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Lived Religion: An Examination of “Pass the Salt” Luncheons

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Sociology

by

Jeff Smith

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ABSTRACT

Lived Religion: An Examination of “Pass the Salt” Luncheons

by

Jeff Smith

This study used a case study approach to examine how religious culture, such as theologies and doctrines, is lived or practiced by “Pass the Salt” luncheon participants. “Pass the Salt” participants are taught the teachings of Harvest Evangelism, an interdenominational Para-church organization; these teachings are evidenced through their cultural toolkit. It was expected that the luncheon participants would practice Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture in the workplace. Participant observation and personal interviews were conducted to examine participants’ application of the cultural toolkit to their everyday lives, specifically in the workplace. Findings indicated that the leader of the “Pass the Salt” luncheon was more likely to practice or live the religious doctrines provided by Harvest Evangelism, while others lived religion in a different way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When most people in the United States think of religion, they think of beliefs. But beliefs are only a small part of religion in a country full of people of faith who “experience” their religions. In short, people don’t just believe religion they also live it. They incorporate religious beliefs and practices into their everyday lives. These beliefs and practices cross boundaries of home, work, school, market, and church. They are seen, felt, heard, experienced, and therefore *lived* by many.

Social scientists and scholars of religion have become interested not only in how religious beliefs shape the identities of religious actors but also in how these identities come to bear upon the social and cultural landscapes they encounter (Bender 2003). From this perspective religion cannot be separated from other practices of everyday life, such as the way they prepare meals, who they decide to marry, and what medical procedures they undergo (Orsi 2003).

Social scientists who study lived religion seek to examine how religious actors interact with social and cultural structures that are already in existence as they live religion (Hall 1997). This becomes even more interesting in modern societies such as America where religion is differentiated from other spheres of society (Wilson 1982). Essentially, lived religion scholars want to examine how religious actors live their religious beliefs in, around, and through these structures.

As religion, particularly Protestant Evangelical Christianity, has remained a vital part of many Americans’ lives, sociologists have begun to ask how religion is lived or practiced outside of institutional boundaries and in other spheres of modern society (Davie 2004). Specifically, the workplace has become an area of interest for sociologists studying lived religion (Grant, O’Neil

and Stephens 2004). This is quite understandable as many Americans spend a tremendous amount of time in the workplace. The average American is now working a full month longer each year than a generation ago (Wuthnow 1996). Amid downsizing, outsourcing, a more competitive labor force, and an increase of time required of American workers sociologists suggest that workers may be looking for ways to bring meaning and purpose to a sphere of life that has begun to demand so much of their time (Wuthnow 1998).

The tension between the workplace and religious belief has been a recurring theme in both classical and contemporary sociology (Schamalzbauer 1999). Classical sociologist Max Weber predicted that the expression of religious concerns in the workplace would become increasingly uncommon in the modern world (Weber 1946). In other words, Weber believed that it would be difficult for religious actors to attribute any religious meaning to the world or work. He argued that through the process of rationalization and the “disenchantment of the world,” religious belief would be withdrawn from the workplace. For Weber, work in the modern world becomes a bureaucratic organization based upon the scientific method that acts to parcel out the soul of workers.

Recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in the topic of religion and the workplace among sociologists (Grant, O’Neil and Stephens 2004). This is because in stark contrast to Weber’s thesis popular and business writers of the 21st century claim that religious practice is exploding in the workplace. Recent books about this phenomenon include *The Heart Aroused* written by David Whyte, *The Soul of Business* written by Matthew Fox, and *Believers in Business* by business writer Laura Nash. To determine the validity of these claims sociologists have become interested in studying religion in a way that allows them to determine if, how, and

to what extent religious culture is transcending the boundaries of secular arenas such as the workplace.

Harvest Evangelism, an interdenominational Para-church organization, emphasizes the practice of religion in the workplace or the marketplace as it is referred to in the organization's literature. Para-church organizations such as Harvest Evangelism have a clear Christian identity and purpose yet they are not tied to an individual congregation or denomination (Stackhouse 2002). Often Para-church ministries are seen as doing what the "church" in its congregational or denominational form is not doing, is not able to do, or is not doing well enough. For example, a congregational church may teach the feeding of the hungry as a Biblical mandate but may not be able to practice this. A Para-church organization may take up this Biblical mandate and begin to feed the hungry in the community.

Specifically, Harvest Evangelism's leaders encourage participants to "live religion," or to engage the workplace with religious culture. Leaders teach that true spirituality in the Biblical context is when one seeks to implement God's will on Earth rather than try to subtract one's self from it. Harvest Evangelism visionaries teach that Christians in the workplace have access to God's supernatural power and the ability to become conduits of his presence and agents of change by being open to "hear the voice of the Lord." Christians not only bring change to individuals but also have the power to transform entities such as workplaces, businesses, and educational systems (Silvoso 2002).

Harvest Evangelism teaches its adherents that early Christians made the marketplace the focal point of their ministry instead of temples and synagogues. They saw the marketplace as their parish. According to Harvest Evangelism's literature, specifically a book entitled *Anointed for Business*

These Christians did more than tell about Jesus in the marketplace. They also witnessed a steady stream of signs and wonders. In fact, only one of the 40 extraordinary manifestations of God's power recorded in Acts happened in a religious venue: the healing of the lame man at the temple gate called Beautiful (see Acts 3:1-11). Most of these spiritual wonders were facilitated by Christians operating in the marketplace. (Silvoso, 2002:17).

Harvest Evangelism's leaders challenge Christian believers to do more than just witness to individuals, they are challenged to transform their environments through the supernatural power of God. Leaders teach that today millions of men and women are similarly called to full time ministry in the marketplace. They challenge Christians in the marketplace to realize that they have been divinely sanctioned to bring transformation to their jobs and their cities (Silvoso 2002).

Harvest Evangelism's leaders contend that there are four lethal misconceptions in contemporary American churches that have hindered lay men and women from operating in the marketplace. First is the belief that there is a God-ordained division between clergy and laity. Second is the belief that the Church is called to operate primarily inside a building often referred to as the temple. Third is the belief that people involved in business cannot be as spiritual as those serving in traditional Church ministry. Finally, there is the belief that the primary role of marketplace Christians is to make money to support the vision of those "in the ministry" (Silvoso 2002).

Harvest Evangelism's leaders instead encourage Christians in the marketplace to embrace their calling to transform their workplace by using the power that God has made available to them and to not let their current job situation prevent them from seeing God's purpose for their lives. They are encouraged to make peace with their jobs and to believe that they are divinely assigned to their workplaces. Once they embrace this reality they are said to be positioned to be God's agents of change. They can now bring God's supernatural power to the marketplace.

Harvest Evangelism's leaders teach that the coming of the Kingdom of God, or transformation culminates into the needs of the poor being met in a city, marketplace Christians fellowshiping across social and class boundaries, the message of Christ being proclaimed, and the supernatural power of God made known in the marketplace (Silvoso 2002).

The purpose of this study is to examine how religious culture provided by Harvest Evangelism is lived by "Pass the Salt" luncheon participants. "Pass the Salt" luncheons are gatherings that use the ideology of Harvest Evangelism. The mission statement for the luncheons, as stated by Tod Bell, Harvest Evangelism's mid-south regional director, is "To bring transformation to the city through the church operating in God's power in the marketplace"(Bell, 2004:109). Participants are encouraged to be conduits of God's presence and to change the "spiritual climate" wherever they go. According to "Pass the Salt" literature, "Each lunch meeting is unique and has its own flavor and leadership, but the basic desire is the same: to see God move in power and to fill the city with His glory and presence" (Bell, 2004). These luncheons have sprung up all over the southeastern region of the United States, including luncheons in various parts of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. They are held at various restaurants and facilities throughout the cities, usually from between the eleven o'clock and one o'clock lunch hour. Each leader is given autonomy on how to establish his or her luncheon (Bell, 2004).

I expect to find in this study that "Pass the Salt" participants live their religion across secular and sacred boundaries. I believe that many of the doctrines and theologies provided by Harvest Evangelism will manifest in the "secular" spaces occupied by "Pass the Salt" luncheon participants. This study will contribute to the study of "lived religion" as it examines how the

religious culture of Harvest Evangelism comes alive in the lives of “Pass the Salt” participants and subsequently in the spaces they occupy.

I will examine the “lived religion” of “Pass the Salt” luncheon participants through the research methods of participant observation and personal interviews. “Pass the Salt” members hold weekly luncheons at Firehouse Restaurant in Johnson City, Tennessee. I attended these luncheons for five weeks, observing the physical setting, the event, the interactional patterns, and the verbal and written content. Observations will be recorded through field notes taken both during and after the luncheon. I approached the participants of “Pass the Salt” luncheons and asked them to participate in personal interviews. The data from these interviews was analyzed and used to help examine individual practices of participants.

To better familiarize myself with the organization I read emails, pamphlets, and fliers as well as a book given to me by the “Pass the Salt” leader entitled *It Can be Done* written by the visionary of “Pass the Salt” meetings Tod Bell. I also read another book entitled *Anointed for Business* written by Harvest Evangelism’s leader Ed Silvos. These items helped familiarize me with the stories, scriptures, theologies, and strategies that helped shape the group.

