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Beyond Mutual and Public Benefits

The Inward and Outward Orientations of Non-Profit Organizations

This chapter advances three ideas concerning nonprofit organizations in general and religious congregations in particular. First, we challenge the frequently used distinction between "mutual benefit" and "public benefit" organizations. We argue that this dichotomy prevents researchers from appreciating the full range of choices organizations make in relating to their members and their environments. We show that religious congregations, which are nonprofit organizations, do not fall neatly into one category or the other. They vary greatly in their inward and outward orientations.

Second, the mutual benefit-public benefit dichotomy does not help us understand the diverse ways in which organizations orient themselves toward the needs of the members and others outside the organizations. We argue that organizations that emphasize members' and others' needs to the same *degree* often act in very different *ways*. Among churches having similar inward and outward orientations, there are important substantive differences in the way they relate to their members and their environments.

Finally, the dichotomy lends itself to a static view of organizations. This static view suggests that organizational goals and activities remain essentially the same over extended periods of time. However, nonprofit organizations frequently change their overall orientations and substantive emphases. We argue that religious congregations also change their policies and practices with some regularity.

Theoretical Orientation

Before we begin, however, let us say a few words about our open system, power approach to organizations in general, and religious organizations in particular.

In contrast to a closed system approach, which tends to lift organizations out of their social contexts and highlights their internal characteristics (especially their structural features), we prefer an open system approach, which emphasizes the relationships between organizations and their environments and the more dynamic aspects of organizational life (Scherer, 1980; Davidson, 1985; Scott, 1991; Koch, 1994). From an open system view, "Organizations are systems of interdependent activities linking shifting coalitions of participants; the systems are embedded in—dependent on continuing exchanges with and constituted by—the environments in which they operate" (Scott, 1991, p. 25). The boundaries between organizations and their environments are blurred. Contextual influences affect what goes on inside organizations, especially leaders' decisions concerning program priorities and the allocation of organizational resources (Roozen et al., 1984; Perrow, 1986; Scott, 1991).

Internal and external constituencies respond to leaders' actions in a variety of ways, some predictable, others not. These constituencies often accept leaders' decisions and comply; sometimes they disagree with leaders' actions and refuse to cooperate. These responses, in turn, become influences on future organizational decision-making processes. Thus, in the analysis that follows, we emphasize the reciprocity between organizations and their environments and the dynamic nature of organizational life, not its stability.

Also, in contrast to theoretical frameworks stressing organizations' structural and symbolic features, we emphasize their political nature (Bolman and Deal, 1991). With Perrow (1986), we think of organizations as arenas within which leaders of different constituencies pursue competing values and interests. In Perrow's words, organizations are "tools" with which leaders try "to extract for themselves valued outputs from a system in which other persons or groups either seek the same outputs for themselves or would prefer to expend their effort toward other outputs" (Perrow, 1986, p. 259). Leaders try to shape organizational actions according to their views of how the organization should act (what they consider right and just) and their self-interests (what they stand to gain or lose socially, economically, and politically). However, leaders frequently act on the basis of "bounded rationality" (i.e., they do not always "have complete knowledge of the alternative courses of action available to them or they cannot afford to attain that knowledge") (Perrow, 1986, p. 121).

Given the heterogeneity of groups inside as well as outside of organizations, leaders almost always encounter opposition from leaders of constituencies with competing agendas. They use a variety of methods (e.g., persuasion, coercion) to overcome this opposition and attain as many of their goals as possible. This perspective emphasizes processes such as coalition formation, resource mobilization, conflict, negotiation, and compromise. Thus, our analysis assumes the importance of power relations as competing groups struggle to gain control over organizational resources and to affect the behavior of members and outside groups.

The Full Range of Inward and Outward Orientations

The organizational literature suggests that when leaders of nonprofit organizations allocate organizational resources, they make one of two choices: either they emphasize members' needs over the needs of nonmembers, or they place higher priority on serv-

ing the common good than on serving their members. When leaders emphasize members' needs, they create "mutual benefit" organizations (Blau and Scott, 1962). California tax law refers to "mutual benefit" organizations as groups which exist for the "social, economic, political, psychological, or other benefit of their members" (Hone, 1979). Conversely, when leaders stress the well-being of the society at large, they create "public benefit" organizations, defined as "institutions which channel the largesse of some individuals in the interest of others" (Bittker and Rahdert, 1976; Ellman, 1979, 1982; Hone, 1979, 1989; Hansmann, 1980, 1981, 1989).

