

ORGANIZING THE PEOPLE OF GOD: SOCIAL-SCIENCE THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION IN ECCLESIOLOGY

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AN ARTICLE by a political scientist which appeared in this journal in 1972¹ put the case for the usefulness of the social sciences in understanding and structuring the Church. It ended with a call for "political ecclesiology" to be made an important part of theological studies, and for insights from social-science theories of organization to be increasingly applied in ecclesiologies.

Even at the time when that article appeared, some work in the area of ecclesiology and social science had already been done. Bonhoeffer's isolated attempt at "a dogmatic enquiry into the sociology of the Church" in the 1920s² had prepared the way for an increasing number of studies in this interdisciplinary field—studies which have varied greatly in weight, approach, and background, and have rarely engaged one another. This variety and lack of connectedness makes the area of "political" or "organizational" ecclesiology a difficult one to assess and work within. The use of theories of organization in ecclesiology is still relatively new, and so lacks clear, well-established parameters and methodologies. Each laborer in the field has to start more or less from scratch, reading the work already done, studying the social-science theories themselves, and working out her own approach.

This article aims at facilitating the development of this field by giving a critical account of the major work done in the area so far. That will be of help and guidance to any theologians attempting to bring together ecclesiology and social-science theory, and it may be of interest to others as well. In what follows a number of ecclesiological works³ which employ social-science understandings of organizational life are examined. Once

¹ Bernard F. Donahue, "Political Ecclesiology," *TS* 33 (1972) 294–306.

² Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio: A Dogmatic Enquiry into the Sociology of the Church* (1927; reprinted: London: Collins, 1963).

³ I wish to differentiate ecclesiological studies which use theories of organization from properly social-science studies of the Church. In practice this division is not always clear-cut, and there are a large number of sociological studies which are useful to the interdisciplinary work envisaged here but which we will not discuss, because they are not primarily theological. For an introduction to these works, see James A. Beckford, "Religious Organization: A Trend Report and Bibliography," *Current Sociology* 21 (1973) 7–163.

certain recurrent themes and problems have been properly identified, the way is open for the creative development of new methodologies and approaches.

ECCLESIOLOGY AND THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION: THE BACKGROUND

Before entering any field of study, a good question to ask is: Why? In this case, we might helpfully ask: Why is the systematic use of social sciences in ecclesiology—what we will loosely term “organizational ecclesiology”⁴—of any importance at all? Why has the area been worked in, and why should it be developed any further? We will see that each writer has particular reasons for his or her own enquiry, and that those reasons are important for the direction and shaping of their work. But some general themes can be identified, both from the literature discussed in detail here, and also from a number of earlier related works that have as their subject the Church as a human reality.⁵

In the history of thought about the Christian community, there is a traditional question about the relation of the here-and-now Church to the doctrinal or eschatological Church; the question may be framed in terms of Spirit and Institution, of invisible and visible Church, or of the “true” Church. In recent Roman Catholic ecclesiology⁶ this recurrent tension has been particularly evident. The understanding of the Church as *societas inaequalis*, dominant at the first Vatican Council, came into critical tension with the development of an ecclesiology of the Mystical Body; and this led to a Vatican II picture of Church, which has sought to hold together the reality of the Church as mystery, as Body of Christ,

⁴ By this term I wish to identify a way of doing ecclesiology which employs in a more or less systematic way social-science theories of organization. The term is not intended to restrict the proper subject of ecclesiology to structures or institutions; in fact, from a sociological perspective, study of an organization or social system necessarily involves appreciation of nonstructural, informal patterns of human sociality, involving psychological factors, personal relations, and so forth.

⁵ A number of outstanding ecclesiological studies have focussed on this point. I would mention particularly: Jerome Hamer, *The Church is a Communion* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1964); James Gustafson, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: The Church as a Human Community* (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1961); Claude Welch, *The Reality of the Church* (New York: Scribners, 1958).

⁶ It is striking that much of the general interest in the human and organizational aspects of ecclesiology has been expressed from out of the Roman Catholic tradition, although of the works considered in detail here around half are from Protestant traditions. I suspect there is something in the recent ecclesiological heritage around Vatican II, with its attempt to hold a sense of the Church as *societas* together with a more mystical ecclesiology (culminating in an assertion of Church as sacrament), which may account for the particularly Catholic emphasis.

with the actuality of the Church as a concrete and organized community.⁷ This tension of ecclesiological models provides the context for a number of works written out of the Catholic tradition in the years immediately prior to the second Vatican Council,⁸ which sought to deal, in a general way, with the nature of the Church as a social system, a human community, and so prepared the way for later, more technically detailed attempts to apply sociological theories of social systems to the Church.

Looking again at these pre-Vatican II works, it is helpful to identify common themes. Most basic is the concern that our theology be concretely expressed in the life of the Church, that it should "make a difference." So Jerome Hamer's highly influential work⁹ on the Church as communion (*koinōnia*) ends with a thorough and fruitful attempt to answer the question: How in practice is this theology of communion expressed and known in the Church? It is not enough to state the theology, without bringing it into concrete form through a consideration of liturgical (and other) assemblies and the hierarchical institutions of the Church. The same concern lies behind James Gustafson's caution about "theological reductionism,"¹⁰ by which he means that tendency of theologians to talk of the Church in terms of doctrine in a way which takes no account of the reality of the Church as a community of human beings.

The problem these writers addressed, the problem of talking about the Church as properly both social system and mystery, or Body of Christ, remains at the heart of more recent studies concerned with the use of social sciences in ecclesiology,¹¹ and has been the major impetus for my own research. The response to this problem which particularly concerns us here is that which finds in social-science approaches a way of under-

⁷ Some such "dual ecclesiology" as operating in the Council's texts is widely recognized. See, e.g.: Kevin Macnamara's introductory essays to his *Vatican II: The Constitution on the Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968); Alonso Acerbi, *Due ecclesiologie: ecclesiologia giuridica ed ecclesiologia di commune nella 'lumen gentium'* (Bologna: Edizioni Detioniane, 1975). My own account of the traditions which fed into Vatican II's ecclesiology can be found in my bibliographical article, "Vatican II and the Doctrine of the Church: The Pre-conciliar Thought," *Modern Churchman* 29 (1987) 51-56.