The qualitative data gained from both participant observation and personal interviews was analyzed using two analytical toolkits. I used David Miller’s faith integration box (Miller 2003) and Roozen, McKinney, and Carroll’s (1984) typologies of congregation’s mission orientation. The sensitizing concepts of ethics, experience, enrichment, and evangelization from Miller’s faith integration box and the concepts of activist, civic, evangelistic, and sanctuary from Roozen et al.’s typologies of congregations was used to analyze data from the investigation. Specifically, Miller’s faith integration box will allowed me to determine if and how “Pass the Salt” participants approach the integration of religion and work. Roozen’s et al.’s mission

orientation was used to examine what roles participants assume and strategies they employ as they engage secular arenas with religious culture.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Until recently, sociologists discounted the possibility that the “secular” arena such as workplaces, schools, hospitals, offices, homes and streets might be a place where religion was discussed, experienced, and practiced (Grant et al. 2004). Perhaps this is because many sociologists were preoccupied with the secularization thesis. This thesis presumed that religious institutions, actions, and consciousness would lose their social significance as a direct consequence of the influence of modernity, specifically the rationalizing influence of scientific knowledge (Wilson 1982). In order to keep a close eye on the predicted decline of religion made by this thesis, many sociologists operationalized religion solely as institutional church attendance and membership (Smith 1998). They neglected to consider the many ways religion could manifest outside of this context. Although most sociologists agree on the institutional separation of religion from education and government, the secularization theory does not account for why religion remains a resource for the whole life of many modern people across the institutional divide (Davie 2004). As the secularization thesis has fallen into disfavor among many sociologists, new questions have been raised about religion in contemporary American and Western societies (Bender 2003). Essentially, the discussion has turned to the various locations of religion. This has led to a recent rise of theoretical perspectives that examine the “lived” dimension of modern religious experience (Bender 2003).

Robert Wuthnow (1998) was among the first contemporary sociologists to create fundamental elements of a model that conceptualized religion as lived practice. He argued that religion was changing in American society as people looked to have religious experiences outside of settings traditionally defined as sacred. In order for sociologists to adequately study

religion, he suggested that new approaches be taken. Wuthnow's ideas have been further developed by sociologists and historians of religion to form the concept of "lived religion" (Orsi 2003). This approach defines religion as practice. In this sense religion cannot be separated from the daily life experiences of religious actors. The conceptualization of religion as "lived religion" allows sociologists to examine how religious culture such as beliefs, traditional doctrines, rituals, symbols, and signs are made manifest, translated, or practiced in dimensions of life other than the religious sphere that conventional organized religion was assigned to by modern scholarship. Ultimately, religion is seen as being as fluid as the religious actors that embody it.

While previous studies of religion focused mainly on institutional bodies and leadership (Smith 1998), the concept of lived religion allows social scientists to study ordinary lay men and women. Scholars of lived religion are concerned with the everyday thinking and doing of these men and women (Orsi 2003). They are concerned with the spaces they occupy in real life and how they bring religious culture into these situations. Lay men and women are viewed as creative religious actors who translate religious beliefs into lived experience as they take into consideration both the social and cultural structures in which they live their everyday lives. Using Ann Swidler's (1986) cultural toolkit metaphor, the beliefs and doctrines become guides, maps, and scripts that are used to help religious actors engage the social and cultural world. It is from this repertoire or "toolkit" that religious actors construct strategies of action and begin to imagine new ways of being.

Religious beliefs and doctrines are all seen as media that make up the religious actor's cultural toolkit and shape his or her religious imagination. This religious imagination is essentially the consciousness and perceptions of a religious actor as impacted by religious culture. Religious actors use this imagination to determine the difference between the way the

world “is” and the way the world “should be.” Essentially, lived religion scholars seek to examine the implementation of the religious imagination on the social and cultural landscapes inhabited by religious actors. This calls for a close observation of sacred texts, readings, sermons, and other religious media. As lived religion scholars determine what the “toolkit” consists of, they then must engage themselves in a close interaction and engagement with religious actors. This allows them to determine how these religious media are used to engage the world. Ethnographic methods are well suited for this task as they allow the researcher to determine how the “word becomes flesh.”

“Pass the Salt” luncheons provide for an opportunity to study lived religion, as each participant is a self-identified evangelical. This religious tradition is typified by an emphasis on evangelism, a personal experience of conversion, biblically-oriented faith, and a belief in the relevance of Christian faith to cultural issues. This tradition is founded upon “engaged orthodoxy” (Smith 1998). In other words evangelicals are fully committed to maintaining orthodox Protestant theology and beliefs such as the belief that Jesus is the son of God, the Bible is the inspired word of God, and humans are of a fallen sinful nature in need of a savior to restore them to a righteous state, while at the same time becoming confidently and proactively engaged in the intellectual, cultural, social, and political life of the nation. Engaged orthodoxy is what sociologists believe has kept the evangelical tradition alive and thriving in modern American society.

Para-church ministries or movements of the evangelical tradition such as Harvest Evangelism and its “Pass the Salt” luncheons also provide for an opportunity to study lived religion as these organizations are designed to encourage the embodiment of some specific religious belief or doctrine. These organizations are dedicated to specific tasks such as helping

the church discern its place (social, cultural, moral) in light of an ever changing social and cultural reality or to call to attention some belief or principle the church is neglecting that may be paralyzing its effectiveness (Stackhouse 2002). By having a specific task and a well articulated mission, it becomes easier to examine if there are dimensions of these organizations' religious culture that are being "lived" by particular individuals or groups of people. "Pass the Salt" participants warrant examination because their religious culture defines specifically how they are supposed to engage a specific social and cultural structure which is the modern workplace. One of the central beliefs of Harvest Evangelism is that the workplace is a place where the sacred can and should be experienced. "Pass the Salt" luncheons are said to be catalytic meetings with this end in mind.

"Pass the Salt" luncheons provide for an opportunity to examine how religious actors seek to re-enchant the disenchanting secular arena. In essence, studying the "lived religion" of "Pass the Salt" participants will allow me to examine how participants translate religious meaning into the workplace and other secular spaces that they inhabit.

Although the study of the "lived religion" of evangelicals is fairly new for American scholars, a recent work by R. Marie Griffith (1997) is noteworthy. The design of the study provides guidelines for others who attempt to study the lived religion of evangelicals. Griffith used field research and a close analysis of printed text in her study entitled *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission* to examine how Women's Aglow fellowship, an interdenominational women's mission organization in the United States, used the practice of prayer, retelling of narratives and the conformity to rules and scripts of Women's Aglow fellowship to re-imagine their roles as wives, mothers, and essentially women. She found that

these conservative evangelical Christian women used prayer and Aglow theologies and doctrines to transform submission in their home lives into tools of power.

As religion continues to be an important part of our society, the study of lived religion will contribute much to our understanding of what religion really is. It will help us understand how religious culture-beliefs, theologies, doctrines and symbols transcend the neat boundaries that it was assigned in modern scholarship and seep into many areas of the modern person's life. It will allow the study of religion to break free from the positions assigned to it by many modern researchers.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The purpose of this study is to examine how religious culture, such as doctrines and beliefs provided by Harvest Evangelism, is lived or practiced by “Pass the Salt” luncheon participants. Using the case study approach, I examined the lived religion of “Pass the Salt” participants. Case study is an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus on inquiry around an instance (Bell 1999). In other words, a case study is not limited to the use of any particular method as long as the methods chosen are focused on a specific case. Participant observation and interviews are most frequently used in a case study. A case study is much more than a story about or a description of an event or state. As in all research, evidence is collected systematically, the relationship between variables is studied, and the study is methodically planned. The case study approach is particularly appropriate for individual researchers because it gives an opportunity for one aspect of a phenomenon to be studied in some depth within a limited time scale. Taking a case study approach to this investigation allowed me to focus on one case, or one specific “Pass the Salt” group, and gave me the opportunity to gain more information and go in greater depth in this analysis in a limited amount of time. This is the approach taken by many scholars of lived religion as they seek to explain how particular people in a particular place and time live their religious beliefs and doctrines.

I used qualitative inquiry in this investigation due to its flexible nature (Patton, 2002). This type of inquiry allowed me to have more room to consider emerging patterns and themes as they were discovered during the investigation. Unlike survey researchers who must at some point commit themselves to a questionnaire, the field researcher can continually modify the research

design as indicated by the observations, the developing theoretical perspective, or changes in what he or she is studying (Babbie 1995). Specifically, the qualitative methods of participant observation and personal interview were used in conjunction with one another in this investigation.

Overview of Participant Observation

Participant observation allows the researcher to obtain an intimate feel of a group's social world and practices through participation in the day- to- day activities of the group of interest (Patton 2002). The researcher is not just a disinterested observer but can begin to grasp the feelings, understandings, and meanings associated with the group. The participant observer begins to take an "empathetic gaze" at the group studied as he or she begins to understand the inner workings of the group in all its complexity. By going directly to the social phenomenon of interest and observing it as completely as possible, the researcher can develop a deeper and fuller understanding of it. This type of research is appropriate to the study of those topics where behaviors need to be understood in their natural settings (Babbie 1995). This is very important for researchers of lived religion as they seek to determine the meanings religious actors attribute to observed behaviors (Hall 1997).

