists. And while there is still a connection between denomination and place, geographic mobility has spread Lutherans to Florida, Presbyterians to Washington State, and Congregationalists to Texas. Conversely, this mobility has weakened people's attachment to a specific denomination.

Another important trend into the 21st century has been the steady erosion of confidence in religious leaders. The General Social Survey, which provides some of the most reliable information on U.S. attitudes, has tracked the level of confidence that Americans express in leaders of various types of institutions over the past several decades. Among those who attend religious services regularly, the number of people expressing a great deal of confidence in religious leaders has declined from 45% in 1975 to 34% in 2008. Likewise, when asked if religious leaders should *not* try to influence government decisions, the percentage who strongly agrees has increased from 22% in 1991 to 45% in 2008. In the 1970s, people expressed somewhat greater confidence in religious organizations than in other types of organizations. By 2008, religious organizations inspired the same level of confidence as other major institutions in U.S. society. The erosion of confidence in religious institutions presents a challenge for religious leaders. It means

that religious institutions are no longer as socially prominent and have to work harder to justify their credibility in the wider society.

The third important trend has been that America is becoming steadily more religiously diverse, although not in the way commonly understood. While immigration has continued to bring Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, and Sikhs, among others, to the United States, these groups still represent a small proportion of the population (Jews, the largest of these groups, comprise less than 2% of the American population). Because Latin America continues to provide the overwhelming majority of immigrants to the United States, new U.S. immigrants are mostly Catholic, with a small conservative Protestant minority. Today, Christianity is still the major religious player. The major trajectory along which the U.S. has diversified religiously is among those who profess no religion—the so-called “religious nones.” To demonstrate the importance of this trend, Figure 1 plots the proportion of Americans who report no religious affiliation from 1972 to 2010. Notice the rapid increase of the proportion of religious nones, from about 5% of the population in 1972, to 18% in 2010. Religious nones are overwhelmingly young: approximately one-third of Americans born after 1980 profess to have no religious affiliation. Religious leaders can no longer assume that Americans will adopt a religious identity; more effort has to be made to convince people that religious involvement is an important and necessary part of American life.

The Decline of Mainline Protestantism

Ironically, just when the term “mainline Protestant” made its way into the popular imagination, the mainline church was beginning to face significant challenges. While the larger historical context of mainline Protestantism is one of dominance, the more recent context is one of decline. Since sometime in the first half of the 20th century, mainline Protestants began to lose the significant influence they enjoyed for nearly 200 years in America. Looking at mainline Protestant affiliation rates (the proportion of people who identify as belonging to a mainline Protestant denomination) provides a helpful way to appreciate the magnitude of this decline. Figure 2 shows the proportion of Americans who indicate they are affiliated with either conservative or mainline Protestant groups from 1984 to 2010. Over this 26-year period, the number of people affiliated with mainline Protestant groups has decreased by one-half, from about 20% of Americans to 10% of Americans. Over the same time period, conservative Protestants have remained relatively stable at around 30% of Americans. If we look back further in time, the data are less reliable, but about 25% of Americans were affiliated with a mainline group in 1970 and as high as 50% in 1900.

Affiliation rates do not tell the complete picture of mainline decline. There are important generational



Figure 1 Proportion of Americans Professing “No Religion”

SOURCE: General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center (1972–2010)

dynamics that underlie these trends. Figure 3 displays the relationship between the proportion of Americans who identify with a mainline Protestant group and the year in which they were born. These data cover people born between 1900 and 1988. For people born in the early part of the century, around 30% identify with a mainline Protestant group. For people born from 1980 onwards, the number drops below the 8% mark. The picture looks considerably different for conservative Protestants. Conservative Protestant affiliation rates have remained much more stable, moving from 30% of those born in the early part of the century, to around 20% for those born in the 1980s. So while conservative Protestantism will likely remain a relatively stable entity in the United States, the story for mainline Protestants looks more tenuous. As older mainline Protestants die, there are simply not enough younger people to replace them.

The Reasons Behind Mainline Protestant Decline

Religious Switching

Why do we observe this trend? Even though this remains a popular theory, mainline Protestantism has not

declined because people have switched from mainline Protestant to conservative Protestant groups. During the 20th century, about 12% of individuals born into mainline Protestant households switched to another Protestant group as adults—a number that has remained relatively steady. One reason for decline is that younger mainline Protestants are today more apt to switch into the “no religion” category as adults. For individuals born before 1930, no more than 5% switched from mainline Protestant to “no religion.” For those born after 1950, the proportion who joined the religious nones more than doubled to 12%. Conservative Protestants more successfully retain their young members, which has served to stabilize conservative Protestant affiliation rates. For conservative Protestants born after 1950, about 7% end up switching into the religious nones. While a 5% difference may not seem like much, over time it amounts to a significant source of difference.

Mainline decline has also resulted from fewer conservative Protestants moving *into* the mainline church over time. As mentioned previously, in the first half of the 20th century, belonging to a conservative Protestant group created something of a barrier to upward social mobility. Judges, politicians, and CEOs tended to be Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians. As the 20th century progressed, being a conservative Protestant began to lose its

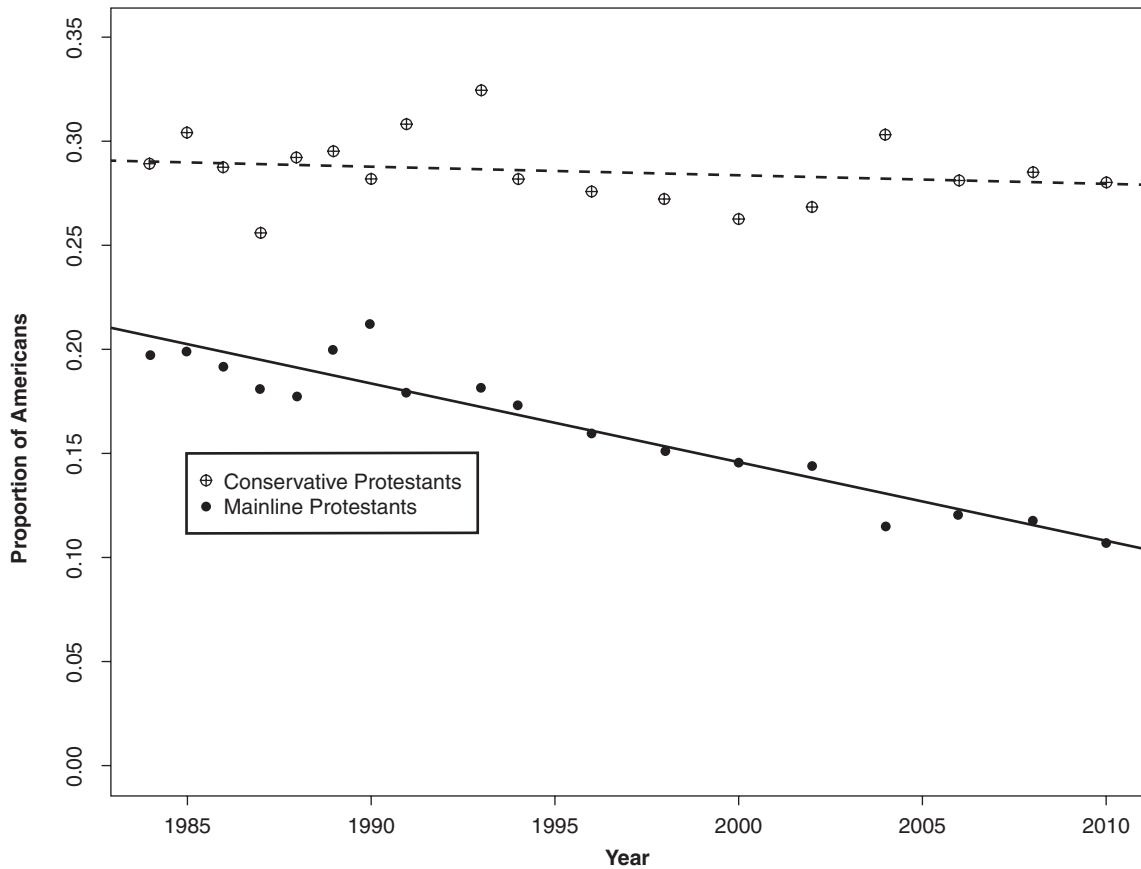


Figure 2 Proportion of Americans Who Identify as Either Conservative or Mainline Protestant by Year

SOURCE: General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center (1984–2010).

social stigma. And while it is still true that mainline Protestants have, on average, more education and higher incomes than those in conservative Protestant groups, the gap has closed considerably. Consider that for those born before 1930, about 20% switched from conservative to a mainline Protestant group by the time they reached adulthood; for those born after 1950 only about 10% of conservative Protestants made this switch.

Differing Birth Rates

Religious switching only tells a small part of the story of the decline of the Protestant mainline. Religious switching accounts for perhaps only about 20% of the overall decline. Differing birth rates between mainline and conservative Protestants, coupled with the ability of conservative Protestants to more effectively retain their youthful congregants, explain the remainder of the decline. Since the baby boom, mainline versus conservative Protestant families have had fewer children. Religious groups, even those with a strong focus on outreach, rely primarily on the children of current affiliates for long-term numerical stability. Smaller mainline Protestant

families mean fewer mainline Protestants. And it is this fact alone—that mainline Protestants have fewer children—that accounts for most of the decline in mainline Protestantism. Going forward, it is unlikely that the trajectory of conservative and mainline Protestants will continue to diverge. Birth rates between these two groups are steadily converging. There is little to no significant difference in the number of children that mainline and conservative Protestant households have. This means that the demographic advantage enjoyed by conservative Protestants may be disappearing.

Religious Leaders in the Mainline Protestant Context

Pastoral leadership in the mainline Protestant context is also undergoing a number of significant changes. The focus of this section is on seminary education, as the overwhelming majority of Protestant denominations require seminary degrees for their leaders. One important change is that pastors are getting older, a trend that is more pronounced in mainline Protestant circles. From 1998 to 2006, the median age of senior or solo clergy increased from 49 to 53 years

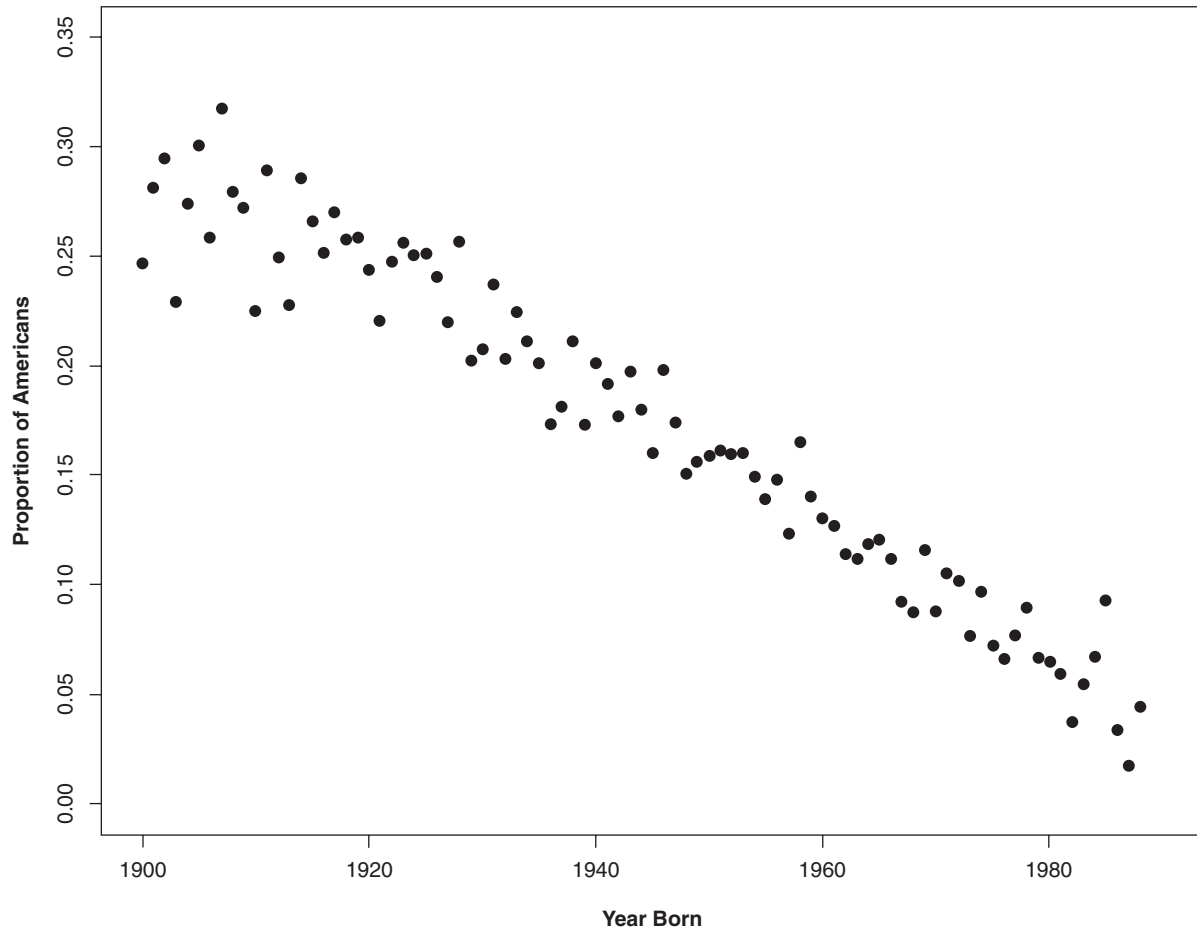


Figure 3 Proportion of Americans Who Identify as Mainline Protestant by Year of Birth

SOURCE: General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center (1984–2010).

(the median age of the over-25 population in the U.S. increased 1 year over this period to 49). A number of factors are contributing to the “graying” of mainline clergy. Since the 1970s, when seminaries admitted very few women, now approximately 30% of seminary students are female. As they tend to shoulder a larger share of domestic duties, women tend to enter professional careers later than men. While most women occupy assistant-level positions, the share of solo or senior pastors who are female has steadily increased in mainline denominations. In many mainline denominations, women head as many as 25% of congregations. It has also become more common for people to enter pastoral ministry as a second (or third, or fourth) career, which has also increased the average age of clergy. More clergy are entering the profession with significant experience from other occupations.

Another important trend is that seminaries have to work much harder to attract the “best and the brightest.” Surveys of college freshman reveal that fewer people are considering pastoral ministry as a profession. And while it is certainly true that higher academic achievement is not

necessarily associated with more effective leadership, these trends point to significant changes in how college-educated Americans perceive pastoral ministry as a viable career. This trend is also reflected in seminary enrollments, which have steadily declined in the United States since the 1970s. From a leadership perspective, mainline groups face a significant challenge. Not only are they losing young people at a rapid rate, those who remain are less interested in entering vocational leadership.

Response

Taken together, religious leaders in the mainline Protestant context face significant challenges. Denominational leaders and leaders of para-church organizations (e.g., seminaries, development agencies, interdenominational councils) are faced with difficult decisions about how to operate their religious organizations with a smaller membership base. Many denominations are amalgamating congregations and closing congregations that are no longer

viable. These are difficult decisions, as many people have a strong attachment to their local congregations. Declining memberships, coupled with decreases in giving due to wider economic uncertainty have left many religious institutions facing serious financial problems. At the same time, many mainline denominations continue to wrestle with the issue of the inclusion of gay and transgendered individuals. Leaders find themselves overwhelmed by these internal concerns, which leave less time and resources for developing a forward-looking agenda.

Leaders of individual mainline congregations face another set of challenges. An aging membership puts heavier loads on leaders to deliver care and support for individuals dealing with health concerns. Many mainline clergy are forced to serve multiple small congregations. Rapidly disappearing youth and young adults raise questions about the long-term viability of the church. Social science has long pointed out that “birds of a feather flock together.” Congregations made up of mostly older adults have a difficult time attracting and retaining young people and children.

These trends do not describe reality for every mainline Protestant leader in the United States. The experiences of individual clergy and congregations may vary considerably. However, these trends describe the overall milieu in which mainline Protestant leaders operate.

Responding to these challenges is not easy. There is the temptation for leaders to harken back to “the glory days” when the *Who's Who* of America did attend mainline churches, when the majority of Americans identified as mainline Protestant, and when denominational leaders did have the ears of the powerful. The chances of the “glory days” returning are slim. The long-term nature of many of the trends described here suggests that they will continue into the future. The other extreme, resignation, is equally

unhelpful. Mainline churches and institutions are struggling, but they are by no means dead. Even at only 10% of the population—mainline Protestant denominations contain more than 30 million affiliates. Mainline denominations still have large numbers of assets, as well as controlling seminaries, development organizations, and networks of religious leaders. These are significant resources, which, if managed wisely, can help mainline Protestant leaders address the challenges present in the U.S. context.

Conclusion

The Presbyterian theologian Leslie Newbigin, after spending most of his career in India, returned to England and witnessed the vast changes in mainline Protestantism in his home country—changes mirrored also in the United States. The mainline church was a shell of its former glory; young people were absent; denominations were struggling with aging and declining memberships; and seminaries were fraught with declining enrollments. Alongside this, religious diversity had increased rapidly. The religiously unaffiliated—the major new “religion” in the UK—caused Newbigin to press for the need of religious leaders to approach their task in a very different way. Mainline Protestantism would not recover its former place of social prestige and power. However, it was not time to throw in the towel. He advocated for a return to the concept of mission: a leadership posture that is attentive to the changing shape of society and draws upon the rich resources of the religious tradition to reconfigure institutional and social capital to adapt to a new situation. This remains a critical task for leaders operating in the mainline Protestant context in the United States.

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10 • I. THE U.S. RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

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3

EVANGELICAL, PENTECOSTAL, AND MEGACHURCH MOVEMENTS

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The story of leadership in American evangelical Protestant churches is the story of America itself. The evangelical revivals that burned hot in the years after the American Revolution were led by men, and at times women, who understood in their bones that the centuries of top-down imposed religion had come to an end. In the new world, religion would be all about choice, and the benefits of leadership would be reaped by those who offered spiritual choices in the most compelling manner, not by those who expected to gain a hearing because of their status or education. Charisma was the new authority, and the experience of those listening validated the authority of the person on the platform. And as American culture morphed in new directions over the past 200 plus years, evangelical leaders have shown a remarkable ability to change right along with it. That America remains a profoundly religious nation 250 years after the separation of church and state is to a considerable degree a tribute to the entrepreneurial skills of America's evangelical leaders. This essay traces the emergence of this evangelical style of leadership from the revivals of George Whitefield through the megachurch superstar pastors who patrol our television sets today. It is a story of religion adapting to America and of America transforming religion.

What Came Before

When a Puritan minister mounted his pulpit in Boston in 1645, he looked out over his congregation with great confidence. He was the most educated man in his community, and he could almost always count on deference from his

congregation. The pronoun is correct. Puritan ministers were always men. Indeed, a brilliant woman who exercised her brilliance in ways not accepted by the community, or who challenged the ministers, found herself in deep trouble. The banishment of Anne Hutchinson was a recent memory. Anne Bradstreet's poetry was published only after assurance from her pastor that her poems were orthodox and that she only worked on them *after* her duties as a woman had been completed. Another unfortunate woman, victim of a nervous breakdown, was assumed by Governor John Winthrop to have been driven mad by too much reading of books. Female leadership of any consequence would wait until the evangelical revivals of the Second Great Awakening, and even then, most evangelical and even Pentecostal denominations eventually marginalized women leaders.

The verb *mounted* can also be taken literally. Pulpits in Puritan churches—indeed, pulpits in most churches of any denomination in that era—were raised well above the congregation. The minister climbed stairs to enter his pulpit from where he literally looked down upon his people from on high. The pulpit often had an eye painted on its front, the eye of God examining his people through the words of the preacher. These were hierarchical societies, and nobody questioned the symbolic accents which constantly affirmed the very real authority of those in power. The arrangement of the congregation also reinforced hierarchies, with the best pews toward the front taken by the wealthy and powerful.

Ministers knew that they had the full power of the magistrates and the law behind them. Although membership in church was reserved for those who could convince the elders of their genuine conversion, everyone in the community was

required by law to attend. The entire community, from passionate person of faith to the most wayward sailor passing through town, was literally a captive audience. And attention was required. Proud was the man tasked with keeping everyone awake. He roamed the aisles armed with a staff with a feather on one end and a thorn on the other. Sleepers got the feather first, the thorn if their slumber proved resistant to more gentle persuasions.

Clothed in robes both literal and symbolic of his authority and power, a minister felt no need to coddle or entertain his congregation. Only a minister utterly confident in his position could lash a congregation as Jonathan Edwards did in “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” Ministers preached for hours. Their sermons were dense theological treatises on the most complicated topics, often utterly opaque to modern readers. The theological exposition was followed by detailed application, reaching into the most intimate aspects of a congregation’s daily life. The community usually assembled several additional evenings during the week to listen to their pastors, and families and small groups gathered to spend additional hours poring over the minister’s words. The ship of state was indeed a “nation with the soul of a church,” and the ministers clearly were the rudder guiding the ship.