This theoretical and conceptual approach, requiring that nonprofits be classified as *either* "mutual benefit" groups oriented toward members *or* "public benefit" groups oriented toward nonmembers, is too limiting. Few, if any, organizations are oriented toward their members to the exclusion of nonmembers. Nor are very many organizations so oriented toward nonmembers that they ignore their members.

As open systems, nonprofits must contend with the problem of addressing both members and nonmembers at the same time. In our view, *all* nonprofits are *mixtures* of mutual and public intentions. Leaders in these organizations create at least some activities oriented toward the well-being of their members *and* some policies and programs oriented toward the well-being of society and others who are not members. The real question, then, is not whether leaders choose members *or* nonmembers, but how much emphasis leaders place on serving *both* constituencies (Smith, 1993).

We imagine a continuum with an inward (mutual benefit) orientation at one end and an outward (public benefit) orientation at the other (see Figure 16-1). At the inward end, organizational leaders allocate a majority of their resources toward the satisfaction of members' needs. Most of the staff's time, most facility space, most programs, and most all of the group's money are devoted to helping members. A relatively small percent of the group's resources is spent on people or social conditions outside the group. At the outward end are organizations in which leaders spend a majority of the organizations' resources on serving the public at large. Relatively little of the staff's time and the organization's annual budget is spent on satisfaction of members' needs. Still other groups are located somewhere near the middle of Figure 16-1. These groups try to allocate their resources more equally, spending about half of their resources on members and the other half trying to affect their environments in some way.

Congregational orientations

Applying this scheme to religious congregations, we learn that church leaders make a full range of choices along the inward–outward continuum. Some congregations (which we call "priestly") invest a majority of their time, energy, and other resources in serving members' needs, but also invest some resources in caring for nonmembers and other organizations in their environments. Other congregations (with "prophetic" orientations) pay a great deal more attention to nonmembers than members, but they also address the needs of members to some degree. Still other congregations (we think of them as "pastoral") strive toward a relatively equal allocation of resources among members and nonmembers.

The sociology of religion literature is full of studies of congregations in which leaders stress mutual benefits over public benefits. Brunner's (1934) study of large parishes
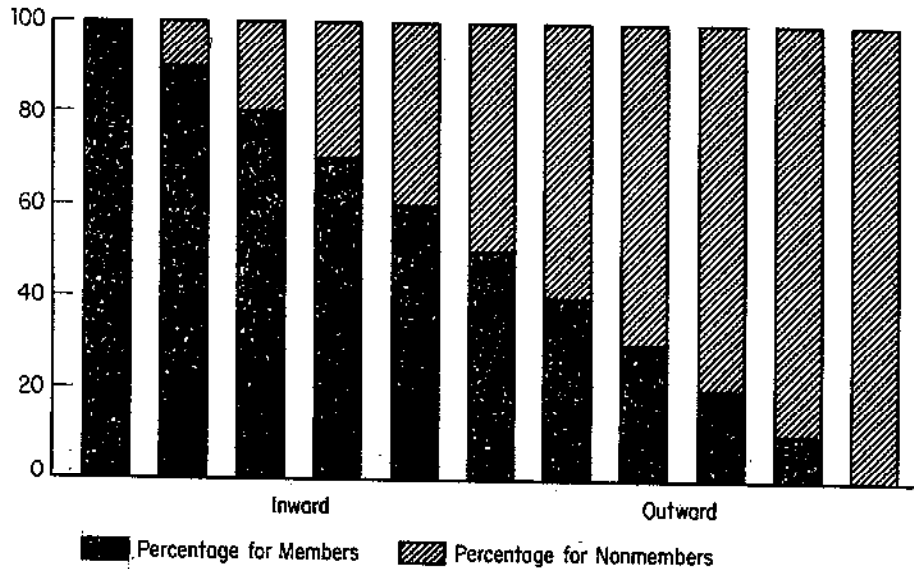
Figure 16.1. Percentage of organizational resources spent on members and nonmembers.