⁸ See particularly the works mentioned in n. 5 above, as well as the outstanding work of Yves M. J. Congar discussed briefly below.

⁹ See n. 5 above; particularly pertinent here is his final chapter and the appendices.

¹⁰ See particularly Gustafson, *Treasure* 99-100, for an account of this term.

¹¹ As well as the works discussed in some detail in this article I would particularly mention the following: Janet Crawley, "Ecclesiology and Organization Theory: A Case Study" (Th.D. diss., Victoria University, Canada, 1987); Joseph Komonchak, "Ecclesiology and Social Theory: A Methodological Essay," *Thomist* 45 (1981) 262-84. Komonchak addresses some of the issues fundamental to such an interdisciplinary approach which are all too rarely discussed.

standing more fully that reality of the Church which is all too often not dealt with by "pure" theology—the Church as a social system. This response is assumed by Hamer to be the next step in his ecclesiology,¹² and the major part of Gustafson's work is based on such an interdisciplinary approach. The use of social-science perspectives in ecclesiology is rooted in a traditional tension of church life—the tension between the Church which is the object of our faith and the erring community in which we live and worship—and represents a serious attempt to understand this tension more fully and fruitfully.

Some account must also be given of objections to such an approach. At around the time Hamer was writing, Yves Congar was working on his extraordinarily influential study of laity in the Church,¹³ by which he hoped to correct what he considered an overemphasis on the Church as hierarchy and to reestablish a sense of the Church as primarily the people (*laos*). In this early work we can detect something of the "theological reductionism" which is so much the concern of those who urge an ecclesiological use of social sciences; when this eminent theologian, who has contributed so much to the theology of laity, was faced with questions about the actual apathy of the majority of lay people, he could only answer by referring to the theological reality of the Church as the Body of Christ in which all members are involved and active.¹⁴

Indeed, Congar was quite outspoken on occasions against sociological understandings of the Church, and the reasons for his criticism are worth noting. For, while accepting a certain similarity between the Church's institutions and those of any social system, he asserts that the hierarchy, as the essential structure of the Church, "represents a mystery given to her from above and ontologically anterior to the existence of a community."¹⁵ In his later works Congar's position could no longer be expressed in such terms¹⁶ but his earlier pronouncements sometimes reflected a tradition which considered the Church as essentially and fundamentally unlike other social systems—as "special," as dependent only on God's self-revelation in Christ.¹⁷

¹² This is implicit throughout Hamer's work, and is made more explicit in Chapter 11, "Psychological and Social Implications of Communion" 204.

¹³ Yves M. J. Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, Eng. trans. and expanded ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 1964).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 115 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 51, 171–2.

¹⁶ See particularly Congar's own later reflections on his pre-Council work, "Mon cheminement dans la théologie du laïc et des ministères," in *Ministères et communion ecclésiale* (Paris: Cerf, 1971).

¹⁷ Such a position is most typically identified with the work of Karl Barth, for whom an interdisciplinary approach to the Church goes against the Church's true nature as the community called into being by the word, and so sustained by a secret, "other" power,

This is a tradition which I believe we must properly attend to in bringing ecclesiology and social sciences together. We will find that the use and understanding of social-science theory does not in itself solve the problem; both ecclesiology and sociological theory should alert us to the danger of oversimplifying the complex reality of the Church at times—for example, when we try to equate the doctrine of the *sensus fidei* with Western-style voting democracy.¹⁸ If we are to remain primarily theologians (and that is our primary perspective here), we must fully appreciate the Church as a peculiar sort of organization, first of all by virtue of its involvement in a living tradition and faith based on divine revelation,¹⁹ but also on sociological grounds.²⁰

Most of the works studied in my research have emphasized the similarity between the Church and other organizations, a similarity which ecclesiology needs to recognise and work with.²¹ While fully granting the similarity, I suggest that we also need to understand the difference of the Church among human organizations, in order to develop a properly critical approach to social-science perspectives. In our account of the major works which have attempted systematically to bring together ecclesiology and social-systems theory, the need for such a critical emphasis will become evident; my concluding remarks will suggest its fruitfulness in developing a properly theological but concrete understanding of Church.

SOME MAJOR TEXTS²²

In exploring the ecclesiological literature which tries to relate social-science theories of organization to the Church, we must be aware of the

beyond any sociological analysis; see his *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1936) 4/36.751.

¹⁸ This tendency is seen in the works of Patrick Granfield and Pieter De Looz discussed below.

¹⁹ This "specialness" of the Church is the concern of Congar and Barth when they criticize social-science approaches. Lack of a proper and pervasive sense of this theological reality is a major weakness in the majority of the works discussed in this paper.

²⁰ Many social-science studies have worked with the particular characteristics of the churches as organization; for a full account, see Beckford (see n. 3 above); but especially Paul Mansfield Harrison, *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition: A Social Case Study of the American Baptist Convention* (1959; reprinted: Carbondale, Ill.: Arcturus Books, 1971); and *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* which has published a number of such sociological papers in recent years.

²¹ This emphasis is particularly clear in Gustafson's work (see n. 5) and the article of Komonchak (see n. 11), and will be seen as underpinning much of the work considered here.

²² The texts discussed here have been selected on the basis of their being sizeable systematic attempts to draw together detailed social-systems theory with the reality and

variety of theological traditions at work. But "organization theory" also exhibits variety, for "organization theory" is really a set of theories, which adopt different perspectives and approaches in dealing with their common subject. This variety reflects not so much the existence of discrete schools, but rather the complexity of actual organizations,²³ which may be discussed on the levels of their individual members, their small groups, their inevitable bureaucracy, or their institutional power structures; furthermore, theories can choose to concentrate on one particular process common to all organizations, such as authority, communication, or goal structure. It is well for the ecclesiologist attempting to work in this field to start by studying a few of the general introductions.²⁴

Some of the works we will discuss are significant enough to be considered individually, whereas others have been grouped under general headings. Together they represent the present state of this interdisciplinary field and provide us, despite their variety and lack of formal interrelation, with a number of common questions, consideration of which will allow a more systematic enquiry into the area.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer: The Theology of Sociality

The importance of Bonhoeffer's *Sanctorum Communio*²⁵ for this discussion lies particularly in the method implicit in his bringing together

theory of the Church. Other less weighty or more general works which should be consulted in any thorough research of the area include, in addition to those already mentioned: Bernard F. Donahue, "Political Ecclesiology," *TS* 33 (1972) 294-306; Michael A. Fahey, "Continuity in the Church and Structural Change," *TS* 35 (1974) 415-40; Robin Gill, *Prophecy and Praxis* (London: Mowbrays, 1987); C. L. Mitton, *The Social Sciences and the Churches* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1972); Jeremiah Newman, *Change and the Catholic Church: An Essay in Sociological Ecclesiology* (Baltimore-Dublin: Helicon, 1965); Jean-Guy Vaillancourt, *Papal Power* (London: Berkeley, 1980).