Although the Anglicans in the South wore their religion much more lightly than did the Puritans in New England, and the sermons delivered by their ministers were mercifully brief, and less probing, church attendance was still required, and ministers were still clothed with the trappings of moral and hierarchical authority. Plantation owners like William Byrd might break every commandment during the day, but they still said their prayers at night and turned to their ministers for solace when difficulty struck. In short, up and down the eastern seaboard during the colonial period, ministers lived and worked comfortably at the top of the social hierarchy. Their leadership styles reflected the deference they expected from those beneath them. Their words commanded immense respect, and while they labored to make their words count heavily in the lives of their parishioners, they spent little time worrying about appealing to the interests and tastes of their people. All that mattered was imparting sound theology. It was up to their listeners, who, after all, were required to be there, to adapt their lives to the words of the preacher.

George Whitefield and the First Great Awakening

All this began to change even before the Revolution, when George Whitefield brought his traveling revival show to America in the 1740s. Whitefield longed to be an actor in his youth, but, once converted, the stage was no longer a viable option. Whitefield channeled his theatrical gifts into the pulpit, essentially turning the pulpit into a stage. Although a slight youth, he possessed mesmerizing gifts as a public speaker, including a voice that could be heard to the edge of crowds estimated to be in the thousands.

He eschewed prepared texts for extemporaneous preaching. His intensity was such that he vomited at times before performances, and performances they were. When his audiences grew too large for the churches, or when nervous ministers denied him their pulpits, he took his meetings outdoors, where he prowled the stage, working his audiences into an emotional frenzy with his acting out of biblical stories and his passionate calls for repentance.

Whitefield abandoned dense theological treatises aimed at a listener’s mind for passionate story telling aimed at a listener’s heart. In a typical sermon he narrated the story of the offering of Isaac, now playing the role of Abraham, now of Isaac, weeping as he imagined for his audience Abraham contemplating the sacrifice of his child. With emotions at a fever pitch, Whitefield, at the close of his sermon, whirled and pointed to an imaginary cross inviting his listeners to picture Jesus, tortured on the cross as a sacrifice for them. Religious audiences weaned on arcane theology had never seen or heard anything like it. Reactions were at times volcanic, the emotions unleashed disturbing to many.

A sampling of quotes from the period illustrates the point. A German woman who spoke not a word of English reported that Whitefield’s sermon was the best she had ever heard. Cornelius Winter reported, “I hardly ever knew him go through a sermon without weeping. I could hardly bear such unreserved use of tears, and the scope he gave to his feelings, for sometimes he exceedingly wept, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome, that, for a few seconds, you would suspect he never could recover” (as cited in Stout, 1991, p. 41). Benjamin Franklin, a skeptic who became a fast friend, reported that he attended at first “resolved [Whitefield] should get nothing from me. But then as he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector’s dish, gold and all” (as cited in Stout, 1991, p. 107). In a more serious frame of mind, Franklin wrote, “Every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of his voice, was so perfectly well turned, and well placed, that without much interest in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse: a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music” (as cited in Stout, 1991, p. 104). A famous account left by a farmer named Nathan Cole records the frenzy that hit entire regions when Whitefield came to town. Farmers dropped their plows, ran for their horses, streamed onto dirt roads befouled with the dust and sweat of hurrying country folk, eventually merging together onto a field clogged with thousands of eager listeners before a platform upon which emerged an “almost angelical, a young, slim slender youth before some thousands of people with a bold undaunted countenance, and my hearing how God was with him everywhere as he came along it solemnized my mind, and put me into a trembling fear before he began to preach” (as cited in Allitt, 2013, p. 69).

Preaching as he often did out of doors, at times denied the pulpit of the established ministry, Whitefield stood literally outside of traditional hierarchy and authority. No law insisted that anyone attend his meetings. People attended of their own free will. Often they attended against the will of their established ministers. Furthermore, Whitefield seemed to understand implicitly what Jonathan Edwards would later suggest more explicitly in his defense of the emotions unleashed by Whitefield's preaching, that often a more direct route to a person's will was through his emotions, or affections, rather than through his mind, the standard psychological approach adopted by most ministers of the day. A new model of religious leadership offered parishioners a choice. Attend because you are required to attend, or attend because you want to attend. Attend because an intellectual member of the hierarchical elite offers a treatise on correct doctrine, or attend because a charismatic speaker offers an emotional experience with God.

Although these changes would wait for the American Revolution, the separation of church and state, and the Second Great Awakening to harden fully into a new style of evangelical leadership, something new was afoot. Churches up and down the colonies split as young charismatic men followed in Whitefield's footsteps, and audiences realized there was power in group decisions to follow new leaders. Established religious leaders learned they would now have to compete for their audience. They learned that the audience would decide for themselves whom to follow. The audience was sovereign. Power began to shift from traditional elites to common people as common folk realized they had real power to decide who led them.

And whom did they seek to lead them? They often turned from traditional elites to charismatic personalities to guide them, comfort them, and speak for them. Leaders learned that their authority depended not on their formal office or position, not on state support, but on their ability to move people. Popularity, not superior learning or inherited authority, became the key to success. New religious communities began to organize from the ground up, issuing from the democratic ideas filling the minds of common folk with the notion that they were the best ones to judge for themselves whom and what they would believe and whom and what they would obey. And often this judgment would be based on who offered them the best experience. Ministers realized that from now on, in America at least, preachers would have to adapt their words to the lives of their people.

The Separation of Church and State and the Second Great Awakening

One of the most transforming moments in human history, let alone American history, was the separation of church and state after the Revolution. The stranglehold of religion over government, and consequently its ability to force

people to attend, tithe, and obey was broken forever, initially in the Protestant world, but eventually all over the globe. The separation of church and state was the crowning achievement of Jefferson and the men who led the American Revolution. They were not particularly religious men by the standard of their day. They worshiped at the altar of reason, and they viewed the emotions and enthusiasms of evangelical religion as a type of madness. Given all this, many at the time, and many scholars since, believed the country would naturally become irreligious, or, if not irreligious, at least, as Jefferson suspected and hoped, enlightened rational Unitarians. After all, who would attend church if not required by law? Who would trouble their minds with what Jefferson called the "incomprehensible jargon of Trinitarian arithmetic" if not forced to attend the Sunday lectures of clerics. And who would care what the tens of thousands who fled west pursuing cheap land did on a Sunday anyway? What religious institutions would look after them?

Yet within a few short decades Tocqueville announced that the United States was the most Christian nation in the world. Evangelicalism was a large part of the answer to this riddle. Evangelical revivals swept through the backcountry, unleashing dreams, visions, prostrations, and contortions in the clearing that opened before the rough-hewn stages of the itinerant evangelists. But revival also coursed up and down the eastern seaboard, brought to the cities and newly emerging respectable middle classes by Charles Finney and other leaders. Common people freely chose Christianity, and they chose this style of Christianity that became known as evangelical. And they chose evangelical Christianity, not because it was authoritatively handed down from their hierarchical superiors but because evangelical leaders were men, and at times women, like themselves. The new evangelical style was the common touch. Evangelicalism was birthed in the fiery revivals that swept the country during the first half of the 19th century known today as the Second Great Awakening. Even as common people formed new political communities organized around leaders of their own choosing, they formed religious communities organized around leaders of their own choosing. And these leaders were inevitably men and women who spoke their language, who validated their religious longings and expressions—charismatic leaders who offered an emotional connection with God, who offered salvation to all who freely chose it.

Essentially, religion moved from a monopoly model, in which the state decided what religion would be enforced within its boundaries, to a competition model, in which the state stepped out of the religious arena, and the religious spoils went to anyone charismatic enough to claim them. The old line denominations, the Congregationalists [Puritans], Anglicans, and Presbyterians, with their top-down hierarchical model of leadership and their settled ministries with educated ministers simply were not prepared for the dramatic cultural shift taking place in

America. Methodists, Baptists, Shakers, and even Mormons aggressively organized to take their place. By 1850 the Methodists and Baptists ruled the Protestant religious landscape.

The astonishing success of the Methodists perhaps best represents the new style of evangelical leadership. Where before people had been required to attend church several times per week, essentially at the beck and call of their leaders, Francis Asbury, who organized the Methodist church after the Revolution, understood that religious leaders would now have to pursue the people, and that church growth depended on the aggressive pursuit of souls wherever they might be. Consequently, he refused to let his ministers settle in a parish, instead organizing circuits and sending his men out on horseback into the back country to chase converts wherever they might be found. The Methodist itinerant on horseback became a common symbol of American life in the Early Republic. You simply could not outrun a Methodist preacher. The story is told of an irreligious man who complained that he took his family so far into the back country that his dogs grew afraid and ran home, yet he had not been a week in his new clearing before a Methodist minister showed up on horseback. Methodist itinerants endured incredible hardships, often breaking their bodies, spending years on horseback enduring all kinds of weather to spread the Methodist gospel around the country.

Such men were not groomed in seminaries. They did not often come from the ranks of the elite. If a Methodist leader recognized a charismatic spark in a young man, he was invited to ride along. A few laps of the circuit, a few simple Bible lessons, and the next great Methodist minister was born. Asbury recognized that in America after the Revolution, authority and leadership would not be derived from state authorization, or from long standing in the cultural hierarchy, or from education. Authority in the New America would be derived from personal charisma, the ability to speak with a prophetic voice, and from experience. The men, and at times women, who became leaders in the Methodist and Baptist churches, were often rough hewn, unlettered, and uncultured. But they spoke in the voice of the people, they told stories derived from common experience, and perhaps above all, they did not put on airs. Religious leaders popped up all over the country, and the new religious economy sorted them out according to ability, not social standing. Apparently, there was ability aplenty, because the Methodists and Baptists became the story in American Protestantism in the 19th century.

This new religious authority was often validated by the experience offered in the revivals that swept the country in the first half of the century. Evangelical preachers deliberately tried to reach their hearers' emotions. A new theology that offered genuine choice enabled preachers to push their congregations toward immediate action. The Calvinist doctrine that God had preordained some for salvation but most for damnation was easily painted as downright un-American. A country designed to promote human freedom

embraced an Arminian doctrine which emphasized that salvation was free to all who chose it. Preachers could now exhort their listeners to get up out of their seats and come forward in a dynamic act of personal choice. And with heaven and hell on the line, they used every tactic they could think of to pull people out of their seats.

The new evangelical religious economy, essentially an economy of the marketplace, rewarded skillful farsighted entrepreneurial leadership. That evangelicalism remains one of the primary modes of being Christian in this country, with even the Catholic Church adopting many evangelical modes of leadership and worship, is a tribute to evangelicalism's ability to reward religious entrepreneurs with large and influential followings. These entrepreneurs have proved extraordinarily skillful at adapting to all the vagaries, whims, and powerful new currents which have molded the popular culture at large. If any one thing can be said to be at the core of what makes evangelicalism so successful, it is surely this. Evangelicalism does not have a central institution with the power to circumscribe its entrepreneurial leaders. On the contrary, evangelicalism provides virtually unlimited space for charismatic and farsighted individuals to adapt evangelicalism's manners and mores to the popular zeitgeist, the fads and fashions of the day. This movement of the spirits, if you will, keeps evangelicalism forever riding the crest of whatever new wave breaks over these American shores. The remainder of this article highlights a few of the major people and movements that have helped to make the United States the most religious nation in the Western world.

Henry Ward Beecher and the Feminization of Religion

Henry Ward Beecher was not the only American in the 19th century to reject his Calvinist and Puritan roots. Many, if not most, Americans reacted strongly against Puritanism's hierarchical and authoritarian God, theology, and leadership style. But he was certainly the most prominent, becoming by mid-century the most popular preacher in America. Everyone who was anyone wanted to see and be seen at his church in Brooklyn.

Beecher represents evangelicalism's adaptation to what historians have referred to as the feminization of Christianity in the 19th century. Feminization can be argued from a purely statistical standpoint. If it is a truism that women have always been more engaged in religion than men, this trend became statistically more pronounced in the 19th century. As the world of men moved away from home and farm to factory and office in the Industrial Revolution, the world of women correspondingly shrank to the home and church. The home became the center of religious instruction, and women, so the argument went, were naturally more nurturing and inherently morally superior to men. The world of business required an aggressiveness

that seemed to belie the submissive nature required to turn the other cheek. As preachers adapted both to their own rejection of an austere Calvinism and to the feminization of their audience, their preaching turned from a focus on God the Father to a focus on God the Son—from wrath to love, from distant majesty to intimate friendship, from thinking to feeling, and from dense theology to storytelling. Hymns such as “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” and “Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling” eclipsed “Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne” in popularity. In Currier and Ives’ prints, Jesus’s swelling hips and gentle gaze make him look like a loving mother with a beard. Henry Ward Beecher led evangelicalism’s rejection of a harsh father in favor of its embrace of a loving Jesus.

It is tempting to categorize Beecher, at least in his later ministry, as a liberal Protestant, and by today’s standards he certainly was. But in the 19th century, before the fundamentalist-modernist battles of the early 20th century heightened theological distinctions in our minds, Beecher was simply the most prominent evangelical in the country. As a young man, after losing his beloved mother when he was only three, he reacted negatively to his father’s harsh Calvinism. He found his calling as a preacher when, as he put it, “It pleased God to reveal to my wandering soul the idea that it was his nature to love a man in his sins . . . in short that he felt toward me as my mother felt toward me. . . . And when I found that Jesus Christ had such a disposition . . . I felt that I had found a God” (as cited in Prothero, 2003, p. 60). Beecher organized many of his sermons around the stories of Jesus’s interactions with people, and his favorite was Jesus with the Samaritan woman. Indeed, Jesus came to embody for Beecher all the qualities of a good mother. Jesus’ primary mode of ministry was sympathy, and he entered that “ministry of love,” according to Beecher, “through the household” where his mother dwelt. “Ever since,” Beecher wrote, “the Christian home has been the refuge of true religion. Here it has had its purest altars, its best teachers, and a life of self-denying love in all gladness” (as cited in Prothero, 2003, p. 73).

Beecher’s style of religious leadership appealed to women and men alike who sought a loving God—one who affirmed their values and dealt gently with their weaknesses in a rough and tumble century, in a rough and tumble country, which seemed to promote the individual pursuit of success at the expense of more communitarian values. Such feminization appealed to the rising middle class as it moved away from its rowdy frontier past. It enabled evangelicalism to remain respectable as a hard-working lower class moved up the social scale. The religion of signs and wonders and holy roller sawdust trails moved uptown on a tide of divine embracing love. Beecher’s God loved even when men felt guilty for their pursuit of profits, and Beecher’s God validated the high role of women in the home nurturing the next generation. Jesus understood, and he offered a sympathetic breast

upon which to unburden one’s deepest desires and longings. Beecher appealed so to women that historians believe he may have indulged in a number of affairs before eventually being exposed in the most sensational trial of the 19th century, in which the aggrieved husband of one of his parishioners sued Beecher for “criminal conversation” with his wife. Although Beecher was acquitted at trial, Elizabeth Tilton confessed to the adultery on a number of occasions. But Jesus and his congregation forgave him, and he survived the trial with his ministry mostly intact, the forerunner of dozens of prominent evangelical entrepreneurs whose immense gifts would enable them to survive public embarrassments. Few institutions would ever be powerful enough to discipline singular charismatic religious entrepreneurs.

R. A. Torrey and a Masculine Counter-movement in Victorian America

By the Victorian period, or The Gilded Age, as Mark Twain sarcastically titled his 1873 novel, many Americans were concerned with the decline of masculinity. This was the age of Theodore Roosevelt, who was desperate to get into a shooting war with Spain so men emasculated by office culture might get in touch with their masculinity as bullets whirred around their ears; the ambitious expeditions of the polar explorers; and a renewed focus on overseas missions, which seemed to call forth a renewed commitment by men willing to suffer extreme hardship and maybe even die for their God. Evangelical leaders also made a concerted effort to attract men back to God. This effort necessarily involved a rejection of female sensibilities, of overt emotionalism in religion, and a feminized Jesus. Jesus became a man again, a rugged carpenter capable of challenging emperors; evangelical leaders committed to a renewed embrace of manly honor, order, and the rational mind. Occidental College promised that those who joined its YMCA would learn to “stand for clean wholesome living, and sanely and clearly to present Jesus Christ as the Savior of individual men.” But this sane presentation did not include the emotional expressions of feminized religion. The YMCA handbook stated that “there was no room for the hallelujah, amen, saintly, nor any of the kindred accessories of this type of Christianity,” because “it is hard enough for a college student to take religious medicine without having to swallow sanctity pills” (as cited in Svelmoe, 2008, p. 6).

This did not mean that sermons became clogged with dense theological exposition. Rather, as the country turned to science to solve many of its problems and to open new frontiers, evangelical leaders embraced a simple common-sense and what they saw as a scientific approach to Scripture. Adopting an approach acceptable to common folk was still de rigeur in evangelicalism. Fundamentalists particularly saw this kind of approach as a way to defeat

emerging liberal elite interpretation, which treated the Bible as any other ancient text and rejected the supernaturalism inherent in Scripture.

To understand the evangelical commitment to Victorian notions of manliness, propriety, order, and to the scientific understanding of Scripture, one only has to be introduced to Reuben Archer Torrey. If Christ had walked the earth in 1900, Dr. Torrey would have been his Nathaniel. “Behold,” Jesus would have said, “an American indeed, a man from Chicago in whom is no guile.” Torrey was handpicked by D. L. Moody to lead his Chicago Training Institute in 1889. He filled the pastorate of the Chicago Avenue Church in 1894. From 1901 to 1905 he toured the world, and then until 1911 visited most of the large cities in America, reheating a revival circuit grown cold since the departure of Moody. In 1911 he left Moody Bible Institute to head up the new Bible Institute in Los Angeles—what is now Biola University.

Torrey’s life and message were built on order. He dressed in a well-tailored suit with a white bow-tie and a starched wing collar. He could be tough on students. His biographer recorded that any attempt by a student to get him off track during a lecture “always ended in the complete discomfiture of the student” (Harkness, 1929, p. 72). Punctuality was an obsession. After years of working with a musical associate, he parted from him with no compliment other than, “Good-by, Bob. You were never late for a service” (Harkness, 1929, p. 72).

In the pulpit he had “the air of a pontifical professor,” once urging that classes be let out at Moody so students could attend his revival meetings which would “be practically a lecture.” His sermons were extremely ordered. “The firstly, secondly, and thirdly continued with unabated regularity” (Harkness, 1929, p. 72). He told a reporter that he did not like “the old style of revival where emotion was the chief instrument” (Harkness, 1929, p. 10). His biographer recorded that his “great power” was due to the quiet work of the Spirit, not fanaticism. “Seldom was there any unusual outburst of emotion” (Harkness, 1929, p. 10). When he preached, he fancied himself a lawyer addressing a jury. He “acted with much mathematical precision. He was seldom moved by any wave of emotion in arriving at his decisions. Rather was he swayed by the logical element of cold reason” (Harkness, 1929, p. 10). He preached on the fundamentals of the faith and could work up a good head of steam lecturing about hell, shaking his fists and turning red in the face. Typical newspaper headlines included: “Hell is Absolutely Certain, Dr. Torrey warns His Hearers” and “Darwinian Theory Torn to Shreds by Torrey at Revival.” He was absolutely fearless. He held midnight meetings where his associates rounded up the denizens of the disreputable establishments at closing time, then herded the “drink-besotted victims” to the hall. There, while some snored, some wandered, and others argued with anyone about anything, or tried to fight the preacher, Torrey brought a simple message.

To Torrey doctrine was simple and a matter of black and white. He was said to be able to “detect . . . spiritual error at sight. No exhaustive examination was necessary.” His book *What the Bible Teaches* “eliminated any complex suggestion” (Harkness, 1929, pp. 13, 41). It was, Torrey said, the methods of modern science applied to Bible study. He was quick to attack the “isms” of the day which could not stand up to the “acid test” of Scripture.

Strong and proper leadership was very important to Torrey and other Victorian evangelicals. “How-to” articles abounded in evangelical journals on leading song services, evangelistic services, and so on. All emphasized the importance of leadership. In a song service, all eyes were to be focused on the song leader. Even the preacher was not to challenge or interrupt in any way. A 1902 article noted, “The question of good congregational singing, like almost everything else in this world, is largely a question of leadership, success being conditioned upon the right leader” (as cited in Svelmoe, 1992, p. 12). It was this sort of leadership that kept revivals respectable and in control. In 1908, when Torrey instructed his students in how to pray for revival, he related that “it was put very definitely before the students what they were to expect and seek. There was no aimless seeking for some mystical blessing, nobody knowing just what” (as cited in Svelmoe, 1992, pp. 15–16).

In a culture concerned with masculinity and Victorian propriety, this proper, honorable, and sedate evangelical style had immense appeal. It kept evangelicalism in touch with common folk, even as it appeared to adopt a more educated and intellectual approach for its middle class constituents. American evangelicals became notorious for publishing how-to manuals on virtually every spiritual topic, Torrey himself systematizing the baptism in the Holy Spirit into six or seven rational steps. The Bible was to be interpreted at face value by leaders who never questioned its absolute authority. Such an approach was well positioned to lead evangelicals into the fundamentalist-modernist wars that marked the first several decades of the 20th century.

Pentecostalism and 20th-Century Leadership Styles

When Pentecostalism emerged at the turn of the century, it was initially viewed quite negatively by evangelical leaders precisely because of a cultural moment that saw evangelical leaders caught between a feminine emotional style and a renewed emphasis on masculine propriety. The dramatic emotions unleashed in the Pentecostal revival represented everything Victorian evangelical leaders were trying to leave hidden in their past. As their leadership in the culture suffered under the onslaught of science and liberal theology, the last thing evangelical leaders wanted was a reminder of their less than respectable roots.