throughout the country revealed a strong priestly emphasis on members' needs. The mill churches, rural churches, and uptown churches which Pope (1942) and Earle et al. (1969) studied in Gastonia, North Carolina, were priestly in orientation. Fichter's (1951) study of St. Mary's church in New Orleans revealed the parish's emphasis on serving members' needs. The mainline Protestant congregations Winter (1961) described in his critique of suburban churches were more inwardly than outwardly oriented. Berton's (1965) book *The Comfortable Pew* provides a similar account of inwardly oriented congregations. Davidson studied "priestly" congregations in Oklahoma and Indiana (D'Antonio et al., 1966; Davidson, 1972, 1975). Sweetser (1974) and De-Portes (1973) also have provided case studies of inwardly oriented congregations. Jones (1971) claims that black congregations tend toward an inward orientation. Roof et al. (1979) examined over 200 priestly Presbyterian congregations that were experiencing membership growth. The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life revealed a tendency toward an emphasis on mutual benefits (Castelli and Gremillion, 1987). The "sanctuary" and "evangelical" churches identified by Roozen, McKinney, and Carroll (1984), Carroll and Roozen (1990), and Mock (1992) are inwardly oriented. Ammerman's (1987) book *Bible Believers* also provides a rich account of a fundamentalist congregation that is inwardly oriented. So does Warner's (1988) study of the evangelically oriented Mendocino Presbyterian Church during the 1970s and '80s. Davidson, Mock, and Johnson's (1988) recent study of affluent churches included several congregations that spent at least 75% of their program budgets on activities oriented to members' needs and less than one-quarter of their resources on outreach ministries to nonmembers. Leaders in these congregations also spent the vast majority of their time on mutual benefit activities; less than 10% of staff time went to social outreach (also see Mock et al., 1990).

There also have been numerous studies of congregations in which leaders try to balance mutual and public benefits. Greenwood (1967) documents pastoral churches' efforts to satisfy members' needs while also participating in President Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty" in the 1960s. Reitz (1969) describes congregations such as Broadway United Methodist, Glide, Methodist Inner City, and Valley United Church of Christ which, during the 1960s, were attempting to balance their commitment to members and their social commitments to the poor. Trexler (1972) and Driggers (1979) also report case studies of congregations attempting to serve members and nonmembers. Smith's (1981) book *Congregations Alive!* examines the characteristics of 97 "pastoral" Presbyterian congregations. Kleba (1986) describes Visitation Parish, a black congregation in St. Louis that tries to balance mutual and public benefits. The "civic" congregations described by Roozen et al. (1984), Carroll and Roozen (1990), and Mock (1992) are consistent with our concept of pastoral churches. So are the "servant" churches described in Dudley and Johnson's (1993) book on congregational self-images. Recent overviews of Protestant "megachurches" (e.g., Schaller, 1990; Robinson, 1991; Thumma, 1993) describe leaders' attempts to balance members' needs with the needs of the communities in which they are located. Davidson et al. (1988) study of affluent churches also included several "pastoral" congregations (also see Mock et al., 1990). In one such church, for example, 53% of all church-sponsored programs were oriented to the faith life of the members and 47% were oriented toward social concerns; 67% of the program budget went to member-oriented activities and 33% toward nonmembers.

The sociology of religion literature also contains studies of several highly celebrated congregations that put more emphasis on public benefits than they do on mutual benefits. The Church of the Saviour in Washington, D.C., and East Harlem Protestant Parish in New York are probably the most famous (Reitz, 1969; Webber, 1960, 1964; Kenrick, 1962; O'Connor, 1963; Hug, 1983). The Congregation for Reconciliation, which Hadden and Longino (1974) so vividly described in their book *Gideon's Gang* also is prophetic by our definition of the term. So, too, are the "activist" churches in Roozen et al.'s (1984) study, the congregations in Long's (1991) study of Lutheran activism in Pittsburgh, and the "prophet" churches in Dudley and Johnson's (1993) recent book. Dawes (1986, pp. 223-24) describes a United Methodist congregation in Iowa that is so prophetic in orientation that it is sometimes called "St. Mark's with a 'x'." In Davidson et al.'s (1988) study of affluent churches, a few congregations approximated our prophetic type (also see Mock et al., 1990). Two had more programs oriented toward nonmembers than members. They both spent about two-thirds of their program budgets on outreach and about one-third on faith-related activities for their members. While most of the literature suggests that outwardly oriented churches tend to be theologically and politically liberal, even radical, some conservative congregations also have prophetic orientations. Some New Christian Right congregations are very involved in efforts to reform public policy in areas such as abortion (Liebman and Wuthnow, 1983). Roberts (1989) and Mock (1992) have studied theologically conservative congregations that are involved in social ministry.