²³ Not everyone would agree with this and, as we shall see, a number of the writers considered here do treat different organizational approaches as discrete schools. The idea that these approaches are actually complementary and depend upon one another is particularly argued in more recent social-science studies; see, e.g., the comments on recent organizational theory in the general work of Herbert G. Hicks and C. Ray Gullett, *Organizations: Theory and Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975) 220.

²⁴ These would include the work of Hicks & Gullett and the following: Amitai Etzioni, ed., *A Sociological Reader in Complex Organizations* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1961); Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis" in *Sociology Today*, ed. Robert K. Merton et al. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965); Sherman Roy Krupp's critical and enlightening *Pattern in Organization Analysis* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961); William R. Scott's *Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems* (London: Prentice-Hall, 1981).

²⁵ See n. 2 above. There have been many useful studies of this work; particularly helpful is Peter Berger's essay "The Social Character of the Question concerning Jesus Christ: Sociology and Ecclesiology," in *The Place of Bonhoeffer*, ed. Martin E. Marty (SCM: London, 1963).

a highly sacramental ecclesiology and what can only be called a social philosophy. It needs to be pointed out also that this work stands apart from the rest, both chronologically and in the kind of sociological ideas employed. Writing in the late 1920s, the sociological material available to Bonhoeffer was limited, and he drew most of his "sociological" insight from "formalist" sociologists such as Simmel and Tönnies, with their abstraction from empirical reality. By contrast more recent works in this field emphasize, in theory at least, the concrete structures of the Church.

Bonhoeffer's lack of empiricism and his dominant use of Hegelian concepts have led Berger to accuse him of "theological imperialism" and "social mythology,"²⁶ and it is true that *Sanctorum Communio* is more concerned with social philosophy than with sociology proper.²⁷ But the work is of theological interest to us, as it explicitly deals with the problem of how to talk of the reality of human social existence within the Church. If we come to Bonhoeffer's work expecting, as Berger seems to have done, an attempt to understand the Church sociologically, we will be disappointed; rather, *Sanctorum Communio* uses reflection on sociology so as to open up an ecclesiology based on a theology of human sociality. For this reason it is a useful introduction to the field of organizational ecclesiology.

One of the primary questions for the enquirer into this field concerns the methodology employed in bringing together the two disciplines, and this is the major question to be asked of our texts. In fact *Sanctorum Communio* does not attempt to develop an explicit methodological rationale for the use of sociology, and we must rely on a number of significant "hints" if we are to understand the theological reasons for Bonhoeffer's sociological interest. His method appears to be based on a strongly incarnational understanding. Thus in his Preface to the 1930 edition, Bonhoeffer argues that it is the historical nature of Christianity that justifies the theologian's taking a sociological view of the Church. This is developed in a Christological way in the body of the book, where Bonhoeffer clearly asserts that the Church must be treated empirically "because Christ entered into history."²⁸ It is important for us to note that this Christologico-ecclesiology works two ways: it is used to encourage a realistic, "incarnational" perspective in ecclesiology; but it also makes clear the peculiarity of the ecclesial community, a peculiarity which disallows a straightforwardly sociological approach to the Church.

²⁶ Berger, "The Social Character" 63, 76.

²⁷ Bonhoeffer himself goes some way toward recognising this when he argues for the necessity of a "social philosophy" as the grounds of any sociology; see *Sanctorum Communio*, chap. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 146.

This is clear when Bonhoeffer writes that "the empirical church is the Body of Christ, the presence of Christ on earth. It is possible to understand the empirical church only by looking down from above, or by looking out from the inside, and not otherwise."²⁹

This rigorously theological approach to the sociology of the Church deeply affects Bonhoeffer's use of sociological concepts. For example, the "sociological" ideas concerning sociality based on human relationships are transformed by a consideration of a specifically Christian anthropology; for there are within the Church "new basic social relationships,"³⁰ transfigured by the participation of the church members in Christ's Body. Indeed, the unique structures of the Church are transformed, above all, by the action of the Holy Spirit, "which means that this uniqueness can only be theological and not morphological and sociological."³¹

It is important for the student of organizational ecclesiology to notice the way in which Bonhoeffer's particular ecclesiology acts as a formative, shaping influence on his interdisciplinary work. For Bonhoeffer is no less insistent than Barth on the peculiarity and mystery of the Church, based on revelation and the Spirit³² but, unlike Barth, he binds this mystery close to the actual reality of the Church, adopting a more sacramental ecclesiology. This gives the human nature of the Church, or its "objective spirit," a relative value and authority as *the* instrument of the Holy Spirit.³³ Once this is asserted, then the social reality of the Church has a properly theological importance.

For all this, it remains unclear what actual difference Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology might make within the Church; his quasi-interdisciplinary study does not present us with a "concrete ecclesiology," one which really talks theologically of the experienced reality of church life. But it does describe for us an ecclesiological type which, as distinct from Barth's, not only allows, but demands the theological consideration of church structures. It is an ecclesiology rooted in incarnational and sacramental concepts, one which holds together the human and divine without falling into thoroughgoing immanentism. Such an ecclesiology encourages social-science insights into the Church, but it remains properly theology, and not some kind of religious sociology. Social-science insights are critically examined within a theological context, and they are brought into tension with the ecclesiological realities of the Spirit, revelation, and sacrament.

How we evaluate Bonhoeffer's contribution to this field depends on the acceptability of his sacramental ecclesiology. For many, this involves too ready an identification of the ecclesial institution with the mysterious

²⁹ *Ibid.* 145.

³¹ *Ibid.* 183.

³³ *Ibid.* 173-74.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 88.

³² See n. 17 above.