Dubbed “the last vomit of Satan” by noted preacher G. Campbell Morgan, the prominence of women in early Pentecostalism led to some caustic commentary. Famed mission leader A. T. Pierson remarked that the outbreaks were due especially to “hysterical females.” Arno Gaebelein, always a bit over the top, noted that it was “undoubtedly true that in Corinth the women had taken up this sign gift and babbled, though some women do not need a gift in this direction, for they have it already” (as cited in Svelmoe, 1992, p. 18). A. C. Dixon, another prominent preacher, wrote that the “prostration of women on the floor or the leaping of women into the air . . . can not . . . be of the Holy Spirit” (as cited in Svelmoe, 1992, p. 18). J. C. O’Hair declared, “If the Lord had wanted a woman for an apostle or a miracle-woman, He would have chosen her [as one of the twelve] and not waited for the female ‘rain-makers’ of this ungodly age” (as cited in Svelmoe, 1992, p. 18).

But Pentecostalism and later the charismatic movement became the story in American religion in the 20th century regardless of initial opposition, and it will undoubtedly be the story in the 21st century as well. Pentecostalism reminds us that part of evangelicalism’s genius has been its ability to renew itself at the roots. As fast as the movement, or a particular part of the movement, goes uptown, just so fast does a new charismatic entrepreneur emerge on the cultural fringes to begin the process all over again. Pentecostalism’s ability to renew itself at the grass roots, in ways that Methodism for example has struggled to do, has kept it the vital movement it currently is. Yes, there are Pentecostal churches where the parking lots are filled with BMWs and Mercedes, but there are far more storefront churches in the ragged section of towns around the world where the worship is still unconstrained by middle class conventions. And although many Pentecostal leaders, from Aimee Semple McPherson to Chuck Smith, have consigned the most public “manifestations of the Spirit” to special meetings in side rooms as they have struggled to make their movement more respectable, many leaders continue to encourage the unleashing of their audience’s most intimate emotions. At times Pentecostal leaders, such as Jimmy Swaggart, seem to thrive on their ability to incite the passions. Pentecostal leaders continually remind us that ever since a marketplace economy replaced a monopoly in religion, validation has come through charisma, or anointing, as it is more piously designated, and anointing is validated in turn by an ability to give the audience an experience of religion.

Aimee Semple McPherson, perhaps the most famous preacher in the country during the 1920s and 1930s, who turned Angelus Temple into one of the top two or three tourist attractions in Los Angeles, was the epitome of the evangelical entrepreneur. An incredibly gifted public presence, she parlayed her gifts into national prominence, defying theological and cultural expectations of female leaders, and surviving her own sensational sex and mystery-steeped show trial when she simply grew too big to fail. She got her

start honing her trade on the back roads of the Pentecostal tent revival circuit. She exploded onto the national stage by combining show business and religion in ways that presaged much of what was to come in the 20th century. Her sermons were theatrical shows that even secular critics dubbed as good as anything Hollywood was producing. When McPherson opened a new sermon, lines extended around the block, and celebrities such as Charlie Chaplin attended. She was not afraid to use her power politically, again foreshadowing the battles of the religious right today. She jumped into radio when other preachers were still terrified that radio signals spent too much time in the territory of the “Prince of the Power of the Air.” She flirted with Hollywood, and, if she had performed better on her screen test, almost certainly would have succeeded in getting a major motion picture made of her life. Seemingly fearless, and willing to try almost anything, she performed for a time on Broadway in a vaudeville show. If she had lived, she would have been one of the first evangelical leaders to utilize television.

The internal logic of Pentecostalism which emphasizes that the gift of the Holy Spirit is available to all, and that a sign of the Holy Spirit’s presence on an individual is an “anointing” which usually manifests as an ability to communicate powerfully and to pass on the Spirit’s power through the laying on of hands, has made room for women to step forward and exercise leadership in remarkable ways. But an evangelical theology which prides itself on a common sense and literal approach to Scripture continues to make it hard for women to lead. There are simply too many verses which seem to indicate in a common sense literal way that women are not to exercise authority over men. Consequently, even in Pentecostal circles, many female leaders are forced to constantly remind their audiences that some man or group of men—a board of male elders for example—has ultimate authority in the ministry. So no female leader has approached McPherson’s stature since she died of an accidental overdose in the 1940s. Kathryn Kuhlman perhaps came closest, but most female leaders, even in Pentecostalism, are primarily known through their association with men, often their husbands. There are many Pentecostal churches where a husband and wife team lead the church, even as the wife almost certainly goes out of her way to remind people that she remains submissive to her husband.

Current Developments

If the United States is the country that most celebrates a culture of individualism, evangelicalism has perhaps adapted to and benefited from that culture more completely than any other religious movement. Evangelicalism was birthed alongside America’s post-revolutionary embrace of the individual, and from the beginning it raised up leaders who embodied the skills of the charismatic

entrepreneur. These entrepreneurs have most often been providers of religious experience more than purveyors of theological systems. A basic adherence to some form of common sense biblical literalism provides boundaries, for sure, but leaves plenty of room for entrepreneurs to innovate in method if not theology.

Today evangelicalism's entrepreneurs continue to build vast religious empires. Bill Hybels went door to door to figure out what middle and upper class urbanites wanted from their churches. He designed Willow Creek to meet those needs, and today the Willow Creek Association includes hundreds of churches eager to follow his comfortable, nonthreatening, and professionally entertaining formula. Many of these churches are very large, and those that aren't probably soon will be. Chuck Smith found a way to appeal to hippies in the 1960s by linking up with Lonnie Frisbee, a gifted young man who found Jesus while on the hallucinogenic drug LSD. Together they created the Calvary Chapel movement, and when Smith sought to deemphasize the Pentecostal gifts, Frisbee jumped to the Vineyard and another denomination-like evangelical movement was born. Entrepreneurs have made Christian music a gigantic industry. Entrepreneurs such as William Cameron Townsend, who founded the Wycliffe Bible Translators, have turned the American missions' enterprise into the private fiefdom of evangelicals. Townsend, while essentially fundamentalist in theology, shattered taboo after taboo on the field, working with Pentecostals, then Catholics, then atheists, pioneering the use of airplanes to ferry missionaries into remote areas, insisting Wycliffe was a faith mission while aggressively twisting the arms of every businessperson with a spare

dollar that he happened across, all the while shrugging off his detractors and creating the most innovative missionary enterprise in the past one hundred years. Jerry Falwell founded the Moral Majority and spearheaded evangelicalism's movement into politics. Billy Graham became the most prominent Protestant religious leader in the world by parlaying a wholesome and simple speaking style into the greatest evangelistic organization in religious history.

Conclusion

Talented individuals with the ability to adapt to every new curve presented by a rapidly changing culture continue to keep evangelicalism on the forefront of American religion. Charismatic leaders can do great good, and evangelicals continue to honor and follow such leaders. But charismatic leaders can also do great damage. Denominations and congregations build in safeguards to be sure, but the fact remains that "anointed" leaders engender the kind of respect and authority that is difficult to challenge. When a leader crashes, entire movements and organizations can go down in flames, as the televangelist scandals have demonstrated time and again. But as has also been demonstrated time and again, there is a new charismatic entrepreneur just now hitting his or her stride ready to step in from the shadows and bring new vitality and new converts to the movement. Evangelicalism is a quintessential part of the American religious tradition, and with Pentecostalism in the forefront, will more than likely continue to expand around the world in the 21st century.

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PASTORAL LEADERSHIP IN MAINLINE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

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The term “mainline churches” refers to a group of Protestant churches in the United States that were dominant numerically and culturally from the early years of the nation through much of the 20th century. The use of the word *mainline* as a designation for this group of denominations is relatively recent, appearing first in 1972. The term comes from the Philadelphia Railroad Main Line that ran through some of the most affluent suburbs of Philadelphia. Mainline churches are those represented on the Main Line (Kisker, 2008, p. 14).

Sometimes the mainline designation is used to distinguish between Protestant denominations as mainline or evangelical. This differentiation has become more common since the lessening of anti-Catholic sentiment in the U.S. following the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960 (Casey, 2009). With the erosion of anti-Catholicism that had linked liberal and conservative Protestants over the years, the differences among Protestant denominations took on greater significance. As the prominence of African American denominations began to receive increased and more appropriate recognition in the second half of the 20th century, three common designations became: Evangelical Protestant, Mainline Protestant, and Historically Black Protestant (*U.S. Religious Landscape Survey*, 2008, pp. 167–173).

Lists of mainline churches normally include the American Baptist Churches U.S.A., the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Reformed Church in America, the United Church of Christ, and the United Methodist Church. It is common for other denominations seen as progressive and ecumenically active to be included in classifications

for research purposes (*Religious Congregations and Membership Study*, 2000).

Some common characteristics of mainline churches include an emphasis on education for clergy and laity, openness to higher criticism in biblical study, linking of personal justice and social responsibility with personal salvation, commitment to inclusiveness and diversity, women in congregational and denominational leadership, and a combination of clergy and laity participation in governance. Within most of the mainline denominations there are also groups that hold divergent views on the understanding of scriptural authority. These differences have often led to ongoing conflict around such issues as homosexuality and abortion.

The Changed Context for Mainline Churches

The size and standing of the mainline churches have changed dramatically in the past fifty years. After dominating the U.S. religious landscape for much of U.S. history, all the mainline churches began shrinking in size and influence around the mid-1960s. Growth had slowed earlier in the 20th century, leading some historians to identify the beginning of the decline in the early decades of the 20th century (Hutchison, 1989). However, there was a surge of growth after World War II fueled by the Baby Boom years (1946–1964). The year 1964 was the year that the last of the Baby Boomers were born and the year the first of the Baby Boomers finished high school. Within the next few years, all the mainline denominations would move from membership growth to decline.

Membership totals reported by the eight mainline denominations referenced above tell the story of persistent decline. The *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* reports in their most recent edition over eight million fewer members than these denominations reported in 1970, which represents about a 30% decline as the nation's population increased dramatically (Lindner, 2011; Jacquet, 1973). The combination of population growth and membership decline led to mainline Protestants comprising a much smaller percentage of the population than was historically the case. Mainline Protestants make up about 15% of the U.S. population today with 26% in evangelical Protestant churches, and 9% in historically African American Protestant churches (Noll, 2011, p. 123).

Mainline churches learned that the things that make for past success do not always produce future success. Size and age had served these denominations well, but as their context changed, these same factors made it difficult to adjust to new situations. Momentum from past success made the recognition of major societal changes more difficult. The population was getting younger as the churches' membership grew older. Diversity was increasing in the population far faster than in their churches. Leadership development systems were beginning to falter. And other denominations not seen as "competitors" previously, especially more conservative and Pentecostal traditions, were beginning to grow rapidly (Kelley, 1977).

Mainline churches have found that it is very difficult to maintain the energy and growth of their earlier years. As large and well-established organizations, they have found it hard to adjust to changing circumstances. Group identity becomes associated with forms developed for another time. People attach themselves to forms through which meaning came to them, but now the forms no longer connect with people in the same way as previously. They no longer work to carry the "new wine" of new times. As leaders are pressed to preserve the old forms and make them work, they lose precious time needed to guide people to discern the "new thing" God is doing and find the new expressions of faith that can keep the church vital.

Negative consequences of the massive membership losses since the 1960s were softened by increased giving, so that mainline denominations achieved record contributions and net assets (after accounting for inflation) even as their constituencies declined. The decline can be seen in number of churches, membership, worship attendance, children, and youth. However, the sharper declines in the first decade of the 21st century are getting the attention of mainline denominations to the extent that they are rethinking not only their national structures but also the number of clergy they can support realistically with fewer and smaller congregations. Money has been a lagging indicator for mainline churches as finances stayed strong well after other indicators turned down. That appears to be

changing as increases in total giving among mainline churches can no longer be assumed.

Pastoral Leadership

From its beginning, the church has recognized the need for persons to be set apart for leadership within the community. Leadership is essential for religious communities because it is what links past and future. All faithful leadership emerges out of the history, beliefs, values, and traditions of faith communities; its task is to help the faithful discern their calling in the present day to meet the changed circumstances, new realities, and emerging needs. To the extent that those called to church leadership are able to accomplish these goals, there is vitality and renewal within the religious community.

Pastoral leadership in mainline churches is set within the context of the ministry that all Christians have through their baptism. Therefore, pastoral leadership is never solely about the personal authority and actions of the clergy but rather about the future of faith traditions and communities. Pastoral leadership always has a theological beginning that takes into account far more than the pastoral leader's vision. Pastoral leaders are central to mainline church leadership but not in isolation from tradition, constituents, and context. Pastoral leadership is seen as a response to God's love and action in the world revealed most clearly in Jesus Christ. Christian leadership is about the fulfillment of that vision (Weems Jr., 2010).

The concept of "calling" is commonly used in relation to mainline pastoral leadership. Pastoral leaders are expected to be those who are called to their vocation by God. Their calling, while special, comes within the larger calling of all Christians and does not represent a special class of Christian. The calling is for mission. They are set apart for leadership responsibilities within the faith community and on behalf of the community. Mainline churches have various procedures and standards used for the selection of those to be ordained within their traditions. The theological traditions of mainline churches tend to view calling as involving an individual call from God but much more. God's call is expected to be confirmed by the church. Such confirmation through denominational review typically includes standards of education, theological beliefs, character, and the "gifts" or abilities for the practice of pastoral ministry. Ordination in mainline churches typically requires a college education, three years of seminary, and also a time of review while serving in a parish.

Mainline churches do not share a common polity. This means that practices of pastoral credentialing and especially placement vary considerably. There is a range of polities within mainline denominations. It runs from the more hierarchical, such as the United Methodist Church where clergy are appointed to churches by the bishop, to churches that are connectional but give a much greater role

to congregations in the selection of pastors, such as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, to a far more congregational polity with virtually all decisions coming in the local church, such as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (Long, 2001). But all mainline traditions see pastoral leadership as a trust from God and from a denominational tradition to be exercised on behalf of the whole church. Pastoral leadership never becomes a private possession of the ordained but always remains a trust from the larger community of believers.

There is always the temptation for pastoral leaders to abuse their office or those whose trust they hold. Therefore, mainline churches all have standards of ethical and professional conduct for clergy and systems to adjudicate breaches of such standards. The procedures and players in such systems vary depending on the denominational polity, but all seek to achieve fairness for the clergy and congregations or individuals reporting improprieties. Normally such actions are handled at the judicatory or congregational level rather than at the denominational level, though many denominations have church-wide standards to which all clergy are expected to adhere.

Understandings of Leadership

Understandings of leadership that have shaped pastoral leadership in mainline churches come not only from biblical and theological sources but from the larger cultural views of leadership as they have evolved over time. Leadership studies in the last century have identified the sources, tasks, and attributes of leadership. Many elements influence leadership potential, including early development, psychological and social resources, personal traits, education, and experience. The tasks of leadership include discerning vision, building and motivating a team, communication, discovering and affirming values, embodying the vision, insuring integrity, and managing. Kouzes and Posner (1993) assert that people expect certain attributes in their leaders: character (honesty and consistency), competence (ability and effectiveness), and inspiration (energy and passion). Leaders who combine these elements have the credibility necessary to make change possible. Some contemporary understandings of leadership that often inform pastoral leadership include transformational leadership (Burns, 1978), servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1977), the learning organization (Senge, 2006), and visionary leadership (Bennis & Nanus, 1997).

For religious leadership, Max Weber's distinction in 1922 between "priest" and "prophet" has been useful (Weber, 1994). The priest leads within an established group with particular norms and standards. The prophet is an agent of change who challenges the established normative order. Pastoral leaders function normally in both roles as they seek to lead from the center of religious institutions (priest) and from the edge of established patterns (prophet).

Mary Parker Follett (1941) spoke of "multiple leadership" as a dynamic and fluid process in which leadership emerges from different people at different times in different ways. Letty M. Russell advanced the language of "partnership" to expand rigid and narrow conceptions of church leadership (Russell, 1979, 1993). Conventional assumptions about who are leaders continue to change as does the shape of such leadership. Multiple leadership has flowered in recent decades without some of the earlier distinctions and exclusions. In the last century, pastoral leadership has been expanded through the emerging multiple leadership of laity, women, people of color, and persons from different social classes.

The problems faced today by mainline leadership are often what Ronald Heifetz calls "adaptive challenges," in which the problem is uncertain or the solution is uncertain or both are uncertain (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002, pp. 13–20). Those writing today about mainline pastoral leadership often use language of paradox and ambiguity to capture how difficult the leadership challenge now is. Church historian Brooks Holifield reminds his readers that clergy in the U.S. have commonly had to lead within such paradox and ambiguity (Holifield, 2007, p. 7). Thus it is in such a challenging environment that mainline pastoral leaders are today asked to serve.

Pastoral Leadership in Mainline Theological Education

Even as the practice of pastoral leadership is shaped by broader leadership understandings, so also mainline theological education finds itself responding both to changes in thinking about leadership and the changed context of the church's needs. In addition to preparing pastoral leaders in the theological disciplines, seminaries are preparing students who immediately upon graduation become leaders of faith communities. Therefore, seminaries have had to find ways for students to develop pastoral leadership skills. And with the decline in the fortunes of mainline churches, seminaries are increasingly seeking to understand and shape the linkage between the education of their students and the vitality of congregations and other ministries in which those students serve after graduation (Aleshire, 2008, pp. 138–140).

Theological education must regularly reflect on its purpose and goals. One reason is that there are always tensions arising from constituents of theological education with different visions about proper priorities. From calls to become more of a school of religion, or a training school, or a spiritual formation institute, seminaries must determine how best to fulfill their missions. One of the most comprehensive studies of the relationship of theological education to the practice of pastoral leadership is *Educating Clergy: Teaching Practices and Pastoral Imagination* (Foster et al., eds., 2006), in which the foundational issues

of preparation for the profession of pastoral ministry were engaged.

How seminaries must now engage the practice of pastoral leadership continues to emerge. Over the years various disciplines have been added to the curriculum to expand the range of theological education more into pastoral practice. Christian education and pastoral care are examples. After World War II there was an increase in courses dealing with church administration. Later came courses on church management. These periods coincided with interest in these subjects in the church and with the publication of books on the subjects. Today a number of seminaries have gone beyond the traditional church administration and management courses to offer courses on church leadership. The literature of church leadership continues to grow and to benefit from secular leadership research as well as from the church's theological and historical heritage. The field of leadership studies is expanding rapidly at the beginning of the 21st century. A new professional society, the Academy for Religious Leadership (ARL), emerged in recent years made up primarily of persons who teach in the field of leadership, management, and/or administration in seminaries across North America. Annual meetings are held and a twice-a-year scholarly journal, the *Journal of Religious Leadership (JRL)*, is published.

Part of the initial work of the ARL was to understand what is shared in common among leadership teaching in the seminaries. An issue of the *JRL* addressed this issue and reported on findings (Van Gelder & Weems Jr., 2005). First, virtually all of the faculty appear to be seeking through a variety of means to address a common "basket" of themes in their courses, including (a) theological and biblical grounding for leadership in the church; (b) engagement with both church and secular resources; (c) social and cultural contextual issues; (d) the person of the leader; and (e) practical issues that church leaders must address.

Second, while these faculty members are seeking to address such common themes, they are using a broad range of texts and teaching methods to accomplish the goals of their courses. There is no identifiable canon when it comes to required texts for these courses.

Third, many of the seminaries have been engaged in some type of curricular revision or curricular refinement over the past decade. In doing this work as institutions, almost all of these schools were attempting to bring a more explicit focus to the question of how leadership fits into the theological curriculum.

Fourth, while most of these schools are bringing a more explicit focus on leadership into their mission and curriculum, it is also clear that they are struggling with trying to develop both theoretical clarity and a theological framing of the topic of leadership. While the teaching of leadership in courses tends to focus more on the applied and the practical, attempting to integrate the topic of leadership with the mission of theological education and the curriculum as a whole requires a broader conceptual orientation.

What Constitutes Effective Pastoral Leadership

A major contributor to the renewed focus on the subject of pastoral leadership in mainline churches has come from the Lilly Endowment, Inc. This Indianapolis-based endowment has a long history of creative and generous engagement with theological education in North America. It is one of the few national foundations with such an explicit commitment to religious life through denominational churches. Some recent Lilly initiatives have broken new ground in partnerships they helped foster between seminaries and judicatories. Lilly used the language of "pastoral excellence." One of the first research initiatives in this effort was the *Pulpit and Pew Project* operated from Duke Divinity School, in which a range of topics critical to the future of pastoral leadership in the United States was examined through research. Other Lilly initiatives such as "Sustaining Pastoral Excellence," "Making Connections," and "Transition into Ministry" provided laboratories of experimentation and learning.

Some clergy and some seminaries initially came to the subject of excellence in ministry with uncertainty. However, the rethinking of theological education around effective leadership and the greater attention to leadership development and transitions during the full length of clergy careers are now mainstays of seminary and denominational agendas. New partnerships are emerging that seek a more holistic understanding of formation for pastoral leadership. One result of the decline of mainline churches has been a greater focus on the biblical concept of fruitfulness. Matters of character, knowledge, and professional skills have long received attention by seminaries and denominations with less attention to the fruits of pastoral leadership. Renewed appreciation for fruitfulness may hold potential for revitalized pastoral excellence. Fruitfulness captures the understanding of the pastoral leader as steward of the church's mission and includes working with a congregation to discern God's vision for them and guiding the implementation of the vision so that the congregation bears fruit. Such fruit may be described as experiencing God's presence, transforming lives, gaining disciples, and serving others. The challenge for such focus on outcomes is that many of the results the church seeks are complex and ambiguous at times.