There are many roles a participant observant can take (Babbie 1995). First is the complete participant role, where the researcher lets people see him or her as a participant, and not as a researcher. The group under study has no idea of the intentions of the researcher. Second is the participant-as-observer role. In this role, the researcher participates fully with the group under study, but the researcher makes it clear that he or she is undertaking research. Third is an observant-as participant role; this is when the researcher identifies himself or herself as a researcher and interacts with the participants in the social process but makes no pretense of

actually being a participant. Finally, there is a complete observer role; in this role the researcher observes a social process without becoming a part of it in any way.

For this study I chose the participant-as-observer role. Today there are many researchers who use their investigation to explore phenomena about which they have prior or current member-based knowledge (Johnson 2002). Many researchers advocate the advantages of “starting where you are,” by which they mean potential researchers should seriously consider studying those social phenomena to which they have ready or advantaged access. I felt that it would be easier to gain access and make observations by taking this role. Because of my Christian background, I knew I could easily gain rapport with the group under study and did not feel it was necessary to be discrete about my intentions. I felt my genuine interest in religious practice and my background in Christian community provided me with advantaged access. However, there are disadvantages associated with the participant-as-observer role and with being closely attached to the group under study. For example the people being studied may shift much of their attention to the research project rather than focusing on the natural social process, resulting in atypical or inaccurate observations. There is also a possibility for a researcher to identify too much with the interest and viewpoints of the participants, causing the researcher to lose his or her scientific detachment. Limitations of participant observation include the possibility that the observer may affect the situation being observed in unknown ways. Observations are also limited in focusing only on external behaviors; the observer cannot see what is happening inside people. Moreover, observational data are often constrained by the limited sample of activities actually observed. Researchers and evaluators need other data sources to find out the extent to which observed activities are typical or atypical (Patton 2002).

These disadvantages did not affect the study at hand because first, participants began to see me as a member and were less apt to “pretend.” They continued in their normal practices as I blended into the background. Second, I maintained scientific detachment by leaving the site and writing field notes about the group using an observation protocol form to help guide me when writing. Writing field notes *about* the group allowed me to imagine the group as an object of inquiry. Thinking about the group in this way allowed me to write about “Pass the Salt” luncheons from an objective point of view.

Overview of Personal Interviews

Personal interviews allow for face- to- face interaction with individual group members (Patton 2002). This allows the researcher to examine the individual meaning that a group member may attribute to the collective practices of a group. A researcher who uses personal interviewing commonly seeks “deep” information and knowledge not typically obtained through other research methods. This information usually concerns very personal matters, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective. Interviews rarely constitute the sole source of data in research; more commonly they are used in conjunction with data gathered through direct observation or documentary records. In many cases researchers use in-depth interviewing as a way to check out theories they have formulated through naturalistic observation, to verify knowledge they have gained through participation as members of particular cultural settings, or to explore multiple meanings or perspectives on some actions, events, or settings (Patton 2002).

By using a combination of observation and interviewing, I was able to use different data sources to validate and cross check findings. Each type and source of data has strengths and weaknesses. Using a combination of data methods increases validity as the strengths of one

approach can compensate for the weaknesses of another approach. Observations provide a check on what is reported in interviews; interviews on the other hand permit the observer to go beyond external behaviors to explore feelings and thoughts.

Interview data limitations include possibly distorted responses due to personal bias, anger, anxiety, politics, and simple lack of awareness since interviews can be greatly affected by the emotional state of the interviewee at the time of the interview. Interview data are also subject to recall error, reactivity of the interviewee to the interviewer, and self-serving responses.

Data Collection: Participant Observation

Participant observation was conducted at a local restaurant where weekly “Pass the Salt” luncheons are held. These luncheons last for approximately 45 minutes and are led by a laywoman, Mia Jeffries.

My involvement with “Pass the Salt” luncheons began January 2006 when I contacted the leader and told her of my possible interest in doing a study on her group. She was enthusiastic about my potential study and invited me to visit. I visited a couple of times as an unofficial observer, and was officially approved by the East Tennessee State University Institutional Review Board to begin collecting data in late June. Over the course of five weeks I collected data as a participant observer at weekly meetings. As a participant observer I was able to gain a deeper appreciation of the group and different levels of insight by participating rather than just observing. I participated in many of the group practices that included prayer, eating lunch with the group members, giving prayer requests, listening to the lessons prepared by the leader, and conversing with members about personal testimonies. Each participant was made aware that I was writing about “Pass the Salt” luncheons, although I am not quite sure that they understood the kind of analysis that I would be doing. Each participant was also informed that I would use

pseudonyms when reporting findings to assure confidentiality. I also attended a prayer meeting to which I had been invited by the leader of “Pass the Salt” luncheons. I recorded my observations immediately after leaving the site. At each meeting I observed participant demographics, physical setting, interactional patterns, and verbal and written content. Specifically, I observed things such as how participants compared demographically with the leader, how they dressed, the interior of the building, how participants were seated, what happened in the course of a “Pass the Salt” luncheon, and the scriptural texts used in these meetings.

Data Collection: Personal Interviews

I conducted six interviews with “Pass the Salt” luncheon participants, two men and four women. Each of the interviewees had attended “Pass the Salt” luncheons a number of times and had been active during the period of time I was in contact with the group. I used an unstructured interview guide consisting of 21 questions (See Appendix). Many of the questions were taken from an interview guide that sociologist of religion Christian Smith used to study the social world of evangelical Christians. The questions were adjusted to specifically address “Pass the Salt” luncheon participants who identified themselves as Evangelical Christians by way of beliefs. Each interview was taped and recorded. Steps were taken to ensure that respondents felt comfortable while participating in the research process. For example, I gave each respondent a choice of where they wanted to be interviewed. Many of the interviews were conducted at Sherrod Library on the campus of East Tennessee State University due to convenience, as many of the respondents worked near the library. Others were conducted in places that were convenient for the interviewees such as a waiting room while one of the respondents got her car serviced and on the worksite of another respondent. The main goal of these interviews was to

allow “Pass the Salt” participants to frame through their own discourse the meaning they attributed to the luncheons. This allowed me to determine how central Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture was to their “practices” and if there were other motivations that were more central to participants.

Mission Orientation

I used two sets of analytical tools to guide the analysis of data from participant observation fieldwork and participant’s responses to personal interviews. The first tool that I used was Roozen, McKinney, and Carrols (1984) typology of congregations’ mission orientation. While studying local Protestant congregations in Hartford, Connecticut they identified four typical mission orientations: activist, sanctuary, evangelistic, and civic. This categorization was done using responses to a questionnaire that was mailed to local pastors. It has been used to describe congregations as a whole as well as individual congregants (Roozen et al.,1984). They found some congregations see their presence largely in terms of providing sacred space that is a safe haven from this world; this is known as the sanctuary orientation. The primary focus is on the world to come in which the cares of this world will be surmounted. The church or synagogue exists mainly to provide people with the opportunities to withdraw, in varying degrees, from the trials and vicissitudes of daily life into the company of committed fellow believers. In the evangelistic orientation, others see themselves as actively involved in seeking individuals who need salvation and thereby changing the world one person at a time. Its focus is on the future world in which the temporal concerns are overcome. These congregations make an active program of sharing their faith and incorporating new people. In the civic orientation, others view themselves as promoters and preservers of what is good in this world. They are concerned with maintaining civil harmony in the middle of political diversity and

religious peace in the middle of ecclesiastical pluralism. The congregation is seen as a place where public concerns are discussed and debated in order to help members clarify their opinions in light of their religious beliefs and values. In the activist orientation, congregants view themselves as agents of change and seek to transform the structures of this world. These congregants perceive the here and now of the world as the main arena of God's kingdom on the earth and humankind as the primary agent of establishing God's kingdom.

Mission orientation was measured by identifying the dominating themes that arose throughout participants' interviews. For example, someone who is of a sanctuary orientation will have themes of withdrawal, refuge, and retreat from the world throughout their interview. Participants with a civic mission orientation will have themes of religious diversity, political correctness, and civic harmony throughout the interviews. Participants with an evangelistic mission orientation will have themes of personal salvation and conversion throughout their interviews. Finally, participants with an activist orientation will have themes of transformation, change, and renewal.

Mission orientation was measured by identifying certain types of interaction patterns that occur during "Pass the Salt" meetings and demonstrated adherence to one type of mission orientation over another. For example, groups that adhere to an activist orientation will interact differently than groups that adhere to a sanctuary orientation. People who adhere more to an activist orientation will be more likely to see themselves as co-leaders. Therefore, in group settings they will be more apt to participate in discussion and to assume leadership roles in the absence of a leader. They also tend to view themselves as having as much or the same responsibility as the leader, which may lead them to speak out more and even question the leader. People who adhere to a sanctuary orientation view themselves as having less

responsibility as leaders. They have gathered to consume; they are partakers whose main responsibility is to draw from the leader. They see themselves with less authority than the leader, which is demonstrated by their lack of willingness to assume leadership roles. They may focus solely on the leader during discussion. They may demonstrate behavior that clearly exemplifies that they are there to receive and not necessarily to contribute. Groups that adhere to civic orientation tend to demonstrate behavior similarly to that of the activist orientation; however, their focus is upon building civil society, not building a world based on religious tenets. Groups that adhere to the evangelistic orientation tend to adhere to behavior demonstrated by those of a sanctuary orientation, but there is an emphasis on proselytizing and winning souls to bring into the church or synagogue.