Body of Christ,³⁴ and a "usurpation of sociology by theology."³⁵ It may be due to such criticisms that Bonhoeffer's ecclesiological position has not been adopted by recent writers working with the social sciences. On the whole, recent writers have a somewhat different model of Church, which leads to a distinctly different use of social sciences. We turn now to these writers, to see whether their ecclesiological models work any better than Bonhoeffer's in the search for a concrete ecclesiology through the use of theories of organization.

Patrick Granfield and the Democratization of the Church

It is not surprising, sociologically speaking, that there have been increasing numbers of "democratizing" reforms in Western churches in modern times; the Church, as a more or less "open system,"³⁶ an organization with an active relationship with wider society, can be expected to take up general societal trends. Indeed, there is a long tradition of popular participation in the Christian community, from the Acts of the Apostles to the commendable attempts of congregational churches to get all Christians actively involved in the Church.³⁷ In the last twenty-five years both the Church of Rome, and the churches of the international Anglican Communion have seen reforms which, to a greater or (generally) lesser extent, have increased the participation of laity in governmental matters and decision making. This long and pervasive tradition is the context for the works we consider in this section, all of which, interestingly, are rooted in the Roman Catholic tradition.³⁸

The years immediately following the Second Vatican Council saw a number of changes in the way ecclesiological issues were addressed in Catholic theology. Among these can be identified a growing concern for structural reform in the Church, along the lines of increased participation and democratization. Hans Küng is the most prominent writer in this respect, with his study of councils and the involvement of laity,³⁹ and his

³⁴ Compare the similar view described by Emil Brunner in *The Misunderstanding of the Church* (London: Lutterworth, 1952) that the "true" church is not, and cannot be, identified, even in a partial way, with a human institution.

³⁵ Berger, "Social Character" (see n. 25 above).

³⁶ The term "open system" has been extensively used by social scientists in describing one of the facets of the relationship between an organization and its environment; see particularly Scott's account in *Organizations* (n. 24 above).

³⁷ This is clearly set out in Robert William Dale, *A Manual of Congregational Principles* (1884; 11th ed., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920) which displays a commendable realism concerning the limitations of democratic practice once its context has become a larger, more anonymous group than the local congregation.

³⁸ See my remarks in n. 6 above.

³⁹ See Hans Küng, *Structures of the Church* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965); and his article "Participation of the Laity in Church Leadership and in Church Elections,"

argument that, if the Vatican II vision of an empowered laity is to be actively expressed in the Church, it requires radical reforming of decision-making structures so as to include lay people and their representatives.⁴⁰ Most of the theologians who attempted, like Küng, to develop some theological basis for structural reform did not directly employ theories from the social sciences (perhaps that is part of the reason for the failure of these models for reform). However, it was within the context of emphasis on structure and democratic models of power sharing that a number of more sociologically involved ecclesiologies emerged in the Roman Catholic tradition.

One of these is Patrick Granfield's *Ecclesial Cybernetics*.⁴¹ Granfield begins with an outline of cybernetic theory—that is, the science of communication and control within organizations. The first thing to note is that Granfield stresses the nature of organizations as open systems: because all organizations are “open” to their societal environment, they constantly respond to the wider society, changing in relation to changes within that environment. Such essential change depends on a complex system of communication, in which information from outside the group can be brought into critical contact with the norms and authorities of the organization; the “output” of organizational decisions and policies depend in some way on the “input” from the environment which is “the raw material of authoritative decision.”⁴² The central component in this communication system is the “feedback loop,” by which the organizational members can properly respond to the organizational decision, so as to reform or renew it in some way or other.

After this account of cybernetic theory, Granfield discusses its general applicability to the Church. We must notice the way he relates the theory to theological considerations. He asserts that the Church is not merely a human organization like any other; it is sacramental and peculiarly bound to revelation as the “given” communication input. Further, he highlights the importance of a properly expressed theology of the laity for his cybernetic system; lay people above all are involved in communicating environmental information to the organization as a whole, and that is essential for the Church's continuing relevance and ultimate survival.

Granfield exhibits a genuine concern for the doctrines of ecclesiology,

Journal of Ecumenical Studies 6 (1969) 511–33. Others who should be mentioned besides Küng include Leon Suenens, *Corresponsibility in the Church* (London: Burns and Oates).

⁴⁰ This is particularly clear in his article “Participation” 571 f.

⁴¹ Patrick Granfield, *Ecclesial Cybernetics. A Study of Democracy in the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1973). The main pattern of Granfield's ideas is also to be found in his article, “Ecclesial Cybernetics: Communication in the Church,” *TS* 29 (1968) 662–78.

⁴² See Granfield, “Ecclesial Cybernetics” 665.

whose integrity and roots in revelation must be sustained in the interdisciplinary exercise. He chooses to focus on a particular aspect of ecclesiology, the importance and mission of lay people in the Church; but because he fails to give a detailed theological account of this ecclesiological perspective, he is unable to move beyond a generalised understanding of Church. So the rather sweeping idea of participation or democracy is deduced somewhat simplistically from a general, almost impressionistic, picture of the Vatican II ecclesiology which emphasises its theology of laity; it is this broad theme of participation which Granfield uses to lead us into a cybernetic analysis of a number of ecclesial controversies and decisions. Important theological questions remain. And we look in vain for a really critical synthesis of a detailed and complex ecclesiology with a comparably complete social-science theory.

One of the strengths of Granfield's work is his attempt to conclude his study with practical suggestions as to how greater participation, or democratization, might be achieved in the Church. Among these suggestions elections of clergy by laity, lay councils and congresses, and the expression of public opinion in the Church through the various media channels find a place. No doubt some of these practical reforms would help resolve communication problems in the Church, but there remains a certain naivety, both theological and sociological, in this study.

First of all, Granfield does not appear to emphasize sufficiently the distinctiveness of the Church's activity. For example, in introducing his interdisciplinary work, he sees as the context of his method "the modern world," with its increased information flow and widespread democratizing forces. The Church, like any other open organizational system, does well to take note of this. But nowhere does Granfield take up the issue of ways in which the Church might be critical of secular changes; nor does he highlight the significance of the fact that the Church's identity is grounded in revelation. Failure to bring the doctrinal base of the Church's existence into the discussion leads to other curiously uncritical assumptions, such as seeing in the use of computers a "new possibility" for the *consensus fidelium*, as if this ecclesiological theme can be straightforwardly translated into a matter of majority opinion.