Some Changes in the Makeup of Mainline Pastoral Leadership

God calls all kinds of persons to the ministry—persons of all ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds, men and women, young and old, and persons from countries throughout the world. A challenge for mainline churches has been to assure that none of the people God calls is overlooked or excluded on the basis of factors other than those that fit them for ministry. In recent decades, those

enrolling in North American seminaries have included more women, racial/ethnic minority students, more international students, and many older students.

Young Clergy

In recent decades, many mainline churches have suffered a serious and sustained decline in the number and percentage of clergy under the age of 35. In many denominations, the percentage of younger clergy has slipped close to 5% or even less. Where historical data is available, it appears that under-35 clergy made up over 20% of ordained pastors in many mainline denominations as recently as the 1970s. The percentage began to decline and has been well below 10% across denominations for several years. For the United Methodist Church, the decline was from 21% in 1973 to just over 5% in 2011. Similar figures are reported from other mainline denominations. When compared to other traditions, mainline clergy are older than those in evangelical churches but younger than U.S. Catholic priests (Michel & Weems Jr., 2008, pp. 1–10). Comparisons among denominations are not exact. Nevertheless, there is striking similarity in the low percentage of clergy under age 35 across mainline denominations. With the decline in young pastors, the proportion of mainline clergy 55 and older has increased significantly.

While many theological schools have significant or at least increasing numbers of young students, the number of young seminary students is but one factor in how many young clergy will be serving in pastoral leadership in congregations in the future. Many seminary graduates—particularly younger graduates—are pursuing ministries other than traditional parish ministry. Research by the Center for the Study of Theological Education of Auburn Theological Seminary in New York City found that younger students are more likely than their older classmates to look toward campus ministry, mission, teaching, or graduate study (Wheeler, 2001, p. 17). Attrition is a subject of much speculation as a reason for low young clergy numbers. The overall finding on attrition among all denominations is that it tends to be about 1% a year for the first 10 years, a rate much lower than many had assumed and not significantly different from other professional school graduates (Wheeler, 2001, p. 17).

Clergy age trends also relate, of course, to other church demographic trends. The total church membership of mainline denominations has declined. But the decline in the number of young clergy has been proportionately much greater than the membership decline. Likewise, the decline in young clergy has been significantly greater than the decrease in the number of churches.

Women

Historian Mark Noll marks the mid-20th century as the time when an expanding range of denominations opened pastoral leadership fully to women, and by the

end of the century such participation had become “an accepted fact of life” (Noll, 2011, 119). The entry of women as ordained pastoral leaders in mainline churches began in large numbers in the 1970s. While ordination had been possible in many of the denominations previously, large numbers of women entered pastoral ministry as similar changes took place in other traditionally male-dominated professions such as law and medicine. Today women make up about 30% of theological students in the United States enrolled in the Master of Divinity degree program (*Annual Data Tables 2010–2011*, 2010 2-Enrollment, Graph 2F). Since these figures include schools from traditions that do not ordain women, mainline seminaries alone tend to report female enrollments closer to 50% or higher.

Of those who continue to ordination and serve in congregations as pastoral leaders, the percentage of women tends to be lower than seminary enrollments. Jackson Carroll reports that for mainline Protestant churches, about 20% of pastors are women (Carroll, 2006, p. 67). While women hold top positions in many of the mainline denominations, a number of issues have arisen as to how pastoral leadership is experienced by them differently from the experience of men. Placement is an issue for some, particularly in churches with a congregational “call” polity. Even in more connectional polities, entry into the very large churches has been less common for women. There are also issues of salary equity, attrition, and different standards for evaluation that women clergy have identified as struggles they have faced. The challenges have been particularly difficult for clergywomen of color (Chang, 1998; Johnson, 2010; Lehman, 2002; Zigmund et al., 1998).

People of Color

One of the greatest challenges and opportunities for mainline churches is the nation’s growing racial diversity. Mainline churches have traditionally had difficulty attracting people of color as both members and clergy (Emerson & Woo, 2006, pp. 36–37). Some progress has been made in recent decades in recruiting pastoral leaders who are people of color. The need for a more broadly representative leadership for the church has led to higher enrollment of racial and ethnic minority students in virtually all mainline seminaries. Today the *Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada* reports that over 30% of Master of Divinity degree students are people of color (*Annual Data Tables 2010–2011*, 2010 2-Enrollment, Graph 2D), with the figures for mainline seminaries thought to be at least as high, though with considerable variation among seminaries and denominations. Some of the particular challenges faced by racial and ethnic minority clergy in predominantly white mainline denominations include the small racial and ethnic minority membership, access to serve predominantly white congregations, salary equity, and unclear standards and expectations (Johnson, 2010; Lyght et al., 2006).

Second Career

Seminaries have seen an increase in students who have delayed vocational decisions or graduate study for a few years after college and students over thirty often referred to as “second-career” students, though this term does not precisely fit all of them. While the younger students bring immediate academic experience, the older seminarians bring rich life experience and normally have had extensive leadership experience in the local church. In the early years of “second career” clergy in the 1970s and 1980s, the majority were women. Since then the gender balance has been more even.

International

In addition, there is a greater presence on seminary campuses of students from outside the United States and from numerous linguistic and cultural backgrounds. One reason is a desire by seminaries to function with a more global and less parochial approach. Another reason is the fast growth of immigrant congregations in the United States and their needs for indigenous, trained leadership. One example is the growth of congregations among Korean Americans, especially in denominations such as Methodist and Presbyterian with historic missionary presences in Korea.

Lay Serving in Pastoral Leadership Roles

Mainline churches have been notable in their commitment to an educated ministry. Some of the traditions, especially Methodist and Baptist, have streams within them that have historically been somewhat suspicious of education as a damper on religious fervor, but the overwhelming direction of mainline denominations has been toward having their churches served by seminary-educated clergy. As memberships grew and the economy expanded, the goal of having fully educated pastoral leaders for all churches seemed achievable. Two factors have reversed progress toward such a goal. Membership decline has led to many very small membership churches. This is exacerbated by the location of many mainline churches in those parts of the country where population losses have occurred as the nation moved in the 20th century from a predominantly rural nation to a predominantly suburban and urban nation. In addition, the cost to support a full-time, fully credentialed pastor has increased dramatically, not so much from inordinately high salaries but from years of large increases in pension and, particularly, health benefits.

The result is that denominations have struggled with how to provide pastoral leadership for increasingly small and poor congregations. One method of addressing the need is to utilize lay persons to serve the congregations as pastors. Even the denominations that have been most insistent historically on fully educated and ordained pastors now have had to utilize some type of part-time and lay

ministry for such situations. This has sparked considerable debate about the wisdom of such moves, though a number of the mainline denominations have always drawn upon some form of lay ministry for small or mission situations (Wood, 2010; Wheeler, 2010).

Challenges Facing Mainline Pastoral Leadership

Mainline denominations are suffering the effects of having been in decline for more than a generation. Most pastoral leaders today have never been a part of a growing denomination, and many, if not most, have spent the majority of their years in ministry serving churches that believe their best years were in the past. As any organization grows smaller, there is often a failure to attract sufficient quality leadership, and the leadership base of declining organizations grows smaller and smaller. So just at the time when the organization needs its best leaders in greatest numbers, the base of quality leadership tends to be smallest.

The mainline churches have already seen the dramatic decline in the numbers of young clergy. While improvements in enlistment, seminary education, and judicatory care of clergy candidates can help, these are not the most important factors in ensuring an adequate supply of quality pastoral leadership for mainline churches. Any organization's leadership is shaped largely by the degree to which the organization is focused on a compelling mission with energy and vitality that comes from an alignment of the mission with the current context. It is for this reason that mainline denominations understand how critical it is for them to address some major adaptive challenges they now face.

A Growing Church

Perhaps the greatest misalignment of mainline churches with their context in recent decades has been the contrast of consistent decline in their constituencies amidst fast population growth. It is not necessary to claim that church numbers are everything to recognize that many mainline churches fail to demonstrate the capacity to reach the people of their communities. Pastoral leadership for a better future is not likely so long as decline is accepted as normal. In a society where the population is growing and getting younger and more diverse, it is not likely that a church will attract large numbers of capable pastoral leaders until it demonstrates that it can reach more people, younger people, and more diverse people.

A Younger Church

Mainline churches are aging churches. The aging membership of mainline denominations has been a continuing concern for many years and for good reason. It seems clear that since at least the 1970s, the trend has been toward

servicing a membership older than the general population. Since denominations do not track the ages of all their members, it is impossible to make an accurate comparison between the age of a denomination's membership and the age of the general population. There are, however, clues that indicate a denomination's membership may be getting older. The death rate in 2009 among United Methodists, for example, reflected a 35% increase over 1968. Another factor contributing to the aging phenomenon is that the birth rates among the traditional constituencies of mainline churches are the lowest of any denominational family in the United States. Birth rates are so low that even if every child of the current members of mainline denominations joined their family's church, there still would not be growth (Hadaway & Roozen, 1994, pp. 41–42).

One reason the aging of the denominations has not received more attention is that in declining churches, especially aging congregations, the availability of financial resources tends to continue, and perhaps even increase. While fewer in numbers, the remaining older members often have assets and loyalty that lead to increased resources for their congregations. The coming decades will bring the death of a large group of mainline Protestants nurtured in another era and with a strong level of dedication and commitment. And their millions of dollars in financial assets that have kept the churches afloat during the past 40 years of decline will also be gone for the most part.

A More Inclusive Church

Mainline denominations have struggled to include persons from a broad range socially and economically. The need for a church inclusive of all people is paramount today. A church known for exclusiveness has little future among the young. The growing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States will shape the future of all institutions in ways hard to imagine. The church's appeal to new constituents will be shaped largely by its ability to respond to the changing face of the nation.

Mainline denominations also face the challenge of holding together people with different, and often competing, convictions on theological and social issues. Most mainline denominations have within them caucus groups calling for either more conservative or more progressive stances. For example, while the mainline churches all embrace civil rights for homosexuals, there have been differences within them on whether openly gay and lesbian

persons can be ordained in their traditions. Several mainline denominations permit such ordinations and others do not, while some polities leave the decision to units other than the denomination.

Ideological tension over controversial issues often jeopardizes the unity of some of the denominations. Mainline churches have been known for tolerance and theological diversity but sometimes find living with such diversity difficult in a polarized, secular, political culture. Theological diversity remains a challenge and opportunity for the mainline traditions.

A More Outwardly Missional Church

A seminary president speaking about young seminarians today said, "The young students are not interested in saving the church; they intend to save the world." It is from such a missional perspective that emerging generations often view the church and what seems to be an inordinate preoccupation with internal issues. The prospect of caretaking of yesterday's forms has no power to attract the most gifted people who seek to be leaders around a new vision appropriate for a new day. The mainline understanding of ministry as meeting people's needs in a holistic way—mind, body, and soul—can link with the increasing numbers of young people who want to make a difference in people's lives yet seem to care little about organized religion. A deep concern for the plight of people and a desire to help people should be a common bond for a new generation and the link that binds the church with those outside the church deeply concerned about helping others.

Conclusion

The future of any organization, including the church, depends upon its leadership. In the coming years, a high percentage of mainline pastoral leaders must be replaced. Mainline denominational leaders are increasingly affirming the significance of leadership in the church, even when they do not always agree about what it looks like or in what ways it should be exercised. The challenge remains to frame mainline pastoral leadership in such a way that it will meet the challenges of today in a manner consistent with the church's nature and mission (Parks & Birch, 2004, p. 8).

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INNOVATIONS IN MAINLINE PROTESTANT LEADERSHIP

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Congregational Leadership Northwest

In the second decade of the 21st century, the Protestant mainline (Presbyterian Church USA, United Methodists, The Christian Church/ Disciples of Christ, the United Church of Christ, ELCA Lutherans, Episcopalians, United Church of Canada, American Baptists, and some Reformed Churches) is marked by conflict and challenge, but also by intriguing, even exciting, ferment. This ferment has been prompted both by a fifty-year-long decline in numbers of church members, in the number of congregations, in financial support for denominations, and, arguably, in broader social influence. Hard to measure, but no less real, has been a loss of confidence on the part of these same churches and denominations. Many use the biblical metaphors of “wilderness” or “exile” to describe recent decades for these church bodies. But those metaphors also imply hope and new life, a journey to a new land, a return to a true home. This chapter looks at both the challenges facing mainline Protestantism and at a host of movements of renewal.

In Phyllis Tickle’s important book *The Great Emergence: How Christianity Is Changing and Why*, she argues that we are living in one of the once every five hundred periods of transformation of Christianity. Ours is a watershed period, comparable to the time of the emergence of Christianity in the 1st century, the monastic movement 500 years later, the Great Schism of the 11th century, and the Reformation in the 16th century. At such points in the Christian movement, established forms of church are called into question and once dominant forms lose their hold. Some forms and methods continue, others

are cast off, while some are reconditioned and used in new ways. Meanwhile, forms and methods not previously known are discovered. It is a time that is both exciting and bewildering.

On balance, Tickle argues, these are positive moments. Their effect, in each case, has been to spread the faith, expanding it demographically (new people and populations) and geographically (new continents and nations). Once dominant forms do not cease to exist but are renewed and reformed. The Protestant mainline has been dominant in North America since the colonial period. That dominance is now a thing of the past. If Tickle is correct, this does not mean that mainline Protestantism will cease to exist. Rather, it will itself be reformed and renewed.

While this process is far from completion, it has begun. This chapter offers glimpses of that renewal. This has implications for leadership. In an earlier period of establishment mainline Protestant pastoral leaders could emphasize continuity and maintaining existing congregations and institutions. Leadership of a congregation was, at least in some respects, more a management role than a leadership one.

To explore the topic of innovations in mainline Protestant religious leadership, we shall survey key renewal movements in the mainline Protestant world. Implicit in each are somewhat different implications for leaders. But before turning to these various expressions of renewal, a look at larger cultural shifts of the last fifty years affecting mainline Protestantism is necessary.

<i>Management</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Short-term orientation	Thinks longer term, “beyond the horizon”
Focus on one part of organization	Thinks systemically; relation of parts and whole
Emphasizes norms and procedures	Emphasizes mission, vision, and core values
Manages one constituency	Requires political skills to relate to multiple constituencies
Accepts given structures and processes	Always thinking in terms of renewal; how we can do better
Primarily influences their team/ group	Influences throughout organization and beyond

Table 1 Management and Leadership Compared and Contrasted

SOURCE: Author.

A Changing (and Challenging) Cultural Climate

There have been two very large shifts in the cultural climate over the past fifty years with particular implications for the churches and denominations that are our focus. These two mega-changes in the cultural climate may be termed, “the end of North American Christendom” and “the waning of modernity.” These are not, of course, the only significant changes in this period. There are many others, including changes in immigration patterns making North America a more multicultural society, generally longer life spans as well as greater generational differentiation, the emergence of the Internet in its manifold forms, and the advent of a global economy—to name a few. But all of these and more may be viewed within the framework of the two larger seismic shifts in the culture to which we now turn.

End of North American Christendom

Many, if not most, North American mainline Protestant congregations came into existence and flourished in the world of “North American Christendom.” Historian Diana Butler Bass (2004) indicates that while the mainline Protestants were dominant in North America from the colonial period, the high period for institutional churches of mainline Protestantism was roughly 1870 to 1950. It was a time characterized by a cultural establishment of Christianity, greater racial and ethnic homogeneity, and more limited religious choice. In Will Herberg’s (1955) famous formulation, religion in America at mid-20th century was

“Protestant, Catholic, or Jew.” Even that formulation represented a change from a greater Protestant dominance in previous decades and centuries.

Late 20th century and early 21st century North America is a quite different cultural climate than one characterized by the informal, cultural establishment of Protestant Christianity, relative ethnic and cultural homogeneity, and limited religious choice. Today, North American society remains officially secular, but it is characterized by a new ethnic and cultural diversity and by far greater religious pluralism. With respect to the third factor, an almost innumerable array of religious and spiritual options and possibilities are available.

“Christendom” is a combination of two words, “Christianity” and “dominion” (Robinson, 2008, 19). It refers to a Christian establishment, rule, or governance. It entails an alliance of religious and political powers and forms. In western society, Christendom has had a long run, perhaps 1,600 years in one form or another. It is important to note, however, that it was not always so. Christianity’s early and formative decades and centuries were not those of a Christian establishment. Rather, Christianity was, for more than four centuries, a minority movement within Greco-Roman culture. It was sometimes tolerated by ruling powers while at other times under attack from the same powers. The New Testament, in particular the Book of Acts and the Pauline and Catholic collections of epistles, reflect and pre-suppose this social location.

But with the Constantinian settlement early in the 4th century, Christendom began to take shape and form as the officially sanctioned religion of the Roman Empire. A later emperor of the now “Holy Roman Empire,” Charlemagne would, in the 9th century, organize the empire into geographical parishes, each with a local church and a local priest. People were Christians, less by conversion and more by birth or citizenship. Increasingly, one’s religion was both a cultural given, and churches enjoyed state support.

When Christendom came to North America with European colonization, it both changed and continued some traditional forms. It changed in that Christianity was no longer, at least after 1820, *legally* established in North America. “Separation of church and state” was axiomatic in the new United States and, in somewhat different ways, in Canada. But Christianity in North America remained, in many ways, *culturally* established. An example of this cultural establishment was that for a long period, and continuing today in large part, Sunday was a day that businesses and stores were closed. Another example—the public school day commenced, in many schools, with an opening ritual, including the Pledge of Allegiance, a reading from the Bible, or a prayer. Moreover, there was a social expectation that Americans would participate in a church (or synagogue). One could enumerate many more examples of the cultural establishment of Christianity and of mainline Protestant Christianity in particular. The salient point is that this is now, by and large, over.

The end of North American Christendom has confronted the once dominant mainline churches with a huge “adaptive challenge” (Heifetz, 1994, p. 69). It is a challenge that requires learning and change, new thinking and new behavior on the part of churches and church leaders. Perhaps another way to summarize this might be to say that religion and spirituality in North America have been “deregulated.” Just as financial institutions, airlines, and telecommunications companies were deregulated in the 1980s and 1990s, introducing a new world of customer choice, so today no single faith or denomination has the taken-for-granted status or inevitability that some once enjoyed.

The implications of the end of North American Christendom are difficult to overstate. Where mainline Protestant clergy were once automatically, by virtue of office or position, societal leaders, this is no longer necessarily true. Where a prominent mainline Protestant leader such as Horace Bushnell could speak, in the 19th century, of children who never knew themselves as other than Christian—so comprehensive and embracing was the faith and its culture—churches today are challenged to rediscover faith formation both for children as well as unchurched adults. While churches could once assume a continuity and reciprocity between church and surrounding neighborhood or community, this too is no longer the case. The following chart attempts to summarize some of the changes from “Christendom” to “Post-Christendom.” It also suggests that there are ways in which “Post-Christendom” resembles the earlier “Pre-Christendom” period.

The end of Christendom is a game-changer for the church and particularly for the once dominant mainline Protestants. Sociologist of religion Nancy Ammerman (2005) concluded, on the basis of a nationwide study of 549 congregations, as follows:

One pattern especially stood out from this research: the religious groups that spend the least organizational energy on the core tasks of worship and religious education are the mainline Protestant ones . . . this pattern reflects the historic relationship of mainline Protestants to American culture. Other traditions, each in its own way, have reorganized their outsider status. . . . Because the mainline was “mainline,” the environment was assumed to be friendly and supportive. It may always have been bad ecclesiology to depend on the culture to carry the gospel, but today it’s also bad sociology. Churches that wish to perpetuate distinct Christian traditions need not become an oppositional counter-culture, but they do have to tend more intentionally to building their own religious traditions. (p. 9)

Waning of Modernity

If the end of North American Christendom is increasingly obvious, the second major shift in the cultural climate—the waning of modernity—may be less so. Nevertheless, it is also critically important, particularly for

<i>Quality/Characteristic</i>	<i>Christendom</i>	<i>(Pre) Post-Christendom</i>
Nature of Christianity	Territorial (nation, empire)	Congregational
How a Person Becomes a Christian	By birth in a particular nation, territory, region	By conversion, choice
Mission	Done by missionaries in distant lands, cultures	Congregation as “mission outpost” in secular culture
Purpose	Provides religious services to local population	Christian formation, making disciples
Leadership	One pastor or priest, a religious professional	Leadership teams, including clergy and laity
Relationship to Larger Culture/Society	High degree of overlap; being a good citizen and being a good Christian quite similar	Greater degree of tension between values of culture and values of faith

Table 2 Christendom and Post-Christendom

SOURCE: Author.

mainline Protestants. This tradition was by and large receptive to and supportive of modernity or what is sometimes called “the Enlightenment Project.” In many respects, the Protestant mainline hooked its wagon to the rising star of modernity. This was not true for either Roman Catholicism or evangelicalism, whose stance toward modernity was either nuanced or oppositional.

In order to understand the significance of the waning of modernity and the emergence of a “post-modern” culture and consciousness, it may be helpful to briefly compare and contrast some of the key markers or assumptions of modernity and those of post-modernity. Table 3 points to five such markers or value assumptions.