Thus, congregations do not fall neatly at one end of the inward–outward continuum or the other. They are not all inwardly oriented, mutual benefit organizations. Nor are they all outwardly oriented, public benefit organizations. Nor are they all balanced

combinations of the two orientations. They are distributed across the full range of the inward–outward continuum.

Finally, our review of congregational studies indicates that congregations are not distributed evenly across the continuum. Inwardly oriented churches are most common and outwardly oriented ones are least common (see Figure 16-2). Biddle (1992), for example, estimates that, on the average, congregations invest about 71% of their resources in activities oriented toward their members, with the remaining 29% oriented toward others. Other studies estimate how much money churches put into various activities, how many staff persons are employed in each area, how much staff time is allocated to each activity, how many programs churches sponsor in each area, how important pastors and parishioners think these activities are, and how many parishioners are involved in each. These studies reveal essentially the same overall distribution (Hoge, 1976; Wood, 1981; Roozen et al., 1984; Davidson et al., 1988; Mock et al., 1990; Carroll and Roozen, 1990; Mock, 1992).

Substantive Differences

The literature on mutual and public benefits fails to address another issue that surfaces in studies of religious congregations. Oganizations with essentially the same inward and outward orientations often make very different assumptions about the ways in which they should try to serve their members and the world around them. We imagine another continuum (see Figure 16-3), this time ranging from groups that try to reform individuals to ones that try to reform society.

At the "individual" end of this continuum are self-development, human potential, and similar organizations that define members and nonmembers' needs largely in terms of individual deficiencies and try to find individual solutions to these "personal problems" (Mills, 1959). While these groups acknowledge that individuals also are influenced by their social environments, they conceptualize problems mainly in terms of personal defects and insist that the best solution is for individuals to change their attitudes and behaviors.
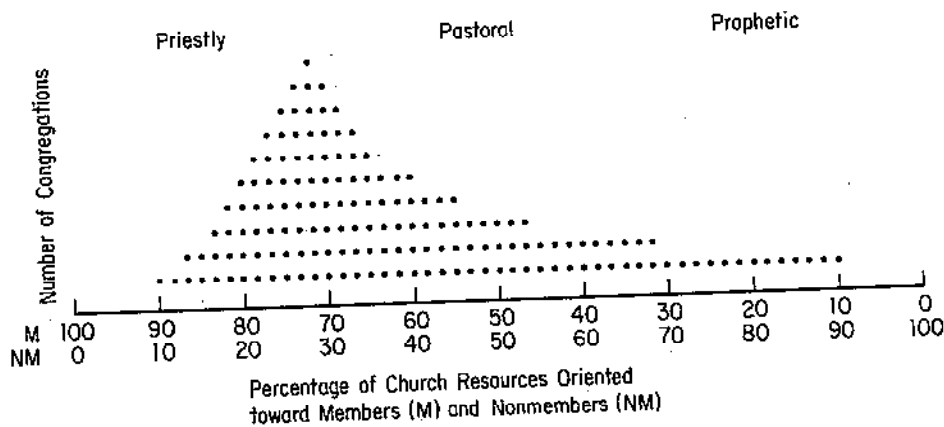

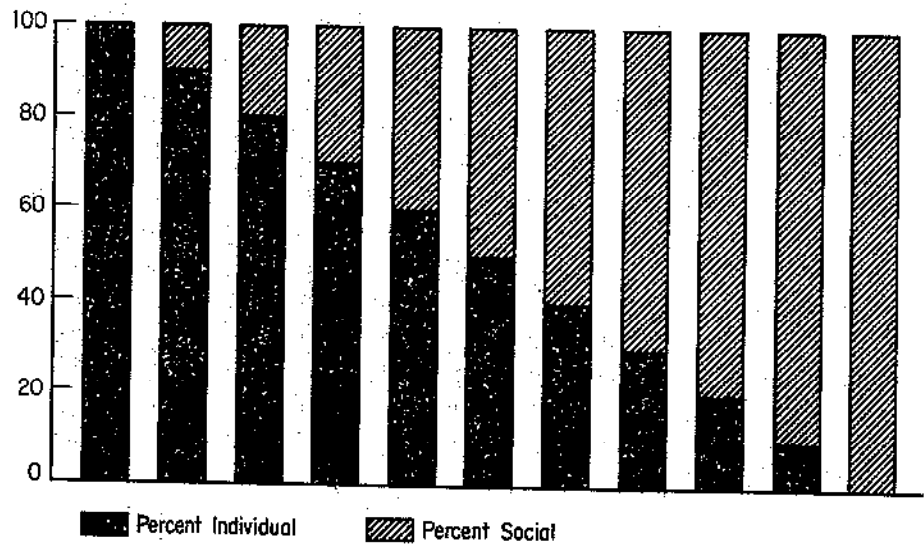Figure 16.2. Distribution of congregations along inward-outward continuum.