Parallel to this, there is in Granfield's work a sociological naivety typical of many ecclesiologists who work with ideas of participation and democracy. For, in fact, studies in the social sciences highlight the power of democratic forms as a management tool. Given that there is an "iron law of oligarchy,"⁴³ an inevitable tendency of the majority to apathy,

⁴³ The term "iron law of oligarchy" comes from Robert W. E. Michels, *Political Parties. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchic Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1915). It should also be mentioned that there is equally evidence for an "iron law of

which allows the energetic few a real power under the semblance of democracy, an organization's management might well adopt structures of participation so as to reduce out-and-out conflict and satisfy the members' need to feel involved, while remaining in control themselves.⁴⁴ Indeed, the study of Vaillancourt⁴⁵ into the manipulation of lay opinion at the Roman Catholic Third Congress of the Laity should alert us to the real possibilities in the Church, as elsewhere, of "the management" winning the day precisely through the use of democratic structures; it is no coincidence that Vaillancourt is noticeably well read in sociological studies of organizational power from Weber to Etzioni. Certainly the tendency to mass apathy in all human organizations is an insight from social-science research which our more idealistic ecclesiological ideas must grapple with in some way or other.

Similar criticism must be made of the work of the Roman Catholic sociologist Pieter De Looz,⁴⁶ who, like Granfield, takes as his ecclesiological basis a generalised and simplistic view of Vatican II ecclesiology as antihierarchical and promoting democracy. De Looz, too, recognised the importance of secular pressures in the Church's shift to a more participatory view of itself, but once again offers no real theological understanding of the Church's basic nature as grounded in revelation.

It must be said that De Looz is writing as a sociologist, from an ecclesial rather than ecclesiological concern. While this might account for a rather threadbare ecclesiological understanding, it makes the sociological weaknesses more strange. For De Looz offers little appreciation of that sheer complexity of organizational life which is apparent in the contemporary social-science literature. Significantly he is critical of the more recent systemic models of organization, in which attempts are made to hold together a variety of perspectives on organizational life in the belief that only with such a superimposition of models can the complex reality be dealt with. But for De Looz the apparently conflicting logics of such diverse approaches remain a problem for systemic theories, and he pursues instead a more clearly structural analysis of ecclesial organi-

democracy," according to Alvin W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in *Sociology Today*, ed. Robert K. Merton (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959). Both "laws" actually witness to the same reality, that the majority of organizational members are content not to be involved in decision making, except in situations of extreme oppression or crisis.

⁴⁴ The study of James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1958), is a good example of the way a theory can be worked out around an understanding of the members' indifference and apathy, and how this can be exploited by managers.

⁴⁵ Jean-Guy Vaillancourt, *Papal Power* (London: Berkley, 1980).

⁴⁶ Pieter De Looz, "Participation in the Catholic Church," *Pro Mundi Vita Bulletin* (Brussels, 1984).

zation, resulting in suggestions for reform in which the emphasis is on councils, committees, and lay representation.

There is a clear-headedness in De Looz's essay from which ecclesiologists can learn; but theologically the study remains unsatisfying, as it attempts no theological critique of the suggestions made. De Looz may be right in saying that the Church needs to set up proper negotiation procedures and systems of representation which include the presence of "subgroups"; but, since the Church is an organization bound up in some way with revelation and the transcendent, some attempt should be made to ground such changes in ecclesiological understanding. When various doctrines of the Church are introduced into the discussion of practical reforms, we ought not to be surprised if the straightforward common-sense ideas of the sociologist are challenged and transformed in the ecclesial sphere. Recall the warnings of Barth and Congar alluded to earlier.

In concluding this section, it is worth noting that both Granfield and De Looz implicitly assume that church structures are, in some way, unrelated to ecclesiology. For both, once a general theological idea (participation) has been latched onto, the way ahead is clear for the logic of the social sciences to act on the concrete reality of the Church; it is as if there can be no detailed theological treatment of the issue of power, the individual person, hierarchy, etc. This is quite different from the position taken by Bonhoeffer, in which Christian understanding of the complexity of human sociality, based on revelation, is central. Ultimately the difference is one of ecclesiological models. Bonhoeffer maintains a strong sacramental sense of the human organization of the Church through his whole discussion. But in the case of Granfield and De Looz, the mysterious, transcendent nature of the Church, which they briefly assert, actually exerts no real influence on the details of their analyses and suggestions for reform.

Peter Rudge: Ecclesiastical Administration

The work of Peter Rudge⁴⁷ is central to this field for several reasons. First, Rudge is unusual in his dual qualification as both social scientist and theologian. In addition to this, and perhaps because of it, he makes the clearest attempt of all the writers to discuss the practicalities of organization theory under the headings of systematic theology.

Rudge's starting point is the experience of attitudes toward administration in the Church. He points out that pastoral work is often valued as the "real" work of Christian ministers, in contrast to administration,

⁴⁷ Peter F. Rudge, *Ministry and Management: The Study of Ecclesiastical Administration* (London: Tavistock, 1968).

and he reacts against this by asserting the dignity and importance of administration in the Church as elsewhere. For Rudge, educated in business studies, administration is an important aspect of any large organization, and one which is to be treated seriously and thoroughly by those who wish life in the organization to fulfil its potential.

This high estimation of the administrative sciences on Rudge's part goes hand in hand with a deep awareness of the way in which an organization's structures are integral to the whole. His writings convey a stronger sense than other works discussed so far that the formal institution is not just a matter of structures, but is the real context of the human lives and ideals which form the dynamic of organizational life. Awareness of the way in which structures are rooted in the complexities of the human group distinguishes Rudge's method in applying social-science theory to the Church.

Rudge's ability to combine organizational approaches and Christian doctrine depends on his identification of five distinct organizational theories: the traditional, the charismatic, the classical, human relations, and the systemic.⁴⁸ After describing these theories, he discusses each of them in the light of certain Christian doctrines, namely the doctrines of the Church, of Church and society, of ministry, of God, and of man (sic).⁴⁹ The nature of each doctrine is outlined, and theological sources given, and then the organizational theories are examined in terms of their affinity or incompatibility with the tenets of the doctrine. Rudge concludes that there are distinct similarities between the organizational and theological perspectives (each, after all, describes the same human realities, albeit in rather different ways), and he singles out the systemic theory as that most appropriate to ecclesiastical administration on theological grounds. The final (and longest) part of Rudge's book examines the practicalities of administration in the Church, comparing the approaches of the various theories, and concluding, once again, that the systemic approach is the most appropriate to church life.