As modernity began to lose its taken-for-granted status in the mid- and late 20th century (Grenz, 1996, p. 11), some of the limitations of this synthesis became increasingly evident. Self-described “moderns,” who were church members, often had little use for the Bible’s miracle stories, regarding them either as violations of natural law, or superstition. A person born two generations later and whose consciousness is more reflective of post-modernity is typically more receptive to the miraculous and to the element of mystery in human experience. Such a shift is one sign of the way that for moderns, reason and critical

<i>Quality</i>	<i>Modernity</i>	<i>Post-Modernity</i>
Way of knowing	Reason is primary	Open to other ways of knowing, e.g., intuition
Spirit	Optimistic	Skeptical
Social vision	Universalistic	Pluralistic, diverse; emphasis on local and particular
Core value	Objectivity	Contextuality
Narrative/story	One overarching meta-narrative, e.g., progress	Multiplicity of stories, narratives

Table 3 Modernity and Post-Modernity Compared and Contrasted

SOURCE: Author.

thought (see Table 3) were primary ways of knowing and that in some ways the markers of modernity trumped Christian doctrine and scripture. Post-moderns tend to be much more open, even hungry for other ways of knowing than reason and rational analysis alone, ways of knowing such as intuition, embodied knowledge, mysticism, sacramental experience, and the arts, to name a few.

To briefly continue this compare and contrast of the ethos of modernity and post-modernity, moderns because of their great confidence in reason and its application through science and technology tended to be optimistic about humanity's power to solve its most vexing and persistent problems, such as disease and poverty. Post-moderns tend to be more skeptical of the power of science and technology, pointing to the unintended but often negative consequences. The environmental movement is, for example, in many ways a post-modern phenomenon.

Third, moderns tended to envision America as a melting pot, where people were to overcome their multitudinous ancestries and cultures and blend into a "universal" humanity without distinctions. Post-moderns seem fascinated by diversity, by the local and the particular. Fourth, moderns extolled, and more importantly, believed in the possibility and importance of objectivity. Post-moderns, by contrast, tend to assume, as one might say, "Everyone is coming from somewhere." No one, that is to say, is truly objective, and all interpretation reflects context and experience. Fifth and finally, modernity was characterized by one expansive meta-narrative, most often the story—some would say myth—of progress. In a post-modern culture, there is a multiplicity of stories, narratives, and worldviews

living side by side, sometimes competing with one another and sometimes in conflict with one another.

If this is a fair, albeit too brief, summary of the shifts and changes from the modern to post-modern eras, how does this affect the climate for religion and religious congregations, and particularly for mainline Protestants, who tended to forge an alliance with modernity? Phyllis Tickle (2004) observed that all religions resemble large cables, cables that consist of three strands (pp. 1–2). One strand is the corporeal, from the Latin word, *corpus*, or "body." This includes building by-laws, institutional standards, and structures. A second strand is the moral: what is right and what is wrong, good or evil, and how people are to behave. The third strand is the spiritual, the experience of the holy, of God, of the divine, of the transcendent.

Under the influence of modernity, mainline Protestantism especially excelled at the corporeal and the moral. Institutions were founded and built. Morality was taught and enforced. The church was referred to as "the conscience of the community." This is not to say the churches' record is without moral failure or blemish, but that same modern consciousness tended to make mainline Protestantism less receptive to spirituality, mystery, and religious experience. As the sociologist Kirk Hadaway (1995) writes: "People expect *churches* to provide a setting for religious experience and answers to ultimate questions. Instead, mainstream churches seem to fear religious experience and avoid 'imposing' answers" (p. 77).

As the modern era and its values have been challenged and lost traction, the mainline-modern synthesis is no longer serving the mainline Protestant churches as well as it once did. As post-moderns sought something vaguely but pervasively termed "spirituality" or spiritual experience, mainline churches—once so successfully focused on the institutional and the moral—were not as well equipped to respond to post-modern spiritual hungers.

As noted earlier, a great deal else has changed in the past half century. Even a simple listing of changes could take pages. But for religion and religious congregations and their leaders, and especially for the mainline Protestant churches, these two shifts—the end of North American Christendom and the waning of modernity—have been seismic.

Seven Renewal Movements

These larger cultural shifts considered, we turn to seven renewal movements and their implications for leadership. These seven are (1) the Megachurch, (2) Progressive Christianity, (3) the Spiritual Practices/Re-Traditioning Movement, (4) the Missional Church, (5) the Emerging Church, (6) the New Monasticism, and (7) the New Entrepreneurs Movement, for want of a better term. While these movements are distinct, they are not completely

different. But while they share some commonalities (some more than others), each one also has particular points of emphasis as well as leadership implications.

The Megachurch

One might question whether the megachurch phenomenon belongs in a discussion of mainline innovations or renewal, as the majority of churches that fit the “megachurch” category describe themselves as either evangelical or Pentecostal. There are two reasons for my inclusion. First, the megachurch phenomenon has influenced the majority of churches in North America with its model and methods. Many mainline church leaders have borrowed ideas and techniques from the megachurches, even if they have not become megachurches. Second, there are a small but growing number of megachurches that self-describe as moderate or progressive.

The megachurches represent a response to the “climate change” factors we have noted. They have understood that in a post-Christendom era, church participation cannot be assumed. They have been intentional and innovative in their efforts to reach growing numbers of un-churched North Americans.

The working definition of a megachurch is one where weekly worship attendance is 2,000 or more. While there have been such churches throughout the 20th century, after 1970 the movement grew. Fifty-three percent of current megachurches were founded since 1970. Some of the most well known of this new crop include Willow Creek in Palatine, Illinois; Saddleback in Orange County, California; Church of Joy in Phoenix, Arizona; and Ginghamburg United Methodist in Tipp City, Ohio. According to a 2011 study of megachurches by the Hartford Institute of Religious Research, if megachurches were a denomination they would be the second largest denomination in America. On a typical Sunday in America, about 56 million people worship in Protestant churches. Of that number, six million worship in megachurches (Bird & Thumma, 2011, p. 1).

Megachurches are often described as “culturally accessible.” In other words, if you feel comfortable going to a suburban cineplex, chances are good you’ll feel comfortable at a megachurch facility. They tend to be more mall-like than church-like (meaning traditional church buildings). Often there is little or no use of Christian symbols, such as crosses, liturgical ornaments, hymnals, or denominational name or logos. Megachurch leaders have introduced the term “seeker-sensitive” to describe efforts made to help the person who is not a regular churchgoer feel welcome and comfortable.

Megachurches pioneered the use of rock music and praise bands in worship. They also feature video screens for the words of songs and scripture. Services are carefully planned or scripted by an expert “worship team.” They feature rapid pace, smooth transitions, telegenic leaders,

and excellent use of audio and video. In planning they have thought in terms of market, niche, and meeting needs. They tend to embrace contemporary media and culture, from video clips from popular movies as sermon illustrations, to social media for building small group ministries. More than half are multi-site, meaning they have more than one worship or gathering place to which the sermon or message is conveyed electronically. A core idea of the megachurch and seeker sensitive church is rather than trying to make people adjust to the church, the church meets them at least halfway, getting to know people’s needs and interests.

Strengths of the megachurch movement include its willingness to innovate, to take risks, and to do rigorous self-assessment. Another strength is accessibility. They also seem, in part because of rapid and continuous growth, to be less prone to the insider/outsider dynamic that creates a barrier in many long-established churches. They have a passion for reaching people with the Christian message. Moreover, these churches are comfortable with bigness. Having learned from places like Disney World, they know how to manage large numbers of people well. With a growing number of Americans experiencing large schools, universities, malls, office parks, and theme parks, megachurches fit people who are themselves comfortable with large scale.

Weaknesses include the tendency of many megachurches, while having large staffs, to be quite dependent on one charismatic leader. Of course, megachurches are not alone in this pattern, but they do typically depend a great deal on one key and highly visible leader. Critics would also say that the role of such a leader is as much that of entertainer as priest or pastor. Another potential liability is that many megachurches tend to work well for one generation but are challenged to engage other generations. Many have been criticized as having a consumer orientation and for aiming more to meet felt needs than change lives and form disciples of Christ. Some megachurch leaders complain of having created a monster, which requires constant feeding with constant new programs and events.

Typically, the megachurch has one highly visible pastoral leader who is the face of the church and who many come to hear. There is a premium on capacity to communicate and engage. Such charismatic leader/follower churches are, however, prone to boom and bust patterns, or rapid growth and rapid decline. Leadership succession poses a particular challenge.

Progressive Christianity

As post-Christendom North America emerged and cultural Christendom was challenged by Supreme Court decisions of 1960s and 1970s on issues such as school prayer, abortion, and public funding of church-related schools, one response was the effort of conservative and

fundamentalist churches and leaders to re-assert Christian dominance and privileged position. A new, politically active Religious Right developed in the later 20th century powered by groups including the Moral Majority, the Christian Coalition, and Focus on the Family. These groups urged a culturally and politically conservative Christianity as the American way of life. Partly in response to the new politically assertive Religious Right, a countermovement—Progressive Christianity—arose.

Like the megachurches, progressive Christianity is not wholly new. It has clear antecedents in theological liberalism and in the Social Gospel movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Still, there is a discernible new emphasis and identity, which can be traced to the mid-1980s creation of the Jesus Seminar, a group of scholars, gathered by Robert Funk, determined to bring the insights of modern biblical scholarship to the masses. Funk, not unlike megachurch leaders, had marketing instincts. The seminar captured headlines and magazine covers, outraging some, delighting others.

Progressive Christianity may also be described as culturally accessible, although the slice of the culture for which it is most accessible is a different one than that of the megachurches. The focus is more on the highly educated and affluent. This is accomplished by, on one hand, a strong emphasis on knowledge, and on the other hand, a willingness to critique, even dismiss, historic Christian doctrine while advocating a progressive or left-of-center political and social agenda.

As the power and visibility of the Religious Right grew in the last third of the 20th century, Progressive Christianity offered an alternative, defining itself over against the Religious Right. While led and identified with scholars and writers such as Marcus Borg, Bart Ehrmann, John Shelby Spong, and Karen Armstrong, Progressive Christianity has found a home in many mainline Protestant congregations.

Progressive Christianity puts long established norms and doctrines, such as the authority of the Bible, the doctrine of atonement, and the veracity of confessions of faith up for reconsideration and reinterpretation. It has also been identified with various social movements including women's and gay rights, and a transnational global outlook.

Strengths include making contemporary scholarship accessible and engaging. The emphasis on critical thinking, intellect, and education appeals to many, as does the invitation to open received tradition to examination and reinterpretation. Progressive Christianity has been media-savvy and even created celebrities of its own.

Weaknesses may include the challenge and deconstruction of inherited doctrine, which leaves some wondering if there is any solid basis for Christianity or core convictions. A leading preacher, Thomas G. Long (2009), accused Progressive Christianity of a “gnostic impulse.” By this Long meant that for progressive Christians, the human problem is not sin from which human beings need deliverance, but ignorance for which *gnosis* or knowledge is

required. Salvation is not so much God's doing as it is humanity saving itself through education. The goal becomes more illumination than salvation, and the emphasis shifts from God's search for us to our search for God (p.79ff).

The pastoral leader who reflects the Progressive Christian orientation tends to define him- or herself, and the church they lead, “over against” churches and theologies that are seen as more orthodox, traditional, or conservative. While this aids in self-definition and branding, it also and perhaps ironically depends on the existence of the orthodox, traditional, or conservative as a foil.

Spiritual Practices/Re-Traditioning Movement

One of the costs of “Christendom” was that churches often overlooked or neglected the spiritual depth found in their own traditions. When a tradition becomes the official or established religion of a culture or society, there is a tendency to erode what is distinctive while emphasizing continuity with the culture at large. This third movement is marked by its emphasis on recovering tradition and distinctively Christian spiritual practices that form and deepen personal faith and communities of faith. Leadership for this “practices” or re-traditioning movement has come from many quarters but perhaps especially from the work of the Lilly Endowment for Religion, under the leadership of Craig Dykstra and Dorothy Bass. Historian and popular author Diana Butler Bass has also contributed significantly with her field studies and reports on vital mainline congregations.

The kinds of practices given new attention include Sabbath keeping, testimony, hospitality, discernment, and catechumenal ministry, among others. Rather than understanding Christian faith as mainly or only about beliefs, the practices/re-traditioning movement claims it is about “practices—those cooperative human activities through which we, as individuals and communities, grow in moral character and substance” (Dorothy C. Bass, 1998, p. xi.).

Diana Butler Bass's subsequent work (2008) identified a host of “vital mainline congregations” who had in common emphasis on one or more spiritual practice. They also sought to reclaim and recalibrate those faith practices that had been overlooked or forgotten in a period of establishment. This movement reflects the post-modern shift and is a response to growing interest in spiritual experience.

Strengths of this movement include its focus on vital and healthy mainline churches (rather than troubled or declining ones), an emphasis on faith formation and development, a rediscovery of the richness and depth of the Christian faith tradition, and a new emphasis on pastoral leaders as teachers and spiritual mentors. In this movement, being Christian has also been characterized by intentionality rather than habit, which responds to the changing post-Christendom and post-modern climate.

Weaknesses are that the notion of “practices” is a fairly abstract concept, perhaps with more appeal to academics

than ordinary believers. Moreover, such practices ask a good deal of people by way of effort and participation. This “high demand” characteristic could be either strength or weakness. The practices/re-traditioning movement tends to heighten the tension between church and culture, no longer seeing the two as fitting hand-in-glove. For some this will be weakness, while for others strength. As with any movement that stresses spiritual practices or disciplines, there is a danger the church will embrace what it has historically named as “Pelagianism,” the conviction that salvation depends more on our human efforts than God’s grace.

Still, the practices/re-traditioning movement has helped churches reclaim spiritual formation as a primary focus and in doing so it offers an effective response to cultural changes noted earlier. Leaders shaped by this movement will tend to function more as teachers and spiritual mentors. In contrast to the megachurch and progressive movements’ emphasis on contemporary culture, the re-traditioning pastoral leader may turn more to classic Christian thought and practice, adapting it for the 21st century.

Missional Church Movement

Like these other movements of renewal, the Missional Church can be understood as a response to changing factors in the cultural climate. During Christendom, mission was often understood as taking place beyond the nation, empire, or culture. Mission meant extension of a mix of western culture and Christianity. With the end of North American Christendom, North America is increasingly viewed as a mission field. Churches are seen as “missional outposts” in a secular culture. Less need is perceived for sending missionaries to Asia and Africa (where Christianity is flourishing), but there is a need to do mission in Buffalo, Baltimore, London, and Liverpool.

The Missional Church Movement, again like many of these movements, has both a theoretical side and on-the-ground, practical expressions. Theoreticians include Darrell Guder, Craig Van Gelder, and Patrick Kiefer of the Gospel in Our Culture Network. Often they have found inspiration in the writings and work of the 20th century British missiologist Leslie Newbigin.

The missional church movement asks pointed questions, such as “What does it mean to be in mission to our own culture?” “What is God’s mission (*Missio Dei*) and how are we to participate in it?” The movement emphasizes that the church is just as much “church” when sent out of a building and scattered in ministry to the world, as when gathered in a church building for worship and fellowship.

Congregations seeking to embody the themes of the Missional Church movement may value mission work in the community above worship. Rather than trying to get people to come to the church, as in Christendom, those influenced by this movement go out to where the people and needs are. Another way in which this movement gets

expressed is in the efforts of a growing number of congregations to get to know the new neighbors. Finding that the neighborhood or community around the church is a changing population of a different race or ethnicity, culture or language, churches initiate efforts to get to know the new neighbors. There’s some crossover here with the “seeker sensitive” theme of megachurches but also some differences. The locus is less the church than the community and getting the church, in the form of its people, out into the community. Again, this reflects the climate changes that mean it is no longer possible to assume a relationship of understanding, recognition, or reciprocity between the church and the community in which it is located.

Strengths of the missional church movement include its emphasis on serious attention to exegeting or carefully interpreting one’s cultural context. Another strength is that “mission” is viewed as at the core of church identity and purpose, rather than being compartmentalized in one program or committee. Missional church people stress building relationships rather than assuming the church already knows what people need.

The missional church movement, like the practices movement, can be heady or academic. What is actually meant by “mission” or “God’s mission” may not be entirely clear. Still, the missional church movement does signify a major shift, both reclaiming the centrality of mission for the whole church and rediscovering the theme of our own post-Christendom and post-modern culture as a “mission field.” Pastoral leaders shaped by this movement will tend to exhibit entrepreneurial qualities, often gathering a new church that has a particular mission focus, whether geographic (a particular neighborhood or part of a city) or demographic (a particular racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic demographic). They are comfortable going out to meet people where they are rather than waiting for them to come to the church on their own.

The Emerging Church

While the term “Emerging Church” is an imprecise one, it does denote churches and church leaders rethinking what it means to be church in an emerging post-modern culture. As the 21st century began, leaders such as Brian McClaren, Doug Pagitt, Rob Bell, Karen Ward, and Tony Jones identified with this project and one another through the “Emergent Village” network. By and large, these are former evangelicals, who protested the captivity of the church to Enlightenment rationalism and to what they saw as a narrow view of salvation, focused mainly on the individual and afterlife.

Emerging Church leaders argue that both traditional evangelical churches and megachurches place too much emphasis on how an individual becomes saved and not enough on how he or she lives as a Christian. Theologically, that has meant a shift away from an emphasis on the Pauline letters and the doctrine of atonement and toward

Jesus as teacher and the Reign of God. Such shifts have meant that the Emerging Church has found common cause with Progressive Christianity and with the mainline churches, at least theologically.

Other marks of the Emergent movement and its cross-overs in the mainline world include high value on community, relationships, and “authenticity” (this being in some measure a critique or reaction to the megachurches), an emphasis on belonging before belief and culturally sensitive or contextualized worship.

Strengths of the Emergent movement and church include its experimental spirit and willingness to risk, its emphasis on arts and contemporary culture, and a rejection of polarities of liberal and conservative that are seen as tired and unhelpful. On the other side of the coin, there is difficulty in clearly defining Emergent Church. Some wonder if this is the next iteration of the church marrying the culture (in this case post-modernism), which means being a widow in the next generation. A slightly different way to put this would be to wonder if the church is now being recreated for each new generation—builders, boomers, Gen-X or Millennials—and losing transgenerational capacity. Pastoral leaders shaped by the Emergent church movement tend to be experimental in approach, not just willing to try new forms and strategies, but eager. They eschew those things that would set them apart from others in the church, such as clerical vestments or use of a pulpit. Often leadership is decentralized, shifting from one person to a team of leaders.

New Monasticism

New Monasticism might be seen as combining elements of both the Practices Movement and the Missional Church Movement. As in the Practices movement, emphasis is placed on spiritual practices, from services of daily prayer to fasting and meditation. There is an attempt to create a spiritual practice that is shared by a community. But there is also something drawn from the Missional Church Movement, as the new Monastics don’t isolate themselves from the culture. Rather, they seek to locate themselves firmly in and identify with a particular place or neighborhood, investing there. Often these are neighborhoods or areas of a city that are seen as unsafe or undesirable by others. The “monastery” of the new monastics has, in other words, permeable walls or boundaries. People move in and out freely, sharing in the spiritual life and practice in the faith community, while being engaged in mission and ministry in the larger community beyond.

Those who identify with the New Monasticism speak of “locating our lives in the abandoned places of the Empire” (Claiborne, Okoro, & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2010, p. 48). Shane Claiborne, founder of the Simple Way in Philadelphia, described it in a personal conversation: “We just said, ‘We’re gonna stop complaining about the church we’ve experienced and try to become the church we dream of. We

reclaim abandoned spaces.’” Another identified with the New Monasticism, Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, who directs the School for Conversion in Durham, North Carolina, writes of the “wisdom of stability,” urging that the New Monasticism is a rooted-in-place alternative to a mobile, rootless culture and one that tends to abandon lower socioeconomic neighborhoods which are high in social problems (Wilson-Hartgrove, 2010, p. 4).

Mainline Innovation and Accountability

Finally, I want to name what may at this point be more a trend than a movement. I’m calling it Mainline Accountability to denote a push evident here and there in the mainline denominations to permit greater innovation as well as seeking greater accountability on the part of churches and their leaders. In the Christendom period, the mainline, as an establishment, tended neither to encourage innovation nor to ask much accountability. Clergy were, in effect, guaranteed positions and churches were guaranteed clergy.

The United Methodist “Call to Action” focus is encouraging innovation and holding church leaders accountable for results. An earlier expression of similar impulses was Bishop William H. Willimon’s use, in Alabama, of the “dashboard,” which required all churches to post weekly data on giving, attendance, hours of social outreach, and new members received by profession of faith (as opposed to transfer of membership). The public availability of such data, posted weekly, undermined a system of clergy placement based on seniority while rewarding innovators and entrepreneurs.

Others object that there is too much emphasis on measurable. Willimon, for one, counters by pointing out that John Wesley, Methodism’s founder, was very concerned about tracking numbers and encouraging innovative leaders. Willimon deems the use of the “dashboard” not as radically new but as recapturing, in a new form, long held emphases of the Methodist movement (Byassee, 2011).