Figure 16.3. Emphasis on individual and social needs.

At the "social" end of the continuum are activist or advocacy groups that define members' and nonmembers' needs largely in structural terms and try to find social solutions to these "public issues" (Mills, 1959). Though these organizations understand that individuals have to take at least some responsibility for their own thoughts and actions, they stress the importance of problematic social conditions and the need reform social policies and practices.

In the middle are groups that define members' and nonmembers' needs in terms of some relatively equal balance of individual and social conditions and try to find both individual and structural solutions. These groups sponsor programs oriented toward both personal transformation and social reform.

Congregational emphases

Applying this scheme to the religious arena, we see that some inwardly oriented congregations [e.g., the sectarian groups studied by Pope (1942) and Ammerman (1987)] tend to have individual emphases, while others [e.g., the mainline congregations described by Winter (1961), Berton (1965), and Roof et al. (1979)] tend to be more social in orientation. Likewise, some congregations that try to balance inward and outward orientations [e.g., Protestant megachurches (Schaller, 1990; Robinson, 1991; Thumma, 1993)] emphasize personal transformation, while others [e.g., the Presbyterian churches studied by Smith (1981)] pay more attention to social change. While some outwardly oriented congregations tend to define problems in terms of personal immorality and call for personal redemption [e.g., the Nazarene churches Roberts (1989) studied], others [e.g., the Church of Our Saviour and East Harlem Protestant Parish) have a social worldview and want to redeem the world.

Profiles

These substantive emphases are evident in the different ways congregations approach six activities that we have described in more detail elsewhere (Davidson and Koch, 1993): worship, witness ("evangelism"), social ministry, solidarity ("fellowship"), administration ("stewardship"), and education (also see Hoge and Roozen, 1979; Smith, 1981; Roozen et al., 1984; Carroll and Roozen, 1990; Dudley, 1991; Jeavons, 1993; Warner, 1994).

Inwardly oriented congregations with individual emphases stress the role that church activities play in transforming members' individual lives. For example, worship in the fundamentalist church Ammerman (1987) described and the mill churches in Gastonia (Pope, 1942) is an opportunity for individuals to acknowledge their sins and be "born again." Prayers are usually intended for the well-being of individual members. Education is a chance for members to grow in awareness of their limitations and their need for God's help. Though not as highly emphasized, witness means reaching out to individuals in hopes that they will change their ways. Social ministry means caring for individuals in need.

Inwardly oriented congregations with social emphases want church activities to lead to at least some social transformations. The mainline Protestant churches in Winter (1961) and Berton's (1965) studies orient worship toward redeeming the worlds in which their members live. In education classes, members learn how to reform the settings in which they live, work, and play. These churches promote their "fellowship" activities to foster new and transformative relationships among church members. On the rarer occasions when members witness to nonmembers, they do so with the intent of improving the quality of life for families in their communities. Social ministry programs involve efforts to address conditions fostering problems such as poverty and homelessness.

Some churches that try to balance inward and outward orientations adopt individual emphases and try to change the lives of both members and nonmembers. The goal in all activities is to help all individuals, insiders as well as outsiders, recognize their personal problems and take responsibility for improving themselves. Worship services and educational programs in megachurches such as Willow Creek (Robinson, 1991) are meant to change individual members, in hopes that they will be more able to help others grow. Witness and social ministry programs, which also get considerable attention, are oriented toward improving nonmembers' lives directly and members' lives indirectly.

Other congregations that try to balance mutual and public benefits strive to change social conditions in members' lives as well as in the lives of others outside the church. The 97 Presbyterian churches Smith (1981) studied and the "servant" churches in Dudley and Johnson's (1993) book want their members' worlds to be more just and fair, but they want the same for others as well. Worship, solidarity, and educational programs are oriented toward reforming social conditions that negatively affect everyone, members and nonmembers alike. In their witness and social ministry programs, they strive to create a world which will be better for everyone.