All this is particularly refreshing for its clarity of approach, its practicality, and, above all, for the way it combines organization theory and theology. However, some criticism needs to be made if the value of Rudge's method is to be properly assessed.

It is, perhaps, inevitable that the attempt to bring together two quite differently constructed realms of thought will tend to lead to caricature. Certainly, the way in which Rudge presents five distinct organizational theories does little justice to the complexity of this sociological field and the interdependence of the different approaches. Theorists increasingly

⁴⁸ Ibid. 21-23.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 37-39.

recognise that no single approach can adequately describe the real organization, and that each approach reflects some different aspect of organizational reality.⁵⁰ In the light of this, Rudge's championing of what he has termed "the systemic" theory seems unnecessary; it obscures the fact that all the theoretical approaches are needed, as we come to terms with the complex realities of human social life.

Similarly the depth at which Rudge examines the Christian doctrines is limited. No one can do justice to "the doctrine of the Church" in a few pages, and it would be unreasonable for the reader to expect too much from this interdisciplinary endeavour. But one may fairly criticise the separation of the theological discussions of the theories from the practical considerations of the major part of the book. Ultimately the interrelating of theological and sociological perspectives remains on a general level, while the particularities of ecclesiastical administration are dominated by the organizational theories. The question remains: How can theology find its own way of talking about these concrete facts of organizational life? But Rudge's work has emphasized the real importance of these matters for the life of the Church and has opened the way for theological discussion of them.

The Church as an Institution

This subject, of course, has been discussed in ecclesiology from the beginning, as Christians have tried to come to terms with "letter and spirit," with their everyday experience of the Church as a human society alongside their faith in the Church as the Body of Christ and the place where the Spirit dwells. We are concerned in this section with the way in which social-science insights have been brought into ecclesiology in attempts to renew the understanding of institutional life.

Two volumes are particularly pertinent to this concern: the 1974 Concilium volume *The Church as an Institution*, a diverse collection of pieces edited by Baum and Greeley; and the thorough study of De Haas which works particularly with the writings of Bonhoeffer, Barth, and Tillich.⁵¹ These volumes do not attempt systematic use of a theory of organization, but rather approach the issue of sociological study of the Church in a broad perspective which is of use to us in our effort to

⁵⁰ I share this view with a number of theorists, notably Sherman Krupp, whose work *Pattern in Organizational Analysis* (above n. 24) gives a critical and probing account of the social-science field.

⁵¹ Gregory Baum and Andrew Greeley, eds., *The Church as an Institution* (Concilium, 1974); Pieter De Haas, *The Church as an Institution: Critical Studies in the Relationship between Theology and Sociology* (Jornker: Apeldoorn, 1972).

achieve a clearer definition in this largely uncharted field of interdisciplinary ecclesiology.

We will consider first the collection of essays in *Concilium*. The essays are divided into three sections. The first focusses on theological discussion of the general issue of the Church and sociology. This is followed by a group of essays by sociologists describing their distinct perspectives on the matter. The final section consists of seven short studies of particular aspects of the Church's institutional life such as informal groups in ecclesial organizations, the centralization of authority, and the problem of conflict; these studies are sociological, and do not attempt to draw ecclesiological conclusions. The very form of this collection is significant, in that, on the whole, ecclesiological doctrine is kept apart from sociological insight, at least in any detailed way; once again an ecclesiological model is assumed in which the concrete realities of the Church's life are not properly theological subjects, and can be altered along sociological lines, in keeping with some broad theological premise.

Such an understanding of Church is particularly evident in Hasenhüttl's argument in the first section.⁵² Recognising the sociological fact that institution has to do with formal authority, subordination, and the identification of various classes, Hasenhüttl finds himself espousing a Brunnerian-type ecclesiology, in which the institution is the (somewhat unfortunate) human product against which ideas of the true Church struggle and protest. Institutions are necessarily instruments of power, involving domination and obligation, and this, Hasenhüttl argues, contrasts with the community of Jesus that we can deduce from his teaching in Scripture. If the Church is to exist as institution at all, then it must radically transform the human constructs and become the institutionalization of freedom and openness, governed only by the principle of love.

There is a curious mixture here of sociological realism and fantasy. Unlike many ecclesiologists, especially those who, as we have seen, have high hopes that a democratized Church will solve our ecclesial problems, Hasenhüttl recognises the inevitability of some kind of management, authority, and bureaucracy in any institutionalized body; such realism is backed up by the observations of sociologists such as O'Dea, Warwick, and Rudge in this same volume. However, having taken an antiinstitutional stand, Hasenhüttl is still faced with the inevitable reality of the church institution, which he attempts to reform along increasingly fantastic lines, whose impracticality is sustained through an encompassing faith in the inspiration of Christ. Once more the separation between human institution and divine spirit, between sociological reality and theological faith appears insuperable; and this separation ultimately

⁵² In Baum and Greeley, eds., *The Church* 11-21.

undermines the ability of theology to talk at all realistically of day-to-day organizational life in the Church.

In fact, nowhere in this volume are ecclesiological doctrine and organizational insights brought systematically together, although Wackenheim's essay, a rather general discussion of ecclesiology's need for the realism offered by the social sciences, comes closest to being genuinely interdisciplinary. Such a lack of interdisciplinary interaction might simply be the result of the division of the volume into sections; but it is also arguable that this division mirrors a deep-rooted separation of theological and concrete reflection in our ecclesiology. The insights offered in the third section seem particularly suitable for theological consideration and critique. The concept of some kind of properly Christian conflict (Rudge), the power and importance of informal groups of ordinary members (Remy and Voyé), and the permanent tensions within all institutional life (O'Dea) might lead us into a realistic, but properly theological account of the tensions, conflict, and power struggles that beset Christian communities, whose power is rooted in the radically free and divinely promised Spirit. But no such theological reflection is offered; the volume gives the persistent impression that the organizational reality of the Church is a subject without a rigorously theological component.

The work of De Haas is clearly weightier and more thorough. It consists largely of detailed consideration of the theme of Church and institution in the writings of major theologians. It leads De Haas to the conclusion that the only way forward is for the Church to think of itself *theologically* as a part of human society; as such it is to be seen as an institution like any other, with no need of special consideration. Within this ecclesiological understanding, the faith of the Christian must be that the mysterious special character of the Church will become manifest *in* its very ordinariness rather than *through* its outward nature, through its real existence in Christ rather than through any claims to sociological peculiarity. Such a position is certainly attractive. Rooted in a radical immanentism, which is itself grounded in the central doctrine of the Incarnation, it is a position which has no need to talk of transcendence, divine revelation, and mystery. Such an immanentist perspective would apparently facilitate the dialogue between faith and "secular" sciences and society. But there are weaknesses, too. For it is hard to see how such an immanent ecclesiology can talk of the Church's self-understanding in a way which is continuous with its past experience; nor can there be any sense of the absolute challenge of divine revelation, when all that is seen as unchangeable is "the revelation of Jesus as the Christ."

Nonetheless, the work of De Haas stands out as a uniquely thorough appreciation of the problem of the ecclesial organization in both theological and sociological terms. His concluding position is certainly theolog-

ically coherent, and it allows a thoroughly sociological analysis and reform of the Church. But when such analysis and reform have, in principle, no peculiarly ecclesiological bases, then they surely stop being theological and are simply organizational. Once again theology proper appears unable to find within itself its own language of structure, organization, and concrete social living.

Mady Thung: Church Renewed or New Church?

Like Peter Rudge's work, that of Mady Thung⁵³ is outstanding for its thoroughness, rigorous method, and knowledge of social sciences. Indeed, the sociological emphasis tends to dominate the theological considerations, which are less prominent in the structuring of the argument. Yet Thung's work undoubtedly represents the most detailed attempt to date to employ organization theory in ecclesiology.

Thung's approach has a number of features in common with those already considered. Like Granfield and others, she is motivated by the reality of the Church in the modern world, with its task of proclaiming its gospel message to the society in which it finds itself. Like Rudge, she recognises the need to be honest about the theological nature of her work, and so makes clear that the problems she examines and the concepts she employs are drawn from a properly ecclesiological concern. However, moving along these not unfamiliar lines, Thung constructs a highly detailed picture of Church organization, drawing on a considerable knowledge of both organization theory and the sociology of religion, as well as some broad theological concepts.

The ecclesiologist, however, is likely to find Thung's work dissatisfying because of the breadth and generality of her theological concepts. Thung does recognise the importance of theological ideas in her argument. She concentrates on working out the idea of a missionary church,⁵⁴ defined by commitment to Christian action and witness in society, that is the basis of the ecclesiology she employs as a critical guide to the organizational themes. We witnessed a similar synthesis of theological themes and organizational concepts in Rudge's work, and we noted its advantages over less theologically structured interdisciplinary ecclesiologies; but, in Thung's case, the description of the theological side of the dialogue suffers by being both too general and undetailed.

There is also a certain utopianism⁵⁵ evident in Thung's description of

⁵³ Mady Thung, *The Precarious Organization: Sociological Explorations of the Church's Mission and Structure* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976).

⁵⁴ Ibid. 44-74.

⁵⁵ I am in agreement here with Robin Gill's observations on Thung's work in his *Theology and Sociology: a Reader* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1987) 339-40.

the ideal missionary church, and in her appeal to this ideal while treating ecclesiological theories of organization. She makes little attempt to relate her image of the missionary church to actual ecclesial structures in the here and now, and so the organizational ideas are employed, once again, in an ecclesiological context where the only language for the concrete, the experienced, the structural belongs to the social sciences. Theology may be allowed to point the way along general ethical and idealistic lines, but it does not contribute otherwise to the language of the empirical and institutional.

A particularly helpful feature in Thung's work, however, is her clear identification and discussion of particular organizational detail for an ecclesial organization. For example, her treatment of the question of what a church's goal is, and how the goal might be expressed in terms of workable aims,⁵⁶ makes clear the problems faced by an ecclesiologist who reads the social-science theories on goal structure and its manipulation. Other organizations might be able to set a number of more-or-less straightforward tasks for their members in the pursuit of a particular goal, but the goal of the ecclesial organization, whether described eschatologically, evangelistically, or otherwise, is, by nature, a permanent focus of debate and renewal, and might be served by a wide variety of apparently conflicting activities. Theologians are aware of all this; but those who study theories of organization also become aware of the necessity and inevitability of institutional goals being set one way or another.

Something of this paradoxical position for an interdisciplinary ecclesiology is recognised in Thung's writing, in her discussion of goals,⁵⁷ of control,⁵⁸ of leadership,⁵⁹ etc., and this makes her work particularly valuable. For here we come close to the heart of the problem involved in employing social-science theories in the ecclesiological sphere—as theological ideas and ideals, often developed with little relation to concrete actualities of church life (though none the less sure for all that, the theologian would argue), come up against the science of the concrete and empirical. If Thung's analysis is correct, and if our appraisal of her work and that of others is valid, then it would seem that the ecclesiologist who wishes to employ organization theory faces two alternatives: either she must work with simplified and generalised theological concepts, implying a weak ecclesiology which allows the particularities of the social-science theories to dominate; or she must abandon the search for any rigorous

⁵⁶ For a good introduction to the sociological importance of goals in an organization, see Charles Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," *American Sociological Review* 26 (1961) 854–66.

⁵⁷ Thung, *The Precarious Organization* 121–23.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 161–72.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 237–39.

interdisciplinary method and merely pick up certain useful sociological concepts, which can be used theologically in a superficial, although still potentially helpful, way.

Yet there is, perhaps, a third alternative which presents itself from the discussion so far; it is possible that an ecclesiological language and understanding of structure could be developed, so that eventually each detail of organization theory could be matched with concrete ecclesiological (i.e., properly theological) detail based on doctrine, revelation, and the faith of the Church. This would seem to me to be the necessary beginning to a well-balanced and theologically satisfying interdisciplinary dialogue.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Our main purpose has been to introduce the complex and not clearly defined field of "organizational ecclesiology." Our consideration of the texts has been critical and not without its own biases and beliefs, but ultimately any student of this field must come to her or his own conclusions about these writings. I have tried to engage critically with the literature in such a way as to illustrate certain problems and weaknesses, and to achieve an overall sense of what is being done in diverse, but related, organizational ecclesiologies. Some brief general considerations are in order as a conclusion to this study, but also, and more importantly, as a preliminary to further creative work in the area.

The Problem of Detail

A recurrent weakness in the studies considered here has been the simplicity and generality of the theological side of the conversation, compared with the concrete detail of the organizational side; this lack of theological detail ultimately undermines the properly interdisciplinary nature of the endeavor and results in a dominance of the social sciences in the discussion. Is this universal weakness inevitable?

Each theologian's answer to that question will depend on their particular ecclesiology, on how elaborately they have developed their theology of power, of laity, of ministry, of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and on their understanding of the human person, of revelation, and so forth. Before we can combine theories of organization and ecclesiology in a balanced and satisfying way, a good deal of straightforward ecclesiological work must be done. Only after developing our theological understanding of how the people of God is organized and explaining how our ecclesiology works in terms of power, the interaction of human and divine, the place of the individual and small groups—only then can we engage in detailed

dialogue with social-science theories of organization.⁶⁰ The possible effectiveness of such dialogue is illustrated by the work of Bonhoeffer and Rudge. Both of them, but particularly the former, concentrate on holding together the quite different, but not incompatible, languages and traditions of theology and sociology, giving some witness to theology's proper depth and thoroughness. Each of them is handicapped, though in different ways, by the size of the task.

One manner of dealing with the problem of detail is to restrict the subject of the interdisciplinary dialogue. The language of the social-science theories would seem more intelligible in relation to a clearly defined ecclesiological problem in a concrete context and tradition. Such is the complexity of organizational life, in the Church as elsewhere, that to talk clearly and effectively means to talk about a limited and defined area, and not to deal in general and grand theory.

Ecclesiological Models

The majority of the writings considered here have been shown, in practice at least, to employ an understanding of Church in which the concrete structures are detached from the theological "ideal" Church, while still reflecting it in some way. Within such a Brunnerian-type ecclesiology structures may be changed along theological lines once the "true" nature of the Church has been theologically described. Such an approach is distinct from that of Bonhoeffer, which implies a more theological or sacramental approach to the structures themselves. Working with this ecclesiological model means that suggestions for actual change in the Church must be constrained, or partly conditioned, by the Church's own theological understanding of those structures and what they embody.

Either ecclesiological model is coherent within an organizational ecclesiology; but it is as well to point out the difference in methodology that will result, so as to be clear as to what is being aimed at. If the Church institution is seen as a thoroughly human expression of a certain faith, then the organizational ecclesiologist may take a fairly adventurous approach to structural reform, in which, almost inevitably, the social-science view will dominate in the actual conclusions drawn. A more sacramental ecclesiology, in which the relation of the divine or transcend-

⁶⁰ This is the approach of my own unpublished study in which a very particular ecclesiological problem is addressed and a good deal of space devoted to working out the appropriate ecclesiological approach to power and communication, e.g., before the interdisciplinary conversation can take place: Clare Watkins, *Lity and Communication: Some Implications of Organization Theory for the Vatican II Church* (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, England, 1990).

ent to the here-and-now Church is not so clear, will feel itself more restrained in its consideration of concrete change, and will tend to emphasize the theological in its conclusions. If the organizational ecclesiologist is clear about his or her own position on this at the outset, the nature of the interdisciplinary task and its hoped-for results will be clarified and more highly defined.

Is Organizational Ecclesiology Theology?

This question arises because of the general lack of clarity concerning what the writers considered here are doing. At the outset I made it clear that we would be concerned with works of *ecclesiology* which employ theories of organization, and not consider the large body of sociological literature on the Church. In fact this division of material is not so clear, as the attentive reader will appreciate. A good deal of the writing of Rudge, Granfield, Thung, and the others is more properly sociological than theological; it is perhaps only Bonhoeffer's *Sanctorum Communio* which is theological to the core—arguably to the point of being hardly interdisciplinary at all.

Every theologian who “borrows” from, or enters into conversation with another discipline—and it seems to me that theology must continually do so—runs the risk of either being seen as a “theological imperialist,” or as an “amateur” in the other field, and not properly a theologian. The interdisciplinary theologian needs, then, to invest some energy in sorting out what exactly she is doing in using another discipline. Is it a matter of simple borrowing of terms and ideas? Or is it a matter of wholehearted adoption of another logic and language, in which theology proper, with its revelational and transcendent reference, becomes thoroughly immanent? One model of this interdisciplinary relationship that I have found helpful is that of *conversation*: the theologian cannot stop being properly theological (talking of faith- and God-matters) but always needs to learn more about human realities, in which there are other experts, with whom he or she engages in conversation. Being an amateur in other disciplines, as long as we know ourselves to be such, does not prevent us from being proper theologians, conversationalists who rely on our friends, but who retain our own logic, traditions, and language.

This is just one possible model of what is going on in the ecclesiological use of nontheological sciences; there are many others. Which model is adopted is important, as it will deeply affect the way the organizational ecclesiology is pursued; but it is still more important for the field in general that the nature of what is being done is made clear, giving the work a necessary coherence and consistency; out of such clarity a properly critical attitude and creativity can come.

These remarks amount to a call for deeper consideration of the use of theories of organization in ecclesiology. Each point mentioned indicates some fundamental premise on which organizational ecclesiology is based; these premises, however, remain undiscussed in many of the works to date. If this interdisciplinary field is to develop and offer insight into the nature of the Church (and even now it seems clear that it has crucial insights to offer), attention must be given to basics such as these, so that a proper foundation can be laid for future work.

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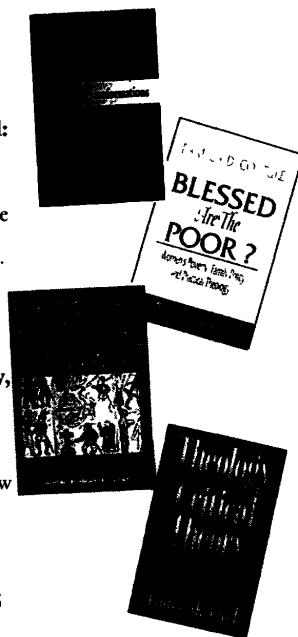
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