In another long established mainline denomination, the United Church of Christ, some parallel efforts have encouraged innovation and been self-conscious in reaching what some describe as “new markets.” The “God is Still Speaking Initiative” employed controversial advertisements on television, Internet, and radio in order to reach new groups, including what campaign leaders called “the spiritually homeless.” More recently, that same denomination has contracted out its leadership development and new start work to the Atlanta-based Center for Progressive Renewal, a much more market-oriented and entrepreneurial approach to church planting and leadership. The Unitarians have moved to a process of national, rather than local or regional, certification for clergy as an attempt to impose stricter standards of competence and greater systemic accountability. The key question arises: Is this too little, too late?

Conclusion

Our engagement with these seven renewal movements in the Protestant mainline churches and denominations illustrates but does not exhaust the topic. It truly is a time of great ferment, in which once-established churches and

their leaders are seeking to respond to a new, secular, post-modern, and religiously pluralistic society. It is a time of ferment in which, as Phyllis Tickle argued, the once predominant form, the mainline Protestant churches and denominations, are not ceasing to exist but experiencing challenge, innovation, and renewal.

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SPIRIT-INSPIRED LEADERSHIP AND THE COMMON GOOD WORLDVIEW

BILL GRACE

Common Good Works

The concept of the common good has existed for centuries. Its origins in Western culture can be traced back to Aristotle, and it is also reflected in the traditions of many other cultures around the world. Native American tribes of the Pacific Northwest practice potlatch, a ceremony whose main purpose is the redistribution of wealth. On special occasions, such as births, weddings, and funerals, a hereditary leader gives away resources acquired by the family. A family's status is raised not by how much wealth they have but by how much they can give away.

Further, barn raisings, still practiced today in Amish communities in the eastern United States and Canada, are communal acts of cooperation and reciprocity. Since barns are too massive to build alone, communities work together to accomplish this huge task in a single day. Although individual barn raisings primarily benefit a single member, the cooperative efforts also benefit the social fabric of the communities.

In addition, the pan-African ethic of *ubuntu*, which means "I am what I am because of who we all are,"¹ points to interconnectedness as the essence of being human. According to Desmond Tutu, former Anglican Archbishop of Capetown, South Africa,

You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality—Ubuntu—you are known for your generosity. We think of ourselves far too frequently as just individuals, separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole world. When you do well, it spreads out; it is for the whole of humanity. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ubuntu_\(philosophy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ubuntu_(philosophy)))

This concept has two dimensions: It is both an ethos or worldview, and it describes a preferred future from the perspective of major religious and philosophical traditions. As an ethos, the concept of the common good is informed by the belief that humanity and all life-forms are interconnected. While the concept of the common good celebrates the freedom and dignity of the individual, it places the individual in the context of the whole and maintains that all individuals are morally bound to be concerned with the well-being of the whole in whatever contexts arise.

For example, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., knowing that equality for black Americans would be in the best interest of U.S. society, stressed the interconnectedness of the whole in the context of racial reconciliation in his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail": "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny, whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly."

In contrast to the ethos of the common good is the ethos of individualism, which regards the worth of individuals as more important than the needs of the whole and which emerged in the early 1800s as a reaction to governance models that placed individuals under the control of monarchies and other forms of totalitarian rule. In his essay "On Liberty" (1869), John Stuart Mill passionately described how individuals have value apart from a state or the will of the majority.

As a preferred future, the concept of the common good is the result of human beings living in right relationship with nature, all life, and one another so that resources are stewarded justly and for the good of all. Given social injustices around the world and the inequitable stewarding of

the world's resources, many people would agree that a shift to a common good worldview is urgently needed.

To better understand the connections between the ethic of the common good and spirit-inspired leadership that may contribute to a common good worldview as a preferred future, it is important to take a comprehensive look at the historical development of the concept of the common good in moral philosophy, the psychology of moral development, and the religious teachings of various faiths.

Moral Philosophy and the Concept of the Common Good

Throughout the history of moral philosophy, the concept of the common good takes a central place in various theories of ethics. Aristotle speaks about the concept of the common good most clearly in *Nicomachean Ethics* (350 BCE) and *The Politics* (350 BCE). He states that ethics is concerned with helping individuals lead a good life by becoming virtuous and that politics is about virtuous individuals serving society for the good of everyone. Aristotle also distinguished between theoretical ethics (thinking about good) and practical ethics (doing good), believing that the best measure of an individual's or community's ethics was their actions relative to the advancement of the public good.

Augustine of Hippo, in *City of God* (429 CE), heightened the importance of the individual's responsibility to advance the public good by putting it in the context of God's intention. He asserts that God seeks the good of all and that it is the work of devout individuals to rise above the ego's demands to focus on self and instead join with God in advancing the common good.

Medieval philosopher St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) similarly combined the teachings of Aristotle with Christian tradition, teaching that human law was subject to divine law and that human actions were best when they were aligned with the desires of God. Aquinas also asserted that because humans were created in the image of God they had a responsibility to act on behalf of God's will by advancing the common good, which he saw as a form of worship.

The Rise of Social Contract Theory²

Beginning in the late 17th century, John Locke and later the French Enlightenment thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau, among others, introduced the idea of a "social contract." Social contract theory asserts that in a state of nature (an imagined time prior to the development of formal society), while still having a moral obligation to do no harm to others, human beings are free to act according to their own desires and be accountable only to their consciences and not to external authority (<http://www.iep.utm.edu/soc-cont/#SH4b>). In *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690/2003), Locke

argued that nature entitled all people to life, health, liberty, and property but that government was necessary to protect property rights from the potential greedy acts of others. Further, Locke stated there was a limit to the amount of private property an individual could own determined by the amount necessary to meet their direct needs, because nature was a gift from God to humanity for the basic needs of all people.

Rousseau, in *On the Social Contract* (1762), depicted individuals who lived in a state of nature as existing in an ideal setting with natural systems providing the basics of life. Later, when humans began living together in small groups, this arrangement led to a division of labor, the creation of leisure time, and the invention of private property, which, although affording benefits, also indirectly resulted in the corruption of the ideal state of nature.

These circumstances highlighted inequities between people, and Rousseau suggested that they advanced the development of social classes and led to rivalry among former equals. While Rousseau asserted that government was created to settle disputes between classes in ways good for all, he also warned that what often appears to be a social contract for the good of all is actually a means of perpetuating inequities and injustices for the good of a chosen few, a type of flawed social contract. As a remedy, Rousseau suggested the development of a new "normative" social contract, based on the equality of all, arguing that the good society is only possible when equal people freely choose to submit their individual wills to the collective will.

More recently in 1971, John Rawls introduced an interesting variation on social contract theory to advance his vision of a just society in his book *A Theory of Justice*. Here he asserted that when individuals are in the "original position" (the state of nature) they are behind a "veil of ignorance," lacking awareness or self-consciousness of their gender, race, socioeconomic status, or other aspects of personal identity that might inform them of their position in society. At such times they are likely to create more just laws, institutions, and policies for the good of all.

Rawls also described two principles of justice according to which social innovations can be judged as just or unjust. The first, the *equal liberty principle*, is concerned with the equal distribution of liberties, including freedom of thought, political liberties, and freedom of association. The second principle—known as the *equal opportunity principle*—is more complex. Rawls assumes that a society often takes on grand projects for the greater good. Yet these projects often afford greater power, higher wages, and in essence a better life to the few who lead those efforts. His theory of justice says that these apparent injustices are "fair" if they meet two conditions. First, everyone in society has equal access to the privileged roles, and second, the project itself will make life better for those in the least advantageous position in society. An example might be paying superintendents of public education a high salary

based on the assumption that they will lead educational reform beneficial to the poorest and most underserved children in their districts.

Beginning in the 1980s, social contract theory was critiqued from racial and feminist perspectives. While social contract theorists from John Locke forward have emphasized the universality of human rights, in practice people of color and women have been systematically excluded from the benefits of the social contract. In his book *The Racial Contract* (1997), Charles Smith shows how American history illustrates that while whites have been able to enter into the social contract as whole and free individuals, blacks have been regarded as less than whole, autonomous persons. Slavery not only prevented blacks from enjoying the privileges associated with the social contract, but they also were considered possessions in legal contracts with whites, and the U.S. Constitution declared them to be three-fifths of a person, making them ineligible to participate in the democratic process. Even after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery, other forms of social oppression—including harassment by the KKK—Jim Crow laws, institutionalized racism, and racial profiling continued.

The Sexual Contract (1988) by Carole Pateman offers a feminist critique of the social contract, describing how women were not included in the idea and practice of it in earlier times. The patriarchal nature of Western society placed women in a subservient position first to their fathers and later to their husbands, and assumptions of society about the proper role of women kept them constrained by laws that did not allow them to vote or own property, discouraged their education, and limited their pursuit of independent vocations. Additionally, feminist literature asserts that classic social contract theory focuses primarily on the rights and obligations of individuals, while there is much more involved in moral human interaction, including, as Pateman points out, the nurturing of social relationships as a primary duty, one associated more with a feminine perspective and skill.

Other variations on the social contract highlight the principles of justice and care as important focal points of such a contract. Lawrence Kohlberg, in his book *The Philosophy of Moral Development* (1981), suggests that justice is the highest principle people should consider when dealing with moral obligations in any situation. Further, Carol Gilligan, in her book *In a Different Voice* (1982), asserts that an ethic of care recognizes the reality that we are not isolated individuals but interconnected in a web of relationships and obliged to care for all those in the web.

Moral Philosophy and the Common Good

In moral philosophy, the issue of individual moral maturation has recently become a major focus. When considering this issue in connection with the concept of the common

good, it is possible to see moral maturation linked to three types of motivation concerning choice-making and action: self-oriented, social-oriented, and principle-oriented. Each of these categories is rooted in a different perspective of the world and benefits different people. The three types of motivation and beneficiaries of resulting actions can be illustrated as three concentric circles, each representing a person's increasing moral maturation as well as their expanding range of concern for diverse members of a community, as seen in Figure 1.

To better understand these three levels of moral maturation, picture three teenagers in a local corner store individually considering the question “Should I steal this candy bar?” and all three deciding they wouldn't steal it—but for different reasons. The first teenager concluded, “I won't steal it because I don't want to go to jail.” This is *self-oriented* reasoning—the individual not wanting something bad to happen to them. The second teenager thought, “I won't steal it because I don't want to disappoint my parents.” This is *social-oriented* reasoning—deferring to norms established by the person's significant group, such as parents, teachers, a boss, or peers. The third teenager decided, “Stealing is wrong. If I owned this store, I would not want anybody to steal from me, so I won't steal from the owner of this store.” This is *principle-oriented* reasoning—not doing it because it is not fair to everyone concerned, including the storeowner. Only principle-oriented thinking is capable of advancing the common good.

Principle-oriented reasoning, the concept of the third circle, provides a means for evaluating whether practical action is in line with the common good if we ask the simple question “Am I in the third circle?” Embedded in this question are several others:

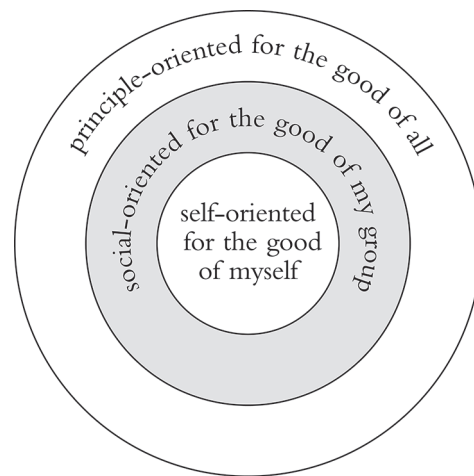


Figure 1 The Common Good Can Only Be Advanced From the Third Circle

SOURCE: Grace, B. (2011). *Sharing the Rock: Shaping Our Future Through Leadership for the Common Good*. Bellevue, WA: Common Good Works Press.

- Are the choices I am making grounded in principle?
- In particular, am I attending to justice and to care?
- Whose concerns and interests have I diminished or ignored?
- What would it mean to recommit to the good of all concerned?

Asking ourselves such questions periodically before taking action can lead to an instinctive ethical filter when considering actions. It is also useful to do this after taking action as a way to assess motivation. For example, following a key meeting, we can reflect on our choices and actions to determine if they exhibited principle-oriented reasoning and thus concern for all. Finally, we can ask such questions during action. For instance, if we are engaged with a client and realize that something we just said was not “third circle” in nature, we can make a choice to alter our action to conform with principle-oriented reasoning for the good of all.

The Spiritual Life and the Common Good

The spiritual life involves having a relationship with Spirit that directs us to the “good life” by listening to Spirit’s will through our heart. As we seek to discern the will of Spirit, we become followers of Spirit, acknowledging that Spirit knows how to advance the common good because goodness is at the heart of creation. According to many religious traditions, Spirit is biased in favor of justice, mercy, and a universal love that includes concern for the practical well-being of all life so that everyone might experience joy.

We become more effective followers of Spirit through contemplation and action. Contemplation is placing ourselves in Spirit’s presence through daily meditation and prayer, a humble posture conducive to listening that increases the likelihood that our actions will be in alignment with the will of Spirit. Once anchored in Spirit’s will and wisdom through contemplation, we can act in the world as disciples of Spirit, thereby more likely serving as stewards of the common good.

Thus the spiritual life is like the two phases of breathing—our inhale is connecting to the will of Spirit through contemplation, and our exhale is the resulting action based on our trust that Spirit has chosen to work through us for the common good.

By joining Spirit in this work, we become active disciples. As Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Lutheran theologian and martyr, notes in his book, *The Cost of Discipleship* (1937), without active discipleship we cheapen our faith by accepting the blessings of Spirit’s love but not the duties of joining Spirit in the work of advancing the common good. Through Spirit’s grace, we receive daily bread as well as talents so that we may be of service in the world. We can choose to privatize those resources in service to narrow self-interests, or we can imitate Spirit and commit our lives to advancing the common good.

According to theologian and author Walter Brueggemann, in his book *The Prophetic Imagination* (1978), the two central duties of discipleship are to engage in prophetic critique and in prophetic energizing. Prophetic critique requires being knowledgeable about sacred scriptures, such as the Torah, Gospel, or Qur’an as well as contemporary life so we have the perspective necessary to point out the ways contemporary life is at odds with the will of God relative to the common good. The success of prophetic critique is not measured by eloquent reasoning or political astuteness but by faithfulness to the will of Spirit.

Prophetic energizing is about instilling Spirit-informed hope in those who may have lost their way. Nothing can separate us from the love of Spirit, and it is never too late for humanity to return to the ways of Spirit.

We can see these two duties lived well in the life and work of Martin Luther King; he raised criticism about the racial and economic injustices in American life and called all citizens to engage the unfinished work of extending the promise of liberty and justice to all people.

As people engage in work following the will of Spirit to advance the common good through prophetic critique and prophetic energizing, it is easy to become overwhelmed by individual and collective behavior that is not in accord with original goodness, becoming judgmental and angry at those who seem to be defiling the will of Spirit. To manage these reactions, they need to be reminded that we are all imperfect and in need of divine mercy. Theologian Walter Wink, in his book *Engaging the Powers* (1992), reminds us of the essential role of mercy in advancing the good society by suggesting that all people, institutions, and communities are good; all are fallen; and all are redeemable. For Wink, nothing is beyond the reach of the forgiving and reforming nature of God’s love. Consequently, we ideally work to advance the common good with an uncompromising commitment to justice softened by mercy, permitting us to act with patience, forbearance, and nonviolence.

Unity of Life as Reflected in Religious Traditions and Science

The teachings of many religious traditions which assert that humanity and life-forms have been woven together by Spirit into a single garment have a long history and are now also finding a surprising ally in modern science. Seen in this light, the common good is more than an abstract philosophy that we subscribe to with our brains; it is a reverential relationship with everything based on a unity with Spirit.

The concept of oneness and Spirit being present in everything is at the heart of many spiritual traditions. For example, the first portion of the Jewish prayer the “shema,” which reads, “*Shema Yisra’el Adonai Eloheinu Adonai ehad!*” (Hear, O Israel, The Lord is our God, The Lord is one! Deut. 6:4), expresses more than the notion of monotheism. In the

Jewish tradition, YHWH is one, and the *oneness* of the Lord is realized as lived presence within the entirety of the created order.

In Native American traditions, Spirit is viewed as being in everything, and like our understanding of “dark matter,” serves as the invisible force that holds the stars apart and universe together. Indigenous people believe Spirit speaks directly to people through visions, dreams, and the voices of ancestors and elders on this side of eternity, and Spirit also speaks through the many voices in the natural world such as trees, flowers, animals, fish, and fire. Thus all creation serves as the voice of Spirit imparting the Creator’s wisdom.

And the apostle Paul speaks of the unity among people in his letter to the Corinthians (12:12–14):

For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit. Indeed, the body does not consist of one member but of many.

The concept of Spirit being present in everything is expressed elsewhere in Christian tradition. For example, in Matthew 22:36–40, when Jesus is asked by the Pharisees, “Teacher, which commandment in the law is the greatest?”, he replies,

“You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.” This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like it: “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.” On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

This statement commands us to love God with our unified self (heart, soul, and mind) and then to love ourselves and others in the same way, suggesting that the Divine is present in the hearts of all people.

Experiencing oneness with Spirit is a characteristic of the mystical path and according to some, reflects spiritual maturation. In the movie *One*, Thomas Keating, a Cistercian monk, says the journey to spiritual maturation can be summed up as follows: A person first realizes that there is a Divine Other, next realizes that it is possible to have a personal relationship with the Divine, and finally realizes that they are one with the Divine.

Philosophical reflections on the mystical path based on oneness with Spirit were articulated by Socrates as captured by Plato in *Phaedo* (360 BCE) then by Plato speaking for himself in *The Republic* (360 BCE). Mysticism was then repopularized about 600 years later, in the 3rd century, by Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism. Plotinus declared that the Divine had a threefold identity consisting of a universal good (or beauty), universal mind, and universal soul. He also believed that the soul of each human had a desire to reunite with Spirit, while the human mind

sought to achieve oneness with Spirit by pursuing the good. Morals then became pathways for people to imitate the goodness of the Divine.

Later, in the mid-1300s, the *Theologia Germanica*, written by an anonymous “Friend of God,” described three ways of pursuing mystical union with Spirit: the way of purgation, the way of illumination, and the way of union.

Around the same time, Meister Eckhart asserted that the human soul and the Divine soul were already one and that unity does not need to be achieved. Rather, the goal of life is to allow, through prayer and contemplation, our Divine soul to guide our daily choices to live well in service to Spirit through our stewardship of the common good.

Sufism, which is not a separate religious tradition but a pathway that can augment any tradition, asserts that the Divine is present in every atom of creation and that love is the key to a deep relationship with all life.

Finally, Islam teaches the oneness of Allah and that we can observe a reflection of that Oneness in the perfect order and beauty of the natural world.

These teachings about interconnectedness in various religious traditions are now being echoed by modern scientific discoveries. For example, ecology reveals that all life is connected through a complex network of relationships into a web of life, and what we humans do affects other life-forms. The interconnectedness and wholeness expressed by both ecology and spiritual teachings was dramatically illustrated by the first photograph taken from space by the astronauts of *Apollo 8* on December 24, 1968, titled *Earthrise*. Both the patterns of the natural world and the assumptions of ancient spiritual texts make it clear that everything is connected in a sacred oneness.

In addition, most recent scientific theories of cosmology, the study of the origins of the universe, assert that at the moment before the big bang the universe was bound together in a singular wholeness of immeasurable mass that held the potential for all life throughout the universe. Although today that unified wholeness may be harder to envision, given the immense vastness of the universe and the chaos of modern life, from Spirit’s point of view the unity evident at the dawn of creation still exists.

Shifting to a Common Good Worldview

While many spiritual traditions recognize both the unity of humanity and humanity’s unity with nature and Spirit, neither humanity’s current beliefs nor cultural systems that govern our individual and collective behaviors is in sync with this perspective, remaining instead based on the assumption of differences between people. This “us versus them” worldview has been prevalent across cultures throughout human history, influencing virtually every aspect of life. From time immemorial, humans have lived in tribes and clans, kingdoms and nations, and have fought

over hunting territory, trade routes, religious differences, and access to resources, affecting politics, economics, cultural institutions, and spirituality.

While historically the us–them worldview has worked well enough for humanity to survive, today it is our greatest liability. This is because our weapons have become too powerful and regions of the world too interconnected to be spared the potential dangers resulting from such a perspective, and the drive of dominant nations to claim and use more than their share of the world’s resources has strained the earth’s usually resilient ecosystem to the brink of failure. The future depends on whether humanity can shift to a common good worldview—one that supports the unity of a global system in which every member of a community has the inherent right to enjoy the good things of life, including resources, relationships, and dignity.

As we have seen, the ethic of the common good has existed throughout history alongside the dominant us–them worldview. Just as human communities have fought over differences, they have also looked out for the common good of their communities as essential practice for survival. However, the ethic of the common good has been practiced mostly within groups—such as families, tribes, institutions, and nations—with members sharing resources and supporting one another so the groups remain strong. In effect, the common good perspective has played a secondary, supporting role to the us–them perspective, which has governed the competitive relationships between groups.

The work before us now is to raise the ethic of the common good to the level of a worldview by making it the dominant perspective. Significantly, it supports the vision of humanity as all one family and the stewarding of global resources so that every corner of the earth is a safe place for a child to be born; for families, communities, businesses, and the environment to flourish; and for people to be free and to govern together. The common good worldview is compelling because people sense intuitively that it’s right, since it is in line with the interrelatedness of humanity and nature.