Some outwardly oriented churches have individual emphases (e.g., Roberts, 1989). These conservative churches want to change nonmembers' lifestyles. Through witness

programs, they try to show nonmembers how their lives can be improved through faith. Social ministry programs are intended to help individuals and families with not only their worldly, material needs but also their spiritual needs. Through less emphasis on the well-being of their members, these prophetic churches conduct member-oriented activities, such as worship, with the goal of transforming members so they will become more involved in the process of saving the souls of nonmembers.

Other outwardly oriented congregations have social emphases. New Christian Right groups (Liebman and Wuthnow, 1983) want to transform this world into the "Kingdom of God." Witness activities in the more liberal Congregation for Reconciliation (Hadden and Longino, 1974) and the Lutheran congregations in Long's (1990) study were oriented toward exposing social policies that deprive people of their rights and opportunities. Prayers were for the liberation of the oppressed more than for the members. The churches' social ministry programs advocated social changes that were consistent with leaders' understanding of God's will. Though less emphasized, member-oriented programs in these churches were designed to provide members with the spiritual and social resources they needed to sustain their efforts toward social reform.

Though there currently are no precise data on how congregations are distributed along the individual-social continuum, the literature we have reviewed suggests that the distribution probably looks quite similar to the distribution on the inward–outward continuum (Figure 16-2). Overall, there are probably more individually oriented than socially oriented congregations. There are probably more individually oriented congregations toward the inward end of our inward–outward continuum, and more socially oriented groups toward the outward end.

Changing Orientations and Emphases

A third limitation of the mutual benefit-public benefit dichotomy is its suggestion that organizations have relatively fixed orientations. This view suggests that nonprofit organizations expend their energies in much the same way over extended periods of time. According to this view, groups that are inwardly and individually oriented at one point in time are likely to have pretty much the same orientations at a later period. Likewise, groups that are outwardly and socially oriented are likely to stay that way.

Given our open system, power approach to organizations, and its emphasis on conflict and change, we are not inclined toward this view. We think organizations often change orientations.

Changing congregational orientations

The socio-political conservatism of the 1970s and 1980s has increased Americans' preoccupation with their own well-being and diminished their concern for others (e.g., Lasch, 1979; Bellah et al., 1985). At the same time, federal and denominational expenditures on social concerns have declined (Phillips, 1990; Dudley, 1991). Congregational leaders today are expected to place more emphasis on church members' needs, and receive fewer rewards for promoting social outreach.

As a result, congregations have turned inward. Though there are exceptions (Wineburg, 1992; Cnaan et al., 1993), congregations are increasingly concerned about their
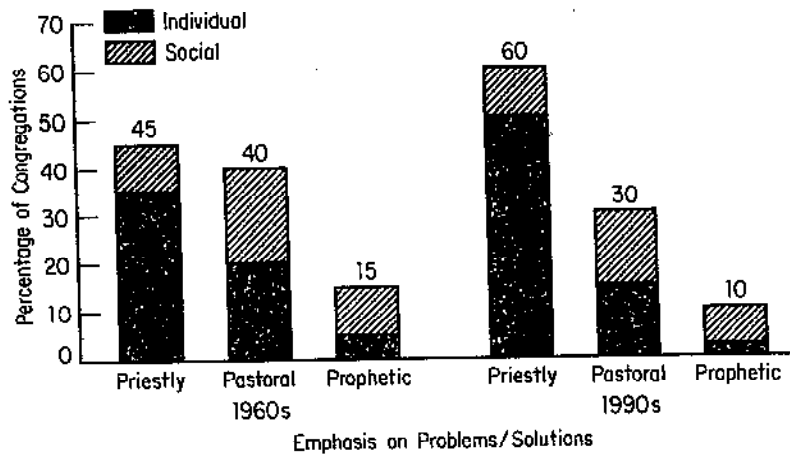
Figure 16.4. Church orientation: 1960s–1990s. Emphasis on problems/solutions

own viability and the well-being of their members and less concerned about social problems and the well-being of others in their communities. Whereas many congregations experimented with outward, public benefit orientations in the 1960s (Webber, 1960, 1964; O'Connor, 1963; Reitz, 1969; Trexler, 1972; Driggers, 1979; McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984), many congregations have been experimenting with inward, mutual benefit, orientations in the 1980s and 1990s (Kelley, 1972; Gallup, 1985; Roof and McKinney, 1987; Ammerman, 1987; Warner, 1988, 1994; Krohn, 1993).

Moreover, we believe the percentage of individually oriented congregations has increased, while the percentage of socially oriented churches has declined. In some cases, church leaders who were involved in social concerns during the