I expected that if “Pass the Salt” participants embraced the religious culture of Harvest Evangelism, their answers would reflect a strong activist orientation in regards to the workplace. Specifically, I expected if “Pass the Salt” participants believed that they were divinely called to be agents of change in the marketplace, they would demonstrate an activist mission orientation in the workplace.

Faith Integration

The second analytical tool that I used was David Miller’s faith integration box, which conceptualizes four typologies of the way religious actors integrate religion and work. Miller developed and administered this instrument to assess businesspeople on their dominant manifestation of integrating religion and work. The first way of integrating faith and work is through ethics. These people place a primary emphasis on internal ethics and broad questions of social and economic injustice. Ethical integration often draws on biblical teachings and principals for guidance and authority in concrete business situations. The second way of

integrating faith and work is through experience. These people emphasize meaning and purpose in and through work, where one's work has both intrinsic and extrinsic value. Experiential integration understands work as a vocation, and not "just a job." The third way of integrating faith and work is through enrichment. These people highlight spiritual nurture, focusing on prayer, meditation, daily devotionals, consciousness, healing, and self-actualization. These disciplines form an anchor in order to stay grounded and faithful amid downsizing, bad management, prolonged stress, competitive pressures, extended time away from home, emptiness, and ethical quandaries. The fourth way of integrating faith and work is evangelization. These people emphasize the workplace as a mission field for evangelizing, witnessing, and proselytizing.

Faith integration strategies were measured by identifying dominating themes that arose in each participant's interview. Participants who adhere to the strategy of integrating their religious beliefs in the workplace by way of ethical engagement will have dominating themes in their interview that express their concern about social and economic justice in their places of work. The way business is done and how money is handled is of primary concern for these people. Participants who adhere to the strategy of integrating their religious beliefs in an experiential way will have dominating themes that emphasize the job as a vocation or calling. Interviews will reflect their understanding of work as a sacred call. Participants who adhere to the strategy of integration of their religious beliefs with their work, by way of enrichment, will have dominating themes in their interviews that reflect the view that their religious beliefs give them strength to survive the workplace. Their interviews will reflect the view that their religious beliefs help them stay grounded and faithful in a hostile work environment. Finally, participants who adhere to the strategy of integrating their beliefs in the workplace through evangelization will express their

desire to proselytize. These interviews will reflect the belief that the workplace is a mission field in which they have the primary purpose of evangelizing others.

I expected that if “Pass the Salt” participants used the religious culture of Harvest Evangelism their responses would reflect the faith strategy of experiential integration. Specifically, I expected that if participants viewed their jobs as ministries and felt they were divinely called to them, they would reflect an experiential religion and work integration strategy.

CHAPTER 4

CULTURAL TOOLBOX

It is the task of a researcher studying lived religion to determine what doctrines, symbols, and beliefs are urgent and pressing amongst the community being studied. It is only upon identifying these religious media that the researcher can examine if, and how, these religious media come alive in other contexts. These religious media make up what is known by many researchers as the “cultural toolbox,” a concept coined by sociologist of culture Ann Swidler. This metaphor offers an image of religious media as a “tool kit” of symbols, stories, rituals, doctrines and beliefs that religious actors may use to engage their social and physical worlds.

There are two primary sources that form the cultural toolbox from which the “Pass the Salt” participants draw: the Evangelical Christian tradition and the Para-church ministry of Harvest Evangelism. Although Harvest Evangelism is a part of the Evangelical tradition, by its very nature of being a Para-church, or a ministry that serves alongside the church, it emphasizes certain scriptures, theologies, symbols, and doctrines that leader’s believe the “evangelical tradition” as a whole have not been faithful to live or adhere to. Basically, the term Para-church describes organizations, such as Harvest Evangelism, that have a clear Christian identity and purpose yet are not tied to an individual congregation or denomination. Often Para-church ministries are seen as doing what the “church” in its congregational or denominational form is not doing, is not able to do, or is not doing well enough.

In the following paragraphs I will highlight some of the primary doctrines and beliefs that shape the evangelical tradition and Harvest Evangelism. This will help illustrate the cultural toolbox that “Pass the Salt” participants can possibly draw from to engage their world and to live their religion.

Evangelical Tradition Cultural Toolbox

Four key tools are particularly prominent within the cultural repertoire of American Evangelicals (Bartowski, 2004). First, Evangelicals hold the Bible in very high regard, contending that it is inerrant, infallible, and authoritative. Biblical inerrancy is the belief that the Bible is without error, while Infallibilism is the conviction that careful study of the Bible in the proper spiritual mindset will not lead Christian adherents astray. Biblical authority is a commitment to the belief that the scriptures are the superior source of knowledge on the subjects to which they speak. Evangelicals view the scriptures as critical resources in the pursuit of godly living.

Jesus Christ is a second tool in the Evangelical cultural repertoire. For Evangelicals, Jesus Christ is not a fictional character but a real historical personage. For that matter, most evangelicals believe that Adam, Eve, Moses, Paul of Tarsus, and others discussed in the Bible were actual people and are generally represented accurately in the Biblical text. Evangelicals believe that Jesus lived a life of ministry, service, and self-sacrifice and further charge that he died by crucifixion and was resurrected from the dead just as the Bible says. From an Evangelical standpoint, Jesus Christ is the only son of God and the savior of the human race—the single path to salvation.

Next, Evangelicals support a strong commitment to a born-again conversion experience. Those who have been converted are “saved” and those who have not are described as “unsaved” or “non-believers.” When a believer accepts Christ, he or she is thought to receive the Holy Spirit that Christ is said to have promised his followers. This person of the Godhead is generally believed to inform the conscience of believers, helping them to discern between right and wrong in their “walk with Christ.”

Finally, Evangelicals singular commitment to the Bible, Jesus Christ, and the belief of the conversion experience leads them to view the world as a mission field that has the potential of being converted to Christ and his Kingdom. The following biblical scripture is an example of the mission orientated text that evangelicals view as calling them to a mission:

Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, until the end of the age. (Matthew 28:19-20, NKJV)

This mission-oriented view is what encourages evangelicals to live a life of engaged orthodoxy. This orientation toward mission leads them to try to improve American Spirituality, morally, and socially, to get involved with the world, to evangelize, disciple, and transform it (Bartkowski, 2004).

Harvest Evangelism Toolkit

Harvest Evangelism's cultural toolkit contains these four Evangelical tools, making it similar to the Evangelical toolkit. However, there is an emphasis on certain beliefs, doctrines, and symbols that separates the Harvest Evangelism cultural toolbox from that of the Evangelical tradition. For instance, the Harvest Evangelism cultural toolkit reconfigures symbols, texts, and other religious media that already exist in the Evangelical traditions toolbox.

The first tool in Harvest Evangelism's toolbox is an emphasis on the belief that there is no God-ordained division between clergy and laity. Harvest Evangelism leader's see clergy and laity as all having the right to be ministers. Leaders say that there is no need for laity to go to seminary to be considered ministers. Leaders teach that this is a right given to believers when they accepted Jesus as Lord. This empowers laity with the power to be ministers without formal training (Silvoso, 2002).

Next, the toolbox consists of the belief that “believers” are called to operate in the marketplace and outside churches, primarily because this is where Jesus’ ministry took place. Harvest Evangelism’s leadership faults the mainstream church for defining some space as sacred and other space as secular. Leaders believe that all space can become sacred as long as God’s people are operating in these spaces. They also believe that mainstream churches have focused too much on the “gathered” church or the Sunday expression of church and have not equipped the “dispersed” church, or believers that may attend “gathered” church but spend most of their time in the marketplace (Silvoso 2002).

The third tool in the toolbox is the belief that people involved in the marketplace can be just as spiritual as those serving in traditional Church ministry. There is no division of class in spirituality. Christians working in the marketplace can exercise just as much spiritual authority as professional ministers. They can change the spiritual climate in the marketplaces just as traditional ministers change the spiritual climate in their places of service (Silvoso 2002).

The fourth tool in the toolbox is the belief that worship is not confined to a musical and preaching experience on Sunday morning; instead it is a lifestyle. Worship is not limited to special gatherings and events; it is wherever believers in Christ are located. Believers are the gathering place; they are the temple of God and become conduits of his presence wherever they are (Silvoso 2002).

The fifth tool in the toolkit is the belief that the role of marketplace Christians is to do more than make money to support the vision of those “in the ministry.” The leadership of Harvest Evangelism believes that this is a misconception that has existed in the “church”. They emphasize that Christians in the marketplace have a much greater role than funding those who are “really” doing the religious work (Silvoso 2002).

Finally for Harvest Evangelism the sixth tool is the belief that transformation is not just focused on the individual but on transforming the entire marketplace. They believe that the following text is talking about transformation in entities not just individuals.

Go, therefore, and make disciples *of all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, until the end of the age. (Matthew 28:19-20, NKJV)

Harvest Evangelism's leadership fault the mainstream church for focusing on the transformation of individuals and not entities. They encourage "believers" to focus on changing the "spiritual climate" of the marketplace and that individual transformation will follow (Silvoso, 2002).

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

In order to determine if “Pass the Salt” participants had begun to live Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture, my first task was to observe and describe the religious practice of “Pass the Salt” luncheons. Next, I examined the meanings participants attributed to this religious practice. I examined participants’ mission orientations and faith-integration strategies as reflected in their behaviors at “Pass the Salt” luncheons and in their personal interviews.

I expected to find a strong activist mission orientation demonstrated in the lives of “Pass the Salt” participants. I also expected to find that participants employed the faith integration strategy of experientially integrating religion in the workplace.

Description of “Pass the Salt” Luncheons

“Pass the Salt” luncheons are luncheons envisioned by Todd Bell, the mid-south regional director of Harvest Evangelism. Taking place throughout the southeastern United States, the meetings are said to be “a catalytic gathering during the week comprised of people in the marketplace to build faith and vision for marketplace transformation” (Bell, 2004:109).

According to Harvest Evangelism literature, the best scenario for a “Pass the Salt” luncheon is a buffet where people can come in, get their food efficiently, sit and enjoy their meal, and fellowship around the table.

“Pass the Salt” luncheons are held in Johnson City, Tennessee at a family restaurant from 11:00 to 12:15. Although the restaurant where luncheons are held is not a quick serve restaurant, there is a service offered to customers during the lunch hour that allows them to order before they are seated ensuring that they get prompt service. “Pass the Salt” participants usually place their orders in the express line as they talk amongst themselves. Participants are all around the

same age, which is from late forties to early fifties. The group varied in size and composition at each meeting, normally ranging from 6 to 14 participants and usually consisting of more females than males.

Participants usually arrive at the restaurant around 11:15. They talk amongst themselves as they wait for food to be served. On several occasions as waiters and waitresses brought food, the leader would ask them if there was anything for which they needed prayer. Sometimes the leader and participants would pray on the spot for waiters or waitresses. This was usually followed by luncheon participants listening, empathizing, and encouraging one another as they shared about problems that arose in the workplace, about ways to manage their behavior to reflect the Christian faith, and about other situations they experienced in everyday life.

Usually after everyone's food was served, there would be a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing over the food. The luncheon leader would then begin to teach a lesson. Participants listened intently to the message maintaining eye contact and giving nods of approval to the leader. After the message participants would give insights pertaining to the message from Biblical scriptures, their own personal lives, or some other resource. Next, participants gave "praise reports" or stories about answered prayers or how God had intervened in their lives. The final part of the luncheon was reserved for prayer requests, which ranged from prayer about siblings who are ill, forthcoming trips, work situations, to prayer for the nation. Each prayer request was written down and prayed for during the luncheon.

At first glance it appears that "Pass the Salt" participants have employed the religious culture of Harvest Evangelism and begin to live it. They are participating in "Pass the Salt" luncheons that are designed to be a catalytic gathering during the week comprised of people in the marketplace to build faith and vision for marketplace transformation. Upon observing

luncheons it would not be difficult to assume that participants believe that they are marketplace ministers with the same spiritual authority as clergy. It would also be easy to assume that participants have a grand vision of God transforming their workplace and bringing his Kingdom to the marketplace. Why else would they attend “Pass the Salt” luncheons?

Mission Orientation in Participant Observation

The centrality of the leader is commonly found in congregations that have a sanctuary mission orientation more so than congregations with an activist orientation. The leader is held to greater levels of responsibility as the congregants see themselves as having a lesser degree of some sacred calling. They come to receive more so than they come to engage or be empowered to engage. Throughout my time of observation this was a recurring pattern and theme. This is a very important observation when trying to determine the lived religion of “Pass the Salt” participants.

I discovered that much of the luncheon was centered on the leader of “Pass the Salt” luncheons. The entire time that I observed “Pass the Salt” luncheons the leader was the only one who ever brought a Bible. This is very significant as this is a visual symbol of one’s beliefs. It is even more significant as it was a public place that this sacred text was carried to. The leader was the only person to identify herself with the Christian faith by carrying this sacred symbol into a public place. The leader was also the only person whom I observed throughout my fieldwork experience who initiated prayer with the waiters and waitresses of the restaurant where luncheons were held. Each time prayer was initiated to people outside of the group it was the leader who asked if they had a prayer request or concern. While others would bow their heads and participate in the prayer, they never led or initiated prayer. The centrality of the leader at luncheons was also illustrated when participants were asked to lead the luncheons during a

period of time when the leader was sick with bronchitis. No one assumed the responsibility, and the luncheons were cancelled until the leader was better.

Looking through a narrower lens, I observed that the leader was more central to the luncheons in a more symbolic way. The leader was always seated in the center of participants enabling her to be seen and heard. When the leader began to speak, everyone was highly focused and engaged into what was taking place. Participants did not follow in any sacred text to confirm what was being taught. Participants listened attentively as she read from the Bible. Each prayer rendered before, after, and during the luncheons was led by her. Although others were asked to lead prayer, they did not, and while some participants invited others to attend, the majority of participants who attended “Pass the Salt” luncheons were invited by the leader. The leader of “Pass the Salt” luncheons also used this time to invite participants to conferences and to other religious gatherings that she supported and attended. This was a liberty that was only taken by the leader of the luncheons.

Considering these observations, it is the leader of “Pass the Salt” luncheons who has begun to live the religion of Harvest Evangelism. She has begun to engage her workplace by inviting others to luncheons. She not only engages them, but in the public restaurant where luncheons take place she has begun to engage others by praying for them. She invites them into the realm of the supernatural by welcoming them to imagine the possibility that her God may intervene into their situation. She views herself as a marketplace minister with spiritual authority. She also views herself as a conduit of God’s presence. She has begun to live Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture in the marketplace.

However, other participants of “Pass the Salt” luncheons seem to take less ownership in “Pass the Salt” luncheons. Instead of participating in “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a way to live

Harvest Evangelism's religious culture there may be other motivations. While the "Pass the Salt" luncheon leader may be experiencing her faith in the secular arena as she participates in "Pass the Salt" luncheons, others may be using this to enhance or enrich their own personal faith. In order to further examine the validity of this observation, I did a cross analysis of participants' personal interviews.

Variability in Lived Religion

"Pass the Salt" luncheons are supposed to be catalytic meetings during the week to build faith and vision for transformation of the workplace. One would expect that people who participate in these luncheons view themselves as spiritual warriors gathering together for strategies to transform the workplace and take their cities for Christ. After all, Harvest Evangelism's religious culture teaches adherents that they should be God's agents of change seeking to transform the marketplace. However, many patterns and themes arise when participants' personal interviews are analyzed that are contradictory to this view of the "Pass the Salt" luncheons. This is illustrated in narratives from participants' interviews that are presented below.

Identification with Sanctuary Orientation as a Refuge. Danny is 49 years old. He is a regular participant at "Pass the Salt" luncheons. Luncheons are not about being activated or equipped to transform the workplace for Danny. When Danny is asked about his motivation for attending "Pass the Salt" luncheons he states "The main reason is spiritual food and encouragement. During the daily stresses and pressures of doing the job during the day it feels really encouraging to go to a place where it's nice and quiet and clean. You can fellowship with other believers and not only hear the word of God, but encourage each other and pray for each other." "Pass the Salt" luncheons allow Danny to escape the stressful world of work and find

comfort. Luncheons act as a sanctuary or a safe haven for him to withdraw to. Danny explains the significance luncheons have in his life by saying “I’m very grateful, because I myself went through a divorce and it was after 20 years of marriage. It was very devastating and the “Pass the Salt” group, the ladies and gentlemen there really helped me get through a tough time. During the day sometimes I was in tears and they were there to comfort and encourage me. It was something I looked forward to and that I still look forward to.” The “Pass the Salt” group has become a place where Danny can go and be supported as he experiences chaos in both family and work situations. It is a shelter from hardship as he escapes to a place where he is shielded from daily stresses. There is a great deal of description that illustrates Danny’s view of “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a place to withdraw and be nurtured and supported. However, there is no description that illustrates his view of luncheons as a place where he can be equipped and activated to transform the workplace. “Pass the Salt” luncheons act as a sanctuary for Danny, not as a place where he is activated to be a marketplace minister who transforms his workplace.

Danny’s view of his current work situation is illustrated when asked if he views his job as contributing to God’s Kingdom or God’s glory in some way. He replies “Yes, definitely. The Lord willing I would like to get into social work or counseling or something of that nature and the job that I have at present I feel is good basic training because I work with veterans. I’m a veteran myself and working with veterans I get to learn the grassroots. I do a little bit of counseling and I do a little bit of social work and so it’s good training for the future, because I would like to work with the Spanish ministry, people outside of work in a broader spectrum. I feel that it’s contributing because it is good training.” Danny’s explanation of how his job is contributing to the Kingdom of God illustrates that he views his current job as a place of training. He views it as helping him to reach his ultimate goal which is to do “real ministry.” Harvest

Evangelism's religious culture that teaches adherents that the current job that they have is their ministry is not reflected in this explanation. Danny does not view work as a place where he experiences God's power to bring change. He does not see his current job as a ministry, instead viewing it as training for when he has an opportunity to do real ministry.

This is further illustrated by Danny's next comment: "right now I am a single parent raising four teenagers working two jobs, but what I would love to do someday is when I retire or maybe sooner or maybe when I get my children grown is get into the ministry." He suggests retirement from his job as an opportunity for him to get into the ministry. Harvest Evangelism's religious culture emphasizing that believers are called to be a part of ministry in their current workplaces is not illustrated here. The workplace has not been sacralized in Danny's explanation; instead, it is viewed as a hindrance from having an opportunity to do God's real work.

Finally, when Danny is asked how he saw his Christian faith affecting his life on the job he responds by saying "My Christian faith affects my job extremely positive, if it wasn't for the Lord, if it wasn't for the Christian faith I don't think I could do what I am doing now. I couldn't keep my chin up through obstacles that I have gone through, such as having two jobs, raising four teenagers and doing well at my job. I consider myself a good worker, dependable. I consider myself always doing a good job. I think my performance evaluations reflect that. The Christian faith, the Lord Jesus Christ is very positive. He's not negative. He's hopeful and always encouraging. Because He's positive I can also be positive." Danny views the Christian faith functioning in his life to help him endure the stressful work environment and the chaos of family life. It is not something that has empowered him to see the workplace as something that can be

changed or transformed. Danny views the workplace as something to be endured or survived and the Christian faith as allowing him to maintain a positive attitude while doing so.

Danny's faith has been integrated into his workplace as an enhancer. It helps him to continue in this place amid hindrances and obstacles. The workplace has not become to him a place where he experiences God as one who has empowered him to be a marketplace minister and bring change. God is viewed as one who has strengthened and enabled him to keep a good positive attitude while working.

"Pass the Salt" luncheons have become a safe haven and a place of support for Donald as well. They act as a non-threatening environment for him to create friendships and be himself. This is quite important to Donald as he mentions during his interview that this is a lonely time in his life. When asked his motivation for attending meetings he says "It's a chance to strengthen my faith and to be with people." Work for Donald is not the most ideal place to develop friendships as he feels he must constantly be on guard of other people's wants and concerns and must manage his behavior accordingly. This is shown in how Donald responds when asked how he views his Christian faith affecting his life on the job. He says, "Keeping me grounded and level and helping me interact with people and trying to show some compassion and hopefully receive some compassion." He continues, "We are always getting into situations where it could come head to head. I mean there are a lot of situations like that." The workplace for Donald is a place full of potential for an explosion of stress and emotion. Amid the stress of trying to maintain peace with his co-workers, the Christian faith helps him remain civil. While "Pass the Salt" luncheons are used to help him build his personal faith and develop friendships, they are not viewed by him as a place for him to build faith for workplace transformation. He does not speak of his job as something that he is divinely called to in order to bring about change. When

asked if he viewed his job as contributing to the Kingdom of God, Donald replies by saying “I would say the interaction with my fellow coworkers and the people that’s on the jobsite would be a little closer to it than the job I actually do. I wouldn’t have the opportunity to interact with these people if I didn’t have this job.” It is hard for Donald to attribute any type of intrinsic religious meaning to his specific job. There is not a sense that he is divinely placed in this particular workplace for the purpose of being a marketplace minister. His view of the workplace is further explained when asked about his idea of God transforming the workplace. He replies “Well, probably a lot less gossip and lot more harmony between people...” He continues, “The largest part of my day is interacting with all those people and getting along with them and showing the respect that they think they deserve in that situation and trying to get a little bit for myself. Things can elevate and get real high or they can drop down real low, I mean you just got to really work hard to maintain some type of a balance. I think I could probably work on what I need to work on a little bit more if I could just get some balance. You know it’s a distraction to constantly be pulled away from that. It’s nice to pray, I do that, I will just close my eyes and say a prayer. If I don’t I feel like I could just go down with the ship. I just hate to think that I’ve got to go the rest of my life in that situation. I tell myself like everybody else I’ve got to do it, it’s upon me and I have to do it.” Work is a place that Donald must survive. He does not see himself as a marketplace minister who has power to change or transform his work situation. Work is rather a place that he must endure. He sees himself as one who could possibly “go down with the ship.” The Christian faith or prayer is where he retreats to find safety. It is a faith that helps him maintain some type of stability in the midst of a chaotic work environment.

Identification with Sanctuary Orientation as a Support Group. While many participants primarily view “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a safe haven to retreat from the stressful world of

work, others view it as a filling station or a place where they can come and be filled with energy and stamina that enables them to remain stable in a chaotic work environment. Luncheons are viewed by these people as a place to “retreat” to be built up. They view luncheons as playing a significant role in helping them to manage their emotions and behaviors while at work. This view also reflects a sanctuary mission orientation, as these participants must come and be encouraged, admonished, mended, and healed enabling them to endure the hostility of the workplace without being affected by it. They are not coming to be activated or equipped to change or transform the workplace.

Martha is a middle age woman who attends “Pass the Salt” meetings. She has been attending luncheons for two years. She explains her motivations for attending “Pass the Salt” luncheons by saying “I went and I was surprised at myself when I came back to work at the better attitude I had. I just felt uplifted by it, so I returned and kept returning.” “Pass the Salt” luncheons are used by Martha to help manage her conduct and maintain a positive attitude while at work. However, luncheons have not helped her imagine her job as a ministry and herself as one divinely called to change or transform her workplace. It seems that Martha’s desire is to maintain some sense that she can respond politely and keep a good attitude in a workplace that she can not attribute a lot of religious meaning to. This is illustrated when Martha is asked if she views her job as contributing to God’s Kingdom of God’s glory in some way. She responds “My job, I’m trying to make it contribute. No in itself it’s not. It’s had a bad reputation from what I hear, you know a lot of cursing and all but I have never heard that, they don’t do that around me and most of them are very nice and are believers.” Martha explains her job in a way in which she is detached and removed from it. She practices her faith by using it as a shield against cursing and some of the other moral behaviors she deems harmful. This is further illustrated when

Martha is asked how her Christian faith affects her life at work. She replies: “People don’t curse around me anymore. I mean I am just excited when somebody comes to me for prayer with their needs and wanting me to pass on a prayer request at my church or something.” The Christian faith has set her apart and has been used to shield her from some of the behaviors that go on in the workplace. She emphasizes that people come to her for prayer and not that she goes to them. Again, the practice of faith seems to be one that is reactionary instead of engaging. It’s one that allows Martha to maintain a sense of distance from her job and maintain her morality.

Martha has not embraced Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture that teaches adherents to embrace their jobs and accept that they are called there for a divine task. The job is seen as contributing to God’s Kingdom only if some type of moral standard can be maintained. Martha does not imagine that her position could possibly be used to bring the Kingdom of God in any way other than maintaining this moral standard. Martha’s view of the workplace is further illustrated when she describes what she ideally wants to do for a job for God’s kingdom. She says “I would love to be doing mission work.” Missionary work in a foreign country is seen as more of a ministry opportunity than that of her current workplace. This contradicts the ideology of Harvest Evangelism that teaches adherents that there is no greater value placed on believers who practice more traditional forms of ministry such as being pastors or missionaries than there is on marketplace Christians who view their jobs as ministry.

Mary is another middle age woman who attends “Pass the Salt” luncheons. When asked about her motivation for attending the luncheons she says “Well, I think it just helps me, to me it’s hard to stay focused on what we need to stay focused on, I mean you go to work and you get distracted and you’re dealing with people just everyday problems and it just helps put things into perspective and to stay focus on what really matters.” Mary views many things in the workplace

as a distraction that keep her from focusing on the things she considers to be important, such as her Christian values and way of life. She considers “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a resource that helps her to keep a Christian perspective during the week. When asked if she viewed her job as contributing to God’s Kingdom or God’s Glory in some way she says “ My job..., well maybe so because I’m there to help people, I think any job you have, you can make it that way, if you have a rolodex you have a group that you need to witness to, I mean I really do, I think that everybody you come into contact with everyday you’re going to have an opportunity maybe not to talk to them directly but to just let them know by your actions and the things you say just maybe they can see Christ in you, that’s my goal. I feel like I fail miserably a lot of time, but that’s my goal.” Mary gives meaning to her job by viewing the possible contact she has with people as an opportunity to live her religion. However, she can only imagine this in that her job is a service job that requires that she helps people. There is no clear indication that she views her specific job in the specific workplace that she is in as part of a divine call. When asked how she saw her Christian faith affecting her life, she responds by saying “Well to be honest I don’t know, I don’t even know that it is because there are employees in my office that can sometimes be short and rude and I try my best to respond in a Christian manner.” She explains further about how she views her Christian faith affecting her life at work by saying “...Just in the way that I deal with people, just in the way that I try to respond and react to things that are said to me. You know if you are dealing with people you are going to come in contact with people who are not nice, so I just try to respond and let them see...” The Christian faith is integrated into the workplace as Mary seeks to maintain some standard of politeness when confronted with workplace harshness. She engages the workplace with her faith by reacting to coworkers and employers in a kind and polite way. She does not view herself as one who can invoke the power of God to bring

considerable change in the workplace. When asked about her vision of God changing or transforming the workplace she says “No, I should have because I pray for things to change and get better.” After pondering a little she continues, “For there to be more communication and working together and not so much conflict. I would love to have it where everybody there is a Christian and everybody there respects each others’ feelings and respects each other as a person.” Mary envisions the Christian faith being integrated into the workplace only to the extent of maintaining a peaceful atmosphere where no one’s feelings are hurt and there is mutual respect. There is no talk of engagement or transformation for the sake of establishing God’s Kingdom, or bringing his power or provision, which is a belief of Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture. There is no mention of transformation of the workplace as an entity, only of individual transformation that reflects a desire to have a peaceful work environment.

Identification with Activist Orientation or Being a Minister’s Wife. “Pass the Salt” luncheons act for Elizabeth as an opportunity for her to fulfill a role that she feels is already expected of her. As a minister’s wife she states that she feels like her life is under the microscope daily. She feels as if she must live up to some moral standard while at work as people know that she’s a minister’s wife. “Pass the Salt” luncheons are used by her as a way to live this standard that she feels pressure to conform to daily. She says “...I’m being watched constantly and I feel like my life is living in a fish bowl certainly because I am a pastor’s wife.” When asked her motivation for attending “Pass the Salt” luncheons she says “I attended the “Pass the Salt” luncheons because I am a very strong believer in my faith... I felt that it was very important for us to make sure that we were praying for our job and for our community and unless we came together and doing so, not that God wasn’t able to do the changes, but I think that it is important for us as believers to lift up work establishment and our community establishments because

that's what He calls us to do." Elizabeth is the first participant who mentioned praying for change in the workplace and community as a motivation for her attending "Pass the Salt" luncheons. However, it is very important to note that Elizabeth places an emphasis throughout her interview that God does not need individuals to help Him bring about change, as she believes He can do that by Himself. This illustrates possible ambiguity about if she views herself as an agent of change that God's power is flowing through enabling her to change the workplace. She may view herself as taking a more passive role in this change. When asked if she viewed her job as contributing to God's Kingdom or God's glory in some way she responded "Oh definitely I believe and I know for a fact that God has placed me in this job and that God has continued to keep me in this job, to be able to lift up his name. Unfortunately, we all know in the world as a whole and even here in the VA community it has become very stringent to be able to say the name of Jesus. You know there are a lot of mandates that are saying now that we have to be respectful of other religions and other viewpoints and certainly we are, so we are being told that we can no longer pray in the name of Jesus. For example, in my job I hold a lot of meetings and I am still able to have an invocation and that entails one of the chaplains coming in. Unfortunately, the chaplains are being told that they can pray but at the end they can not pray in the name of Jesus and so it's a nice prayer and at the end it's Amen and that's the end of it so it's a prayer I'm not sure were it's going to, so as long as I can I am going to make sure that I minister to our patients our volunteers to our staff and to whoever the Lord brings into my path, and people know very well where I stand and I say that I am grateful and very much privileged because it is a privilege to serve the Lord, He doesn't need us at all to have to do His work, but many people come to my office to ask for prayer to just share whatever it is that there struggles are and I am very privileged to know that they can come here and its not going to be a gossip session but its

going to be a time where I close my door and spend time in prayer with them or on my own lifting up their needs.” Elizabeth views her job as a place where she can practice her faith by praying for people, by having invocations at her meetings, and by living up to the moral standard that she feels is befitting to a preacher’s wife. It seems as though she has embraced some of the ideals of Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture. However, when Elizabeth expresses her views on ministry and how she views the job, this is questionable. She expresses throughout the interview that what she really wants to do is be alongside her husband working in ministry. She feels that she is only at her job for a limited time. The job again is viewed as temporary and as a holding place until there is an opportunity to do real ministry.

Identification with Activist Orientation. “Pass the Salt” luncheons are a way for Mia to do what she calls Kingdom Business. When asked about her motivations for attending “Pass the Salt” luncheons, she says it’s “Where we can meet out of business and go out and socialize, fellowship, and discuss the Lord doing Kingdom Business. Kingdom Business is a term used by Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture that is defined as doing God’s Business here on earth. Christians in the workplace are said to be God’s hands and feet as they are guided by the Holy Spirit. Mia is the only participant who explains her motivation for attending “Pass the Salt” luncheons in this way. Luncheons are a place for her to live out the belief that she is called to use her job and the influence she has for the benefit of God’s Kingdom. When asked if she viewed her job as contributing to God’s Kingdom or God’s glory in some way she says “Yes, on the job when I see coworkers hurting I can take them off and pray over them, pray with them so it’s doing my Christian work outside of the church so all that I do would glorify God, cause God would want me to reach out wherever I was to hurting people.” When asked how her Christian faith affects the workplace she answers, “Well I begin the day in prayer and I ask the Holy Spirit

to lead and guide me and direct me in all my ways, and to help me on my jobsite and I can have bad days but I can stop and pray and the Lord just helps me, He helps me on the job.” She says the Holy Spirit leads her; she invokes the belief in the supernatural power of God in reference to her workplace. She has begun to imagine God in relation to her work. This is a central belief of Harvest Evangelism religious culture. When asked if she has a vision of God transforming the workplace Mia says: “I would like to see freedom to pray for each other, for co-workers, for the patients because with the faith of God moving in the center we would be a model for other centers like ours. I could see us praying over patients and patients being saved, patients being healed in Jesus’ name. I would like to see that.” She does not just imagine the workplace being a less stressful place or a place where there is less bickering but a place where the power of God can be manifest and the structure as well as individuals can be transformed.

In a closer analysis to determine if “Pass the Salt” luncheons were a way in which “Pass the Salt” participants had begun to live Harvest Evangelism religious culture, I found that participants of the luncheon attribute different meaning to this religious practice. Many of them view “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a sanctuary or a safe haven that they can retreat to away from the stressful workplace. Others view “Pass the Salt” luncheons as more of a support group for them that helps them manage their behavior or helps them to have a better attitude while at work. Mia Jeffries, the “Pass the Salt” luncheon leader was the only person I found who viewed “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a way to live Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture. She has taken an activist mission orientation approach to the workplace and other secular arenas as she views “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a way for her to do “Kingdom Business.” This is a practice that allows her to engage the workplace and other secular arenas as she has begun to see herself as a marketplace minister. Other participants view “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a way to help them

cope with the workplace, to interact with others, to build relationships, to enhance their ability to be happy or have a better attitude at work, to help manage behavior, and to uphold some type of moral piety that exists outside of Harvest Evangelism religious culture. Essentially a majority of “Pass the Salt” participants view “Pass the Salt” luncheons as a way to enrich their work experience. Their religion is integrated into the workplace as a way for them to enhance their time at work. However, Mia’s participation in these luncheons is a result of her experiencing work in a whole new way. She has begun to experience work as a way to do Kingdom Business as she engages co-workers and leads “Pass the Salt” luncheons her identity as a marketplace minister is strengthened.

In many of the same ways that “Pass the Salt” luncheons function in the lives of “Pass the Salt” participants, the Christian faith functions in their lives in the workplace. For many of the participants the Christian faith is reactionary. It is not one that is engaging. It is used as a sanctuary for religious actors to retreat to and draw boundaries that keep them from “going down with the ship” in a stressful work environment. It is something that they can use to respond when co-workers are rude or when harsh situations arise. By showing politeness, being nice, and not showing any anger many participants live their religion. Essentially, it is a responsive practice of faith rather than one that is of an activist orientation.

On the other hand Mia has taken an activist approach to her workplace. She engages the workplace with the belief that she is a marketplace minister. She practices her faith by inviting co-workers to “Pass the Salt” luncheons and by engaging people in the secular arena. She invokes the power of God by praying for a total transformation of her workplace. Her religion does not just allow her to make it through the mundane task of work or help her manage her emotions in a stressful work environment. It allows her to transform her mundane work

environment into a place full of potential and possibility. It is not a holding place where she waits for the opportunity to do real ministry, it is an opportunity for her to do ministry. She describes it as “doing my Christian work outside of the church.”

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

It is the task of every researcher studying lived religion to examine how a particular religious culture is implemented by religious actors in a specific social or cultural context. It was my specific task to examine how the religious culture of Harvest Evangelism was translated by “Pass the Salt” participants in the secular arena, specifically in the workplace. Through an inductive analysis of field observations and individual interviews I found that many participants did not live Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture across secular boundaries. “Pass the Salt” luncheons functioned to enrich participants’ work lives rather than causing them to view work in a new way. In stark contrast to Harvest Evangelism’s teaching that the job is your ministry, many participants viewed their jobs as hindrances or holding places until they were able to do real ministry or more traditional forms of ministry. “Pass the Salt” luncheons and Christian beliefs were used to enrich this time as they endure and survive the workplace.

I also found that the workplace was not viewed by many participants as a place to engage and transform. Many of the participants practiced religion as sanctuary congregants rather than activist congregants. In other words, the practice of religion was more responsive than engaging. The Christian faith functioned in the lives of many participants as something they could retreat to in light of stressful work environments. Essentially, the Christian faith was viewed as helping participants react in a kind or a polite way in the midst of co-workers being rude or other stressful work situations.

Most participants only desired the transformation of the workplaces in terms of co-workers becoming more respectful or nice. They did not invoke the belief from Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture that entities as well as individuals could be transformed by the

power of God. They were much more concerned with God intervening to make their jobs more peaceful and less stressful than they were with experiencing the power and provision of God to engage and transform both individuals and entities.

Mia Jeffries, the leader of “Pass the Salt” luncheons, was the only respondent who exemplified a dominant activist orientation in her approach to the workplace. She saw the workplace as a place where there was potential for transformation for both individuals and the structure at large. Her religious practice was more engaging than reactionary as she lived the religious culture of Harvest Evangelism by engaging coworkers, by leading “Pass the Salt” luncheons, and by doing what she called “Kingdom Business.” Mia has embraced Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture and has begun to live it.

The workplace in modern society is difficult for religious actors to attribute religious meaning to. This is illustrated in the lives of “Pass the Salt” participants. This is not a new insight as classical sociologist Max Weber predicted that it would be almost impossible for religious actors to attribute any type of religious meaning to the bureaucratic work organizations that exist in modern society. Weber saw disenchantment as an inevitable consequence of forming work into a bureaucratic organization based on scientific measurements that did not consider the spirituality of workers. Work would become what Weber called an iron cage. This cage oppresses the human spirit and holds creativity and intuition captive. This could especially be true for “Pass the Salt” participants as many of them work for a government organization characterized by a bureaucratic structure. Employees must adhere to many strict guidelines and procedures, as the organizations objective is to be efficient and provide a number of services for thousands of people.

In spite of this, Mia Jeffries has used cultural tools from the Harvest Evangelism toolbox that have allowed her to both transform her sense of self and to imagine new ways of being in the secular arena, specifically in the workplace. The cultural tools used in this endeavor are the belief that there is no God-ordained division between clergy and laity, the belief that believers are called to operate outside of the church and in the marketplace, the belief that she has the spiritual authority to change the spiritual climate in the marketplace, and the belief that she can be a catalyst of transformation for both individuals and entities.

Mia is transformed from being a laywoman with little to no responsibilities into a shepherd in the workplace. As Harvest Evangelism religious culture has shaped her religious imagination, she has become a bible teacher, a pastoral counselor, and a prayer warrior who exercises spiritual authority in a space previously defined as secular. Harvest Evangelism's religious culture has allowed her to sacralize the modern workplace.

Religious actors such as Mia use culture to learn how to be or become particular kinds of people. Through experience with religious doctrines, beliefs, and theologies, people learn desires, moods, and habits of thought and feelings that one person could not invent on his or her own. Culture equips people for action both by shaping their internal capacities and by helping bring those capacities to bear in particular situations.

While other participants don't primarily draw from Harvest Evangelism's cultural toolbox, they do indeed live religion in the workplace and in other secular arenas. The findings indicate that many "Pass the Salt" luncheon participants live religion in such a way that is consistent with the findings of other sociologists who have studied "Everyday Evangelicals." In Christian Smith's study of "Everyday Evangelicals" he found that these evangelicals used the cultural tool of "personal influence strategy" to live or practice religion. This strategy maintains

that the only truly effective way to change the world is one-individual-at-a-time through the influence of interpersonal relationships.

The “personal influence strategy” is one of the cultural tools of the Evangelical cultural toolkit that clearly separates it from Harvest Evangelism’s cultural toolkit. Harvest Evangelism’s cultural toolbox consists of the belief that religious actors are called to change or transform entities and structures such as workplaces and that individual transformation will follow. The Evangelical cultural toolbox consists of the belief that change should primarily occur one individual or one situation at a time. While the “Pass the Salt” leader has embraced Harvest Evangelism’s religious culture as illustrated by the way she lives religion, other “Pass the Salt” participants continue to draw from the evangelical toolkit.

Ann Swidler’s cultural toolbox metaphor suggests that culture is like the repertoire of choreographic skills that a dancer uses to engage the stage or like a magician’s bag of tricks that he or she uses to perform. In other words culture is used by the actor to know how he or she should engage the world. “Pass the Salt” participants engage the world using the cultural tool of “personal influence strategy.” They live their religion one person and situation at a time. They focus on interpersonal relations. This is shown by participants’ emphasis on responding to co-workers in nice and polite ways when they are harsh or rude, and is manifested through participants’ concern for managing their behaviors and emotions while in the workplace. This is also illustrated in participants approaching “Pass the Salt” luncheons as sanctuary congregants. There must be a focus on being refilled and strengthened that will enable participants to manage their emotions and stay strong in their pursuit to engage the world one situation and one person at a time. “Pass the Salt” luncheons act as a sanctuary that provides this for many participants. The “personal influence strategy” is also reflected in participants’ concerns with co-workers’

moral behaviors. Many participants mention their success or possible failure of influencing their workplace based on whether or not people curse around them or behaves in other ways that do not adhere to the moral and behavioral standards they deem important. Finally, this personal influence strategy is reflected in participants' inability to adopt the activist mission orientation that encourages the transformation of entities over individuals.

Religion is definitely lived by "Pass the Salt" luncheon participants across boundaries of home, work, school, and church. The way in which religious actors live or practice religion may depend upon the cultural toolkit that they look to for strategies of action. Religious culture found in the Evangelical toolkit and the Harvest Evangelism toolkit have shaped the way "Pass the Salt" participants live or practice religion.

Limitations

This thesis only examined one group of "Pass the Salt" luncheon participants; the findings cannot be generalized to all "Pass the Salt" luncheons. Further research would examine other "Pass the Salt" luncheons to determine the variability of lived religion. Survey methods may be useful in examining a larger number of "Pass the Salt" luncheons. Further research would also examine variations in how "Pass the Salt" luncheon leaders live religion in relation to how participants live religion. Finally, it would also be beneficial for researchers to examine if there are other variables such as location of luncheons, age of participants, occupational status, etc. that influence how participants live religion.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Personal Interview Questions

1. How did you find out about “Pass the Salt” luncheons?

2. How long have you been attending?

3. Why do you attend “Pass the Salt” luncheons?

(Probe) What do you get out of attending “Pass the Salt” luncheons?

4. Do you consider yourself an evangelical Christian as specified by the following beliefs: Jesus is the Son of God, the Bible is the inspired Word of God, Jesus is the only way to salvation, Human beings are of a fallen sinful nature.

5. Do you view your job as contributing to God’s Kingdom or God’s glory in some way? (If so, how?) Or is it mostly just a way to earn a living?

(Probe) Ideally, what would you like to be doing for a job for God’s Kingdom?

6. How, if at all, do you see your Christian faith affecting your life at work, on the job?

7. Do your work colleagues know you are a Christian? How do they know that? How do they respond to that? What is your experience? Do they know you attend “Pass the Salt”?

8. Do you think Christian values and morals should affect the world of work, business, and the economy, beyond simply having individuals live morally and honestly?

9. What is “the world”? (“do not be of the world,” “free from the corruption of the world”)

10. How should Christians relate to “the world”?

11. What specific things should definitely make Christians different from the world? What should set Christians apart?

12. What does it mean that Christians should be the “salt and light” of the world?

13. Do you have a vision of what your workplace would look like if God changed or transformed it?

14. Are there some current problems in your workplace that you think God needs to intervene in?

15. What do you feel is your part in helping bring this change about?
(Probe: What are some other ways that you think you might help bring about this change?)
16. Do you feel comfortable expressing your Christian views on issues in public discussions? Why or why not? In which arena's of life (work, friends, etc.)? Why there and not elsewhere
17. Do you think non-Christians listen to and respect what Christians have to say these days? Or do they ridicule Christianity?
18. What do you actually do to try to influence society? How do you implement your influence-strategies? How do they work out in life?
19. How do others react to you when you do these things? Is it effective?

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent Document

Principal Investigator: Jeff Smith

Title of Project: Lived Religion: An Examination of Pass the Salt Luncheons

This Informed Consent Document explains your participation in a research project conducted by principal investigator, Jeff Smith (M.A. Candidate) and co-investigator, Dr. Leslie McCallister. It is important that you read this material carefully and then decide if you wish to be a volunteer.

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this research study is to examine how "Pass the Salt" luncheons function in the lives of its participants as it relates to the workplace.

DURATION:

You will be observed for three to five weeks every Wednesday. Your participation in the project may also involve an interview with you that will last approximately one to two hours.

PROCEDURES

You will be observed. The principal investigator, Jeff Smith will record interactional patterns and symbolic meaning content of the meetings. Information for this study will also be gathered by interviewing participants of "Pass the Salt" luncheons. With your permission the interview will be tape-recorded to ensure accurate documentation of the information.

POSSIBLE RISK AND DISCOMFORTS:

There are no known risks associated with this research. You have a right to refuse any questions during the interview. Furthermore you have the right to withdraw from the interview.

POSSIBLE BENEFITS

There will be no compensations, monetary, or otherwise, for participation in this project. Participants may derive a sense of gratification from being able to tell their faith story.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

The nature, demands, risks and benefits of participation in this research project have been explained to me as well as are known and available. I understand what my participation involves. I understand that I am free to ask questions about the project and free to discontinue participation or refuse to participate in the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits I may be entitled to. I have read, or have had read to me, and fully understand this Informed Consent Document. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A signed copy has been given to me.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every attempt will be made to see that your interviews are kept confidential. A copy of the records from this study will be stored in the sociology department located at Roger Stout room 430 for at least 10 years after the end of this research. The results of the study may be published and/or presented at meetings without naming you as a subject. Although your rights and privacy will be maintained, the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, the ETSU IRB for non-medical research, and personnel particular to this research which include Jeff Smith and Dr. Leslie McCallister have access to the study records. They will not be revealed unless required by law or as noted above.

6/21/2006

initial _____

CONTACT FOR QUESTIONS:

If you have any questions, problems of research-related medical problems at any time, you may call Jeff Smith at (423-439-1458) or Dr. Leslie McCallister, Assistant Professor of Sociology at (423-439-4998). You may call the Chairmen of the Institutional Review Board at (423-439-6054) for any questions you may have about your rights as a research subject. If you have any questions or concerns about the research and want to talk to someone independent of the research team or you can't reach the study staff, you may call an IRB Coordinator at (423-439-6055) or (423-439-6002).

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT DATE

PRINTED NAME OF PARTICIPANT DATE

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR DATE

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS (if applicable)

VITA

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