Shifting to a common good worldview requires us to give prominence to our commonality and subordinate our differences; examine the ethical, political, and economic assumptions that shape public life; embrace a more complex network of social and intellectual relationships, as well as a more inclusive view of spirituality; join with people we might otherwise avoid to move toward a common future; and learn to manage differing points of view so we enrich the whole without creating divisions. And the benefits of a common good worldview—peace, security, and the satisfaction of knowing that we are honoring the true expression of the reality of nature, the inherent wholeness of creation—are well worth the price tag of change. Although we do not yet know how and when we will arrive at a common good worldview, we can deduce the means that are likely to get us there, and we can let our vision of it inspire innovation.

Social, Environmental, Economic, and Political Implications of a Common Good Worldview

If a common good worldview is the true expression of the reality of nature, then it will have significant implications for our lives from a social, environmental, economic, and political viewpoint.

Social

As a common good worldview is established, people’s perspective on social roles and duties will change. For one thing, people will be likely to see their activities more regarding a vocation. More than a career or professional role, a vocation is a person’s calling. Having a vocation means placing our gifts and talents in the service of the common good. Individuals are called to serve and so are groups, institutions, communities, and nations. Whether individually or collectively, the goal is the same: to place ourselves in service to the common good and in doing so, align our actions with the desire of Spirit. To paraphrase Frederick Buechner, the place God calls you to is the place where your deep gladness and the world’s deep hunger meet.

People will also be more inclined to assess aspects of society according to standards of a common good worldview. In this vein, Walter Wink (1992) challenges people to engage “the powers,” those invisible forces that maintain unjust societies, realizing that human systems, structures, laws, and institutions have biases built into them that preserve the status quo for a chosen few often at the expense of the many, especially the poor and dispossessed.

In fact, once a common good worldview is established more people will see that we have two duties relative to these forces: to engage in transformational leadership, which seeks to change oppressive systems and structures for the common good; and to transform leadership, which seeks to change the hearts and minds of those who created the unjust systems and structures in the first place. Only when leadership is changed in these two ways can we be confident that our commitment to the common goodwill be lasting.

Also, with a common good worldview in place more people will likely feel compelled to contribute socially to healing the world. Being called to join Spirit in healing the world to restore original wholeness is a duty described in the past in various spiritual traditions. For example, in the Jewish tradition believers are called to the work of *tikkun olam*, or “world repair,” restoration of the world in keeping with God’s vision of Shalom, the world’s original state of holiness.

Lakota people talk about healing the sacred hoop—the circle of life—which becomes broken through individual and collective choices not to walk in the ways the Creator

intended. We restore the circle by “walking the red road”—acting in right relationship with ourselves, all people, and creation.

Llewellyn Vaughn-Lee, Sufi mystic of the Golden Sufi tradition, author, and educator, believes that the shift needed in this time for healing requires the active inclusion of the *anima mundi* (spirit of the world)—the Spirit in matter. Even though humans have been powerful enough to do harm, they are not powerful enough to restore order on their own and need to work in collaboration with the spiritual forces in nature. This is a necessary part of healing creation and is accomplished through our prayers, which naturally connect our Spirit with the Spirit in nature because there is only one Spirit. This “joining of Spirits” further inspires us to act in right relationship with the natural world.

In addition, according to Vaughan-Lee (2009), this work necessitates the wisdom of the divine feminine, which carries with it a heightened capacity for compassion, care, and healing, an energy that exists in all individuals but is especially available to women. Therefore, a social implication of the shift to a common good worldview is a greater focus on women’s leadership and the divine feminine everywhere.

Environmental

As a common good worldview is established, people’s perspective on the environment will change. For one thing, all human enterprise will be seen as successful in the long-term only to the degree to which it is in right relationship with the web of life and governed by the wisdom of Spirit. The natural world exists in accord with the designs of the Creator, resulting in a web of life with balanced systems that give and sustain life as governed by the wisdom of Spirit. And although in this web of life the biggest creatures one might consider the most powerful are actually the most vulnerable, while the smallest and seemingly insignificant are the most vital, all are important. For example, microscopic plankton feed whales; lichens and mosses prepare the way for cedar trees; and microbes in the soil feed tomatoes, which we place on our table.

All good social inventions—laws, social norms, rules, statutes, institutions, ideas, programs, and services—grow out of this fundamental truth about the sacred web of life. Further, every element of our common life should be evaluated on the basis of its impact on the web of life. If a social construct honors life and fosters the desires of Spirit—love, justice, and peace—it should be advanced. But if a social construct creates hate, injustice, and conflict it should be discarded or transformed in accordance with the desires of Spirit.

Economic

As a common good worldview is established, people’s perspective on the economy will change to ensure more

equitable distribution of wealth and good stewardship of resources. To understand this perspective on the economy, it is helpful to take a broader look at the true three-tiered makeup of the economy—as identified by Vandana Shiva (2005), environmentalist and social activist from India—the three economies are nature’s economy, the human economy, and the market economy.

Nature’s economy consists of systems in the natural world, such as those that cause rain and snow, photosynthesis, the tides, and the seasons. While these systems are strong and reliable, they can be disrupted or destroyed. Wise traditions throughout the world recognize the power and preciousness of nature’s economy and seek to live in right relationship with it, trusting that in honoring the earth they honor the Creator and join with Spirit in sustaining life.

The human economy is the network of relationships in the human family, including ancestors, grandparents, parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, clan members, friends, strangers, and enemies. Just as Spirit intends for us to be in right relationship with nature, Spirit calls for us to be in right relationship with all people. Further, Spirit resides in the heart of every person and inspires us to interact with all people with the same love, care, and generosity that Spirit first breathes into each of us. Therefore, human communities are meant to be lived expressions of Spirit-inspired relations committed to love, justice, and peace. While conflict is normal, it arises from the ego that knows pride, jealousy, and fear. Successful and enduring remedies for all conflicts begin with honoring all people, especially those who appear to be the opposition. When we stay grounded in Spirit, conflict can be transformed into an opportunity to advance love, justice, and peace.

The market economy is the means by which the diverse people of a region share the gifts of creation with each other. The goal of the market economy, in its purest sense, is not wealth creation for individuals or a community but a sharing of bounty so that all might know the goodness of creation.

These three economies are intended to fit together like Russian nesting dolls. The largest doll is nature’s economy, the second the human economy, and the third the market. We have crammed the two larger nesting dolls into the smallest (the market) asking them to conform to that small distorting space—no wonder we see so much environmental degradation and human rights violations. The market economy needs to take its right place within the limits of creation and Spirit’s desire to foster loving, just, and peaceful communities.

Adam Smith, Scottish moral philosopher and author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776/1994), popularized a market philosophy known as *laissez-faire*, in which government takes a hands-off approach and lets the natural forces of the market regulate the economy of a society. However, later in his life Smith changed his view, concluding that when the market forces are unregulated they generate not wealth for a nation but greed of a few, and consequently recommended that moral conscience needed to be institutionalized in the

form of government oversight of the market. Currently, since there has recently been a radical deregulation of markets in the United States and Europe, negatively affecting the global poor, to support a common good worldview we need to make changes ensuring that the market economy takes its right place relative to Spirit's desire to foster love, justice, and peace.

Although we have deified the market economy and it is a powerful force, it cannot solve every problem because not everything can or should be treated as a commodity. For example, according to a common good worldview, basic elements that support life—access to air, clean drinking water, land, health care, education, and shelter—are unalienable rights endowed by Spirit for all people. As a result, modern economic models, such as capitalism and socialism, should be evaluated by the degree to which they honor reality, ordering of the three economies, and a common good worldview.

Political

As a common good worldview is established, people's perspective on political structures will also change, with the goal of being in right relationship to politics. Historically, several political models have aligned with a common good worldview. One is *commonwealth*, a term introduced in 15th-century England, which is a voluntary political association of people who band together for the common good. Four American states—Kentucky, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—were established as commonwealths, in which each person was dedicated to the good of the whole, and in return, the whole dedicated itself to the good of each person.

Another political model aligned with a common good worldview is a democratic republic, in which people lend authority to a central government through public elections because they realize that the unpredictable fortunes of life can bring boon or bust to anyone at any time, and they thus

instruct their government to provide for the general welfare, trusting that in the end it is good for all.

Spirit-Inspired Leadership for a Common Good Worldview

The type of leadership we need in these days of uncertainty and lack of social justice is Spirit-inspired leadership grounded in the will and wisdom of the Divine. Humanity will not arrive at a future marked by a common good worldview by accident. Nor can we afford to wait for the slow-turning wheels of social evolution to carry us there. We need to move toward a common good worldview soon, because the earth cannot long survive ecological mistreatment because of the use of toxins, the threat of dirty bombs falling into the hands of terrorists because of hatred, or increasing poverty among people of the world who are becoming impatient for social justice.

If Spirit desires love and care for all, resulting in peaceful and sustainable societies, then we need Spirit-inspired leaders who act in ways that result in the creation of systems, structures, and institutions that are in right relationship with the web of life.

We need Spirit-inspired leaders who, with reverence and humility, align our hearts with the desires of Spirit so we make small and big decisions courageously on behalf of the common good.

Notes

1. Leymah Roberta Gbowee, Liberian peace activist, is credited with offering this translation of *ubuntu*, http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Leymah_Gbowee
2. This section on social contract theory is based on a summary provided by Celeste Friend in her online article "Social Contract Theory," <http://www.iep.utm.edu/soc-cont/#SH4b>

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RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

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Civic environments—local, state, national, international—are the contexts for social achievements and challenges. This chapter concerns how religious leaders perceive these societal situations, how they step into the diverse forces that create change, and how they influence others toward shaping generative outcomes. Leadership is always contextual, which means that it is understandable only in specific, concrete situations. This chapter focuses on frameworks and examples in the United States during the 20th century while also noting some leaders in other nations and centuries.

Introductory Frameworks

Many religious groups have foundational beliefs about loving one's neighbor, seeking justice, caring for the poor, and affirming the humanity of others. Usually the word *leader* refers to those with recognized authority, such as pastors, priests, rabbis, imams, and various leaders of congregations, plus professors and researchers, agency leaders, and others who have positions of influence. Also, leadership is often provided by other laypersons who do not have recognized positions of authority.

This chapter, "Religious Leadership for Social Change," concerns these men and women who are connected to the narratives, traditions, experiences, and practices of a faith community and who influence society's traits, activities, and policies based on that tradition's teachings. The degree to which leaders articulate the religious factors behind their social initiatives varies, but this chapter focuses on

leaders whose lives and words make explicit those religious beliefs. They shape a two-way bridge between the social environment and the community of faith. For example, Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) was a Hindu leader internationally known for inspiring nonviolent approaches to social change in South Africa and his homeland of India. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), a U.S. pastor who was shaped by African American churches and white theological education, also credits Gandhi with showing him how Jesus's teachings were relevant for social ethics as well as personal morals. King, who won the Nobel Peace Prize, had an impact on the U.S. society concerning race, economics, and warfare, and he shaped his own religious community when his biblical preaching, writings, and activities challenged and empowered many Christians and their churches concerning their beliefs and practices on the topics he addressed. Religious leaders occupy this in-between place and thereby help bring change to society and to religious groups (Chandha, 1997; Garrow, 1986).¹

Several key factors are important in the various examples used throughout this study. First, religious leaders frequently cite the marginalization, oppression, and suffering in their own lives or in the lives of people they have encountered. Second, with few exceptions, leaders are formed in faith communities in which many unrecognized leaders provided a fabric of wisdom, relationships, and support. Third, leaders are usually part of team efforts in which others are indispensable partners in social change. Fourth, social change frequently comes from the work of numerous religious persons who do not have formal power (Loeb, 2004; DeYoung, 2007).

Themes and Goals

There are numerous themes, causes, and goals that center the attention of religious leaders. The work of leading social change is not a one-directional movement from a list of religious convictions that lead to engagement. Rather, the faith community for various reasons often becomes aware of a social challenge that they or their neighbors face. That awareness brings them to understand the connections between their sacred texts and convictions and the social challenges they face.

Religious sources for social change are varied, usually embedded in core beliefs about God or gods (or some sense of transcendence), self, relationships with others of the same beliefs, and relationships with humanity. Some religious texts have become common references for leaders who engage social challenges. For example, the Sermon on the Mount (in the Gospel of Matthew) is frequently cited by Christians and others. This list provides some other common references.

In the United States, several modern religious movements within Christian traditions have placed a priority on societal concerns. The Social Gospel movement, with Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) among its notable leaders, explicitly called for faith that moved beyond individualism to address economic inequities, alcoholism, the needs of children, labor matters, racism, and militarism. Dorothy Day (1897–1980), who moved to New York and became involved in journalism and approaches of promoting social justice, was drawn to the Roman Catholic teachings about the poor. With Peter Maurin (1877–1949) she founded the *Catholic Worker* newspaper, which became the center of a movement for hospitality, houses of care for the poor, farming communes. Liberation Theology, mainly birthed among Roman Catholic leaders in Latin America, including priest Gustavo Gutiérrez (b. 1928), addressed how institutionalized sin and injustices were affecting the poor and promoted involvement in politics and human rights. Others expanded this framework toward Black theology, feminist theology, womanist theology (African American and other women of color), and Mujerista theology (Hispanic women). The Christian Right connects church support with socially conservative policies, emphasizes opposition to abortion and same-sex marriages, and deemphasizes the role of government in regulating business, economics, and efforts concerning the environment. Leaders have included broadcaster James Dobson (b. 1936) and pastor/broadcasters Jerry Falwell (1933–2007) and Pat Robertson (b. 1930). (Rauschenbusch, 1917; Forest, 2011; Day & Sicius, 2004; Gutiérrez, 1988; Williams, 2010)

Among the more influential religious organizations is the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. Through various publications and offices, they bring attention to Catholic social teaching (Deberri, 2003). They articulate seven themes:²

1. Life and dignity of the human person—rooted in belief concerning the sacredness of human life. This is the basis of their convictions concerning the beginning and ending of life and perspectives on how legitimate police and military action is to be conducted.
2. Call to family, community, and participation—based on the conviction that these are essential for healthy human society. This links smaller social groups with the pursuit of the common good.
3. Rights and responsibilities—which requires both protection of rights and the embracing of duties. There is a vital link between a society’s protection of individual human dignity and the role each person plays to shape small and large social groups to embody those protections.
4. Option for the poor and vulnerable—rooted in biblical texts and historic practices of the church. Individuals, churches, businesses, other organizations, and governing structures have a moral obligation to test their actions in relationship to the most vulnerable persons in the society.
5. The dignity of work and the rights of workers—a key aspect of how a society’s economy is to be evaluated. Work is both a means to sustenance and a way to participate in God’s creation, so it encompasses matters of the worthiness and fairness of the labor arrangements as well as respect for private property and the promotion of economic initiatives.
6. Solidarity—which is a call beyond parochial interests. Love for the neighbor across economic, ethnic, ideological, and national boundaries leads us toward peacemaking and work for justice.
7. Care for God’s creation—based on the responsibilities given to humans for the stewardship of the planet. There are numerous matters of health, justice, economics, work, beauty, and social well-being that are tied directly to matters of ecology.

Roman Catholic perspectives do not track with the political bifurcation in the United States. For example, their views on the sacredness of life include the rights of the unborn, which is considered a *conservative* view in the United States, while their opposition to the death penalty is considered a *liberal* position. Cardinal Joseph Bernardin (1928–1996) called for a *consistent life ethic* that opposed abortion, capital punishment, economic injustice, and euthanasia (Bernardin, 2008).

The themes noted by the U.S. Bishops also receive attention among traditional/mainline Protestant churches and organizations (such as United Methodists, the Episcopal Church, and the Presbyterian Church [USA]), whose official positions tend toward progressive perspectives.³ For example, they encourage governmental involvement aimed at the stewardship of the environment. They would also emphasize labor rights, gender and racial equality, and the need for corporations and individuals who accumulate wealth to bear more societal costs including resources for the poor. In comparison, leaders in many evangelical

Hindu

O people! Those of you who have attained higher, middle or lower status in your respective fields of work, enjoy the wealth thus gained together as one. With the resources for the production of material goods at your disposal, dedicate your life to eradicate the evils of society and strive at all times for the well-being of the people. —Rig Veda 5.60.6

Nonviolence, truth, slowness to wrath, the spirit of dedication, serenity, aversion to slander, tenderness to all that lives, freedom from greed, gentleness, modesty, freedom from levity, spiritedness, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, freedom from ill will and arrogance—these are to be found in one born with the divine heritage, O Bharata —Bhagavad Gita 16:2–3 (Gandhi)

Buddhist

A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence but justly and righteously, and who is guided by the Law (Dharma) and intelligent, he is called just. —Dhammapada 19:256–257 (Muller)

I am medicine for the sick. May I be their physician and their servant, until sickness does not arise again. With rains of food and drink may I dispel the anguish of hunger and thirst. In the famine of the intermediary aeons between the world cycles may I be food and drink; and may I be an imperishable treasury for needy beings. May I stand in their presence in order to do what is beneficial in every possible way. I would be a protector for those without protection, a leader for those who journey, and a boat, a bridge, a passage for those desiring further shore. —The Bodhicaryavatara 3:7–9, 27 (Matics)

Jewish

[God] enacts justice for orphans and widows, and he loves immigrants, giving them food and clothing. That means you must also love immigrants because you were immigrants in Egypt. —Deut. 10:18–19 (Common English Bible)

. . . this is the fast I desire:

To unlock fetters of wickedness,
And untie the cords of the yoke;
To let the oppressed go free;
To break off every yoke.

It is to share your bread with the hungry,
And to take the wretched poor into your home;
When you see the naked, to cloth [them],
And not to ignore your own kin.

Then shall your light burst through like the dawn
And your healing spring up quickly . . . —Isa. 58:6–8a (NJPS Tanakh)

And seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you and pray to the Lord in its behalf; for in its prosperity you shall prosper. —Jer. 29:7 (NJPS Tanakh)

Christian

Jesus went to Nazareth, where he had been raised. On the Sabbath he went to the synagogue as he normally did and stood up to read.¹⁷ The synagogue assistant gave him the scroll from the prophet Isaiah. He unrolled the scroll and found the place where it was written:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
because the Lord has anointed me.
He has sent me to preach good news to the poor,
to proclaim release to the prisoners
and recovery of sight to the blind,
to liberate the oppressed,
and to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.

He rolled up the scroll, gave it back to the synagogue assistant, and sat down. Every eye in the synagogue was fixed on him. He began to explain to them, "Today, this scripture has been fulfilled just as you heard it." —Luke 4:17–21 (Common English Bible)

Don't be in debt to anyone, except for the obligation to love each other. Whoever loves another person has fulfilled the Law. The commandments, Don't commit adultery, don't murder, don't steal, don't desire what others have, and any other commandments, are all summed up in one word: You must love your neighbor as yourself. Love doesn't do anything wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is what fulfills the Law. —Rom. 13:8–10 (Common English Bible)

Table 1 Religious Scriptures About Social Responsibility

Islamic

Righteousness is not that you turn your faces toward the east or the west, but [true] righteousness is [in] one who believes in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the prophets and gives wealth, in spite of love for it, to relatives, orphans, the needy, the traveler, those who ask [for help], and for freeing slaves; [and who] establishes prayer and gives zakah; [those who] fulfill their promise when they promise; and [those who] are patient in poverty and hardship and during battle. Those are the ones who have been true, and it is those who are the righteous. —Qur'an 2:177 (Sahih International)

O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is Acquainted with what you do. —Qur'an 5:08 (Sahih International)

Table 1 (Continued)

SOURCE: Author.

churches and associations emphasize personal morality while also attending to matters of poverty and human rights, though with different means for achieving goals. From this conservative perspective there is greater emphasis on an individual's responsibility for self-sufficiency and less government involvement of social issues.⁴ During the last few decades, two organizations, the Christian Community Development Association and Evangelicals for Social Action, have brought significant attention and increased diversity to social issues.

This broad list from the Roman Catholic Bishops also finds overlap with papers and projects in other religious groups. The Jewish tradition of *tikkun olam*, or repairing the world, has parallel convictions rooted in biblical teachings about loyalty to God that leads to justice and kindness for one's neighbors (Dorf, 2005). Also, various North American Islamic organizations give attention to similar topics: civil and religious rights, the sacredness of human life, the importance of family, protection of property rights, economic development that serves communities and individuals, the need to counter extremism and intolerance, disaster relief, immigration rights, healthcare, and special attention to the poor and orphans.⁵

There are differences *within* religious traditions that are as profound as are the differences *between* religions. For example, because of Christian teachings about peacemaking, some Roman Catholic leaders promote narrowing the use of military options through more rigorous work with the just war tradition (taught by the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church) while other Roman Catholic leaders have worked in pacifist and antiwar movements (Berrigan, 2009; Day, 1996). They share concerns for limiting the use of force and the protection of noncombatants, but they differ in how they work with texts, tradition, and current circumstances.

Sometimes these differences are primarily about the role of government and its power concerning business, neighborhoods, and individuals. For example, religious groups generally affirm that people need food, shelter, medical care, and education, but they differ concerning the

roles of government agencies, businesses, community groups, churches, and individuals. Those distinctions influence what perspectives religious leaders might have—whether they focus on helping churches provide food and temporary housing for poor families, organizing movements to encourage greater government involvement in low-cost housing, or calling on businesses to pay a living wage to employees.

Diverse Approaches to Change

Religious leaders can shape groups, coalitions, and networks by working with moral authority, institutional connections, and relationships. This chapter will use three broad categories of leadership as lenses for understanding the diverse ways that religious persons shape social change: (1) awareness and understanding, (2) relationships and coalitions, and (3) actions and organizations.

These three ways of creating social change usually overlap. For example, Day's desire to have more people understand Catholic social teachings led her to publish and distribute a newspaper. King's sermons and speeches were often in the context of public protests in which he was a leading organizer. Frances Willard (1839–1898), a key leader in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, was an activist on behalf of women and children (who were often left destitute). Through speaking, writing, organizing, and direct action, she initiated schools for children and young women, promoted women's suffrage, and supported labor unions (Tyrrell, 2010). Additional examples and details about these approaches receive further attention.

Social Change Through Awareness and Understanding

Religious leaders shape the awareness and understanding of faith groups and the general public in numerous ways. Through writing, speaking, research, and the shaping of

learning environments, leaders draw others into experiences and information that might increase understanding. For example, through his sermons and public speeches King helped many in the churches and in society understand the relationship between biblical narratives and our society's need to face and change racist practices. Also, Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), who was born into a leading Jewish family in Poland, studied under distinguished teachers, and lived during a time of the violent oppression of Jews in Europe. As a Jewish rabbi, he was a professor, writer, and speaker who initiated interfaith relationships and was a political activist who focused on social justice, poverty, peace, and sustainability in ecology and economics (Kaplan & Dresner, 1998; Kaplan, 2007). His passion for social justice led to collaboration with Martin Luther King Jr.

Religious leaders often invest in schools—from preschool through graduate education. Such venues can shape how each generation connects faith traditions with societal involvement. The formal curriculum—the subjects and perspectives in lectures, books, and other media—can make explicit connections between religious narratives and teachings and diverse matters of society, like politics, business and employment, human relationships, the arts, and healthcare. The informal curriculum—including the relationships among students, administrators, and academics; the school's relationship with its neighborhood; the school's management and use of money; and how faith is practiced—also models (or counters) the tradition's social teachings. So leaders shape the awareness and understanding of students through all the diverse activities and traits of the school.

Leaders engage in research that influences the understanding of religious groups and the public. Their work can be that of a scholar who reads ancient or modern texts, engages in quantitative or qualitative research, or sorts through and interprets other sources of information. Walter Brueggemann (b. 1933), a Christian scholar who focuses on the Hebrew Bible, uses his skills with rhetorical, literary, social, and theological analysis to connect the Bible with how contemporary churches face contemporary social challenges. Andrew Greeley (b. 1928), a Roman Catholic priest and social researcher, has worked on numerous social themes, including ethnicity, education, and the relationship of religion to society, mainly with the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (Greeley, 1999). The New Evangelical Partnership for the Common Good, a broad coalition of professors, pastors, and other leaders, engages in research and policy work related to issues like the environment, Muslim-Christian dialogue, immigration, and economics. The Hartford Institute for Religion Research, the Center for Religion and Civic Culture at the University of Southern California, and the Association of Religion Data Archives are organizations that engage in research and publishing. Research is also frequently done at the local level and more informally. Local religious groups seek to understand the

elderly, the youth, or the unemployed in their communities to shape responses. Research may be primarily about gathering data but it can also be an activity that raises awareness simply by asking questions and initiating new relationships (Brueggemann, 2001).

This work on knowledge and understanding is disseminated through direct conversations and through media. Writing and publishing have been especially important means for the work of religious leadership. Books, academic journals, magazines, and newspapers offer means for religious leaders to publish research, interpretation, and opinion. Books may be nonfiction or fiction. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), a Christian who worked toward the abolition of slavery, wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a fictional account of slavery that changed the public conversation. Thomas Merton (1915–1968), a Roman Catholic monk, wrote numerous books to show the relationship between faith, spiritual practices, and public life. Ron Sider (b. 1939) wrote *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* to bring attention and understanding to matters of wealth and poverty. Jim Wallis (b. 1948), a Christian, founded *Sojourners* magazine (formerly *Post-American*) and writes articles and books to shape perspectives on numerous matters of faith and social change (Reynolds, 2011; Rakoczy, 2006; Sider, 2005; Wallis, 2005).

Sometimes religious leaders work together on statements that they intend for broad readership in faith communities or for the public. These statements might be focused on a specific group, or the project might draw participants and readers across various religious groups. The “Barmen Declaration” (Germany, 1934) rejected a nationalist church, which exhibited anti-Semitism, and affirmed that the church was subordinate to Word and Spirit (not to the nation) under the Lordship of Jesus Christ.⁶ The U.S. Catholic Bishops’ “The Challenge of Peace” (1983) had an impact on public discourse about nuclear arms and other matters of war and peace.⁷ The “Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern” (1973) was written because a group of evangelical leaders believed there was a need to confess failure and engage in social change on matters of justice, race, economics, and women's equality.⁸

Broadcast media and the Internet are employed to address the numerous matters at the crossroads of religious beliefs and social life. Religious groups own and operate television and radio stations, and they create websites and employ Internet social media. Also, nonreligious stations and sites may give coverage to persons, groups, and events in which religious leaders participate. When African American leaders shaped demonstrations for civil rights, national television broadcast speeches, marches, and prayerful sit-ins.

Writers, directors, and producers have created documentary films and mainstream cinema that connect religious narratives with contemporary social challenges. For example, *Romero* (1989), narrating the struggles against violence and injustice by the martyred Salvadoran

Archbishop, provided connections between religion, social upheavals, political oppression, and leadership. *Amish Grace* (2010), a documentary, explores how a religious community responded with forgiveness after a gunman killed five children. While cinema can make thematic connections and raise interest in a subject matter they seldom provide specific frameworks for social change. The more focused options available to religious groups through Internet social media make those avenues helpful for shaping opinion, creating petitions, gathering demonstrators, and participating in policy work.

Social Change Through Relationships and Coalitions

Religious leaders engage in social change by initiating and maintaining relationships and coalitions. Social change requires cooperative work, so communication, trust, and certain levels of enduring connections are required. Leaders shape networks, environments, and opportunities for people to meet to build understanding about each other's convictions and capacities. Understanding and trust increase in relationships when leaders create processes for groups to acquire important information and allow, with basic attentiveness and respect, a space for differences and agreements. That environment also fosters a new shared imagination. César Chávez, a Roman Catholic layman (1927–1993), often with Dolores Huerta (b. 1930), created a labor movement among Mexican farm workers. As the movement grew they created a relationship with the Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and eventually joined with the AFL-CIO (a national labor union). They did this while also extending their relationships in church networks, political circles, and with others who could help shape public awareness (Levy, 2007).

Sometimes leaders shape relationships within their own organizations, whether by drawing together like-minded persons or shaping a conversation across significant differences. This relational work within an organization deepens trust, common understandings, and potential for action. For example, a pastor can host their own members who are business owners, workers, and youth to discuss their stories about work and consider matters of local youth employment. Or leaders can convene teachers and students to reflect on local schools. These settings allow space for the previously mentioned work concerning awareness and understanding, and they create a platform for potential actions.

Religious leaders make social change possible by creating settings in which members meet neighbors and strangers, listen to each other's stories of wounds and hopes, find common causes, provide encouragement in mutual hospitality, and sacrifice for the good of others. Most faith traditions include teachings about loving one's neighbors, so when leaders promote genuinely mutual relationships,

awareness and cooperation can lead to social change. Churches often become hosts and participants in community groups, which create new relationships. Because of their networks and locations, members have significant access to others who can bring awareness that can be conveyed back to the church. A local need for tutoring, or for voices at a city council, or for low-cost housing can gain momentum as a faith community learns from and engages with neighbors. This relational work is primarily about listening as neighbors learn of challenges and options from each other (Roxburgh, 2010).

Religious leaders have opportunities to convene conversations that cross the normal power differentials. They can bring laborers together with corporate managers or citizens into conversations with political leaders. This is possible because the membership of religious groups include that diversity, and because religious leaders can use their moral authority to invite participants. Sometimes this work is preliminary—such as when a leader prepares a group by drawing together a few representatives to pave the way for them to be receptive to new voices or deeper relationships. That preliminary work can lead to long-lasting relationships among leaders and their constituencies.

Various faith communities often have shared concerns, such as care for homeless persons or opposition to racism. Leaders foster the creation of coalitions, based on their awareness of common values and the personal friendships they may have with other leaders. An ecumenical or interfaith group, through the leadership of staff, local clergy, or participants from various faith communities learns about such potential involvement because they take time to know each other, to learn about common beliefs and goals, and to draw others into those conversations. In 1992, when the Los Angeles Riots were gaining intensity, an African American pastor in Oakland, California, called a group of friends, including African American and Korean American, so that they could quickly shape visible events of worship and partnership, which not only allowed Oakland to avoid violence but also initiated new economic initiatives. The Interfaith Center of New York, like other such organizations, has been fostering interreligious relationships and has built on those relationships to address numerous issues such as housing foreclosures, domestic violence, how courts and legal practices work, and shared ecological concerns.

Because important social challenges lie beyond strictly local influence, religious leaders also engage in national and international networks and coalitions. Sometimes these associations, such as international church bodies, provide the relationships that become carriers of information and options about social challenges concerning matters such as oppression, injustice, economics, and ecology. For example, the World Evangelical Alliance, the World Council of Churches, and the Roman Catholic Caritas have all heard from their local constituencies and gained an increasing understanding about human trafficking.

The relational work of leaders often requires specific attention to conflict resolution. On the local level, conflicting perspectives, tragic events, and historic narratives can drive people apart. Communication breaks down, fears rise, and discord increases. Factors may include differing faith perspectives, but more frequently the social fabric is torn because of racism, economic disparity, violence, social inequities, and inflammatory speech. Religious leaders can bring their relationships, various rituals and symbols, religious practices such as prayer, and skills in conflict resolution to bear on such situations. There are national centers, such as that Lombard Mennonite Peace Center and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies (at the University of Notre Dame), and local initiatives, such as the New Institute for Violence Prevention and Church Growth at the University of Southern California. This specific work of peacemaking is an important work for religious leaders.

Social change is initiated and sustained as groups of people, such as faith communities and religious organizations, draw on their religious traditions for peace, love, and the common good, and engage in relationships beyond their own familiar circles. Religious texts, traditions, and practices can separate people and lead to divergent understandings of social good, but relationships make it possible to listen to each other, learn about overlapping values and concerns, see the world through each other's experiences, and build goodwill. Religious leaders can model and foster such relationships.

Social Change Through Actions and Organizations

Finally, religious leaders promote social change by personal actions, by influencing the actions of groups, and by creating and shaping organizations toward the common good. They engage in acts of mercy, mobilize others through demonstrations, create and manage organizations, bring focus and resources for community development, and organize communities for listening and change. The short- and long-term consequences of these approaches vary, and issues like dependency, empowerment, self-governance, and mutuality are all important. For example, churches can create corporations to build houses or do job training. They can start community gardens or do environmental cleanup. They can also organize businesses and government agencies to address social challenges. Arthur Simon (b. 1930), a Lutheran minister, was the founder of Bread for the World, which mobilizes Christian congregations as a way to engage in research, policy work, and advocacy concerning domestic and international hunger (Simon, 2003). Charles Colson (1931–2012), a Christian layman who had served time in prison, founded Prison Fellowship to serve the families of prisoners, to provide chaplains in prisons, and to help ex-offenders (Colson,

2001). Esperanza, a national coalition of Latino religious leaders, works on social challenges facing their communities, such as immigration reform, housing, and economic vitality. In a less activist mode, many in the Anabaptist traditions believe their most powerful and faithful social agency is living in such a way that their own lives demonstrate the truth, justice, and love of the gospel. They emphasize that Jesus's description of his followers as "salt," "light of the world," and "city on top of a hill" (Matt. 5:13–14) provides the primary means for attracting others toward alternative social arrangements.

Religious traditions provide narratives and values that emphasize care for the poor, those who suffer because of illness or the lack of basic resources, and those who are marginalized by a society. Leaders serve and shape congregations and organizations to meet basic human needs for food, shelter, healing, and freedom from bondage. These works of mercy might lead to organized efforts, but the basic act of extending charity and encouraging others to do the same is fundamental to social change. Father Damien (Jozef De Veuster, 1840–1889), a Roman Catholic priest who was canonized as a saint, lived and ministered on the island of Molokai (Kingdom of Hawaii) where a colony had been established to isolate people with leprosy (Hansen's disease). Mother Teresa (Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu, 1910–1997), a Roman Catholic nun who received the Nobel Peace Prize, spent years in daily care for the sick and dying in Calcutta (Spink, 2011). Helen Prejean (b. 1939), a Roman Catholic sister, has been a minister to inmates on death row, founded *Survive to Care* for families who suffer from violent crimes, and has led a national effort to abolish the death penalty. These personal activities also led toward forming organizations. It is common for religious persons, who would not assume they are leaders, to become agents of basic human care, then to learn ways to become more effective or to broaden their work in addressing suffering.

Religious leaders work with small and large groups to create assemblies and demonstrations that mobilize others to draw attention to social issues and to promote change. Leaders help clarify messages and procedures, provide training, engage the media, and by their presence, personally offer encouragement. Chávez and Huerta, the founders of the National Farm Worker Association, organized laborers and helped them and others understand the economic forces that shaped unjust working conditions, the poor health among their families, and the racist history that made change difficult. They spoke at rallies and shaped and motivated teams to do research, form plans, promote strikes and boycotts, and negotiate with unions, farm owners, and major grocery corporations. Chávez also undertook extended fasts, rooted in his Catholic faith and in what he had learned from Gandhi. The teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church sustained the movement and made it possible to extend their influence through other religious networks.

Christian and Muslim leaders throughout the United States have created public demonstrations to counter prejudice and fear. Religious leaders, in recent years, have been notable regarding public events concerning immigration reform, economic inequities, ecological concerns, and local gatherings about community safety. On occasion such demonstrations are convened and led by well-known religious persons, but most events are the work of numerous leaders in churches and organizations who act out of religious convictions. Religious leaders have engaged in numerous activities around the world in resisting authoritarian governments and promoting civil rights—including the Confessing Church in Germany, the People Power Movement in the Philippines (1986), the Green Movement in Iran (2009), and Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace in Liberia (2003). Witness for Peace, rooted in the Peace Church tradition, works in solidarity with local people in violent and poor Latin American nations, while they also challenge U.S. foreign policies and corporate activities seen as detrimental to those communities. Christian Peacemaker Teams trains and sends participants to locations in which their presence can reduce violence through prayer vigils, documenting events, and nonviolent intervention.

Illegal means are sometimes used to intensify media coverage and public attention. Daniel Berrigan (b. 1921), a Roman Catholic priest, acting personally, led demonstrations, and formed the Plowshares Movement to protest war, war taxes, and nuclear armaments. These activities included nonviolent actions and civil disobedience such as trespassing and damaging armaments (Polner, 1997). Sometimes leadership is not intentional but arises from religious beliefs about civic and personal rights, such as when Rosa Parks (1913–2005), a Christian layperson who was trained as an activist, was arrested because she refused to relinquish her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama, setting off a citywide boycott of the bus system by African Americans (Garrow, 1986). Jim Wallis (b. 1948), an evangelical activist and author, and other members of the Sojourners community have engaged in civil disobedience to draw attention to the needs for peacemaking, social justice, and economic fairness.

Religious leaders create organizations that can have a long-term influence on a single issue or on a multiple initiatives. Milliard Fuller (1935–2009), a Christian layman, founded Habitat for Humanity, which has engaged numerous local leaders and groups in the United States and around the world providing housing by creating partnerships with those who need homes and other local volunteers and developing sources of materials and funds. Ron Sider (b. 1939) and Evangelicals for Social Action guide and encourage churches to work on important local, national, and international issues like economics, immigration, and peace initiatives. World Vision, founded by Robert Pierce (1914–1978), is a Christian humanitarian organization that works in many nations to address

poverty, disasters, economic development, and the needs of children.

Religious leaders can influence governmental and corporate policies. Sometimes this work concerns laws and policies that are codified in writing such as corporate minutes and bylaws, governmental laws and codes, and agency procedural documents. At other times a business or governmental agency may be acting on the basis of habits and practices that are informal yet still established. The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility promotes faith-based investing and shareholder activism to influence the policies and actions of corporations on matters such as economic justice, political freedom, and the environment. Interfaith Worker Justice is a national network of local organizations that on behalf of workers' rights address corporations through research, organizing, and mobilizing. Among King's accomplishments was the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Religious organizations that are designed to bring about social change may focus on local development such as housing, entrepreneurship, or employment. Korean Churches for Community Development, led by Hyepin Im (b. 1966), a Christian layperson, links churches, local nonprofit groups, businesses, and civic governments to promote economic development and provide various educational and training resources to strengthen neighborhoods. Gregory Boyle (b. 1954), a Roman Catholic priest, founded and leads Homeboy Industries in Los Angeles, which provides job opportunities, counseling, and training to counter gang involvement (Boyle, 2010). The national Christian Community Development Association, founded by John Perkins (b. 1930) and over 50 other Christian leaders, links numerous churches and nonprofit corporations that address their own local challenges and emphasizes multiracial partnerships (Perkins, 1996).

Community organizing is another approach for addressing social change. Rather than community development, in which an organization determines the focus of its work (such as housing or jobs), community organizing emphasizes a network of relationships, the training of leaders, enduring relationships, and the building of long-lasting capacities to listen to neighbors and shape responses together. Working in the tradition of Saul Alinsky (1909–1972), who claimed his Jewish roots and at times worked closely with Christians but did not emphasize faith traditions, a new generation connected more consistently with congregations. Edward Chambers (b. 1930) formerly a Roman Catholic priest, reshaped Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, and John Baumann (b. 1938), a Roman Catholic priest, founded the Pacific Institute for Community Organizing. Community organizing is employed by faith traditions that value the gifts of all participants, the voices of neighbors, diverse approaches to cooperation and partnerships, and the need to address civic and business leaders concerning social challenges. These organizations are present through the nation,

engaging initiatives such as creating a community garden, fostering changed approaches in a school district, and promoting banking policies that serve the civic good (Wood, 2002; Warren, 2001).

Leaders in various business enterprises sometimes make direct connections between the activities of their company and their faith tradition. R. G. LeTourneau (1888–1969), an inventor and businessman who manufactured earthmoving equipment, was an articulate Christian layman, author, founder of a university, and frequent speaker about Christian values and business. Robert Lavelle (1915–2010), a Christian layman, founded Dwelling House Savings and Loan in a low-income community in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, demonstrating how basic banking services for families and businesses can work in a marginalized setting. He visited homeowners to provide counsel on family finances and articulated God's care for the poor and the community's need for everyone's generosity and cooperation. There are numerous men and women in businesses who speak about how their convictions about creativity, fairness, compassion, and generosity are embodied in their practices (LeTourneau, 1991; Perkins, 2007, p. 186)

There is a synergism among these activities and the roles noted earlier—research, writing, and building relationships. Further, many of these activities require money and other resources. J. Howard Pew (1882–1971), a Presbyterian layman, along with other family members, directed monies from their petroleum business into numerous Christian organizations as well as into conservative social causes. The Pew Charitable Trusts has broadened its work to include environmental, health, and correctional activities, and does extensive research on Hispanics in America. The Lilly Endowment was resourced by the family's pharmaceutical business. J. K. Lilly Sr. (1861–1948) and his sons founded the endowment, which continues to emphasize grants for religion, education, and community development. John Templeton (1912–2008), a Presbyterian layman, created a foundation to foster research and dialogue that connects spiritual quest with science and other learning. While these are well known, there are numerous religious leaders who participate in social change by funding local and regional endeavors.

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Conclusion

Religious leaders engage social challenges that are fairly obvious and straightforward as well as those that are complex and without clear answers. The impact of religious leaders on society is sometimes recognized publically, such as with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize. Desmond Tutu (b. 1931), a South African Anglican Bishop, opposed apartheid and led the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help the nation toward new beginnings. Elie Wiesel (b. 1928), a survivor of the Holocaust, is a persistent author and lecturer concerning the themes of oppression, racism, and violence. Aung San Suu Kyi (b. 1945), a Buddhist who frequently cites Gandhi and King, is Burma's (Myanmar's) primary voice for democracy. Also, there are numerous others with convictions and courage who form teams for spiritual sustenance and social involvement and who diffuse works of mercy and justice in continuing ripples and waves of change (Tutu, 2000; Weisel, 1995; DeYoung, 2007, pp. 103–20).

Notes

1. This article features numerous references to leaders and organizations. Additional information is available in this handbook, in web databases, and through standard library searches. In some cases a publication or website will be noted in the article or in the accompanying reference list.
2. See <http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/sharing-catholic-social-teaching-challenges-and-directions.cfm>.
3. For examples, for United Methodists see <http://www.umc-gbcs.org>, and for PCUSA see <http://gamc.pcusa.org/ministries/compassion-peace-justice>. Other denominational websites have further information.
4. For example, the National Association of Evangelicals—see <http://nae.net/government-relations/for-the-health-of-the-nation>.
5. See Islamic Society of North America (<http://isna.net>) and the Council of American-Islamic Relations (<http://cair.com>).
6. See <http://sacred-texts.com/chr/barmen.htm>.
7. This document is in a collection on the UCCB site—<http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/war-and-peace/nuclear-weapons/index.cfm>.
8. See <http://thejustlife.org/home/2008/05/01/chicago-declaration-of-evangelical-social-concern>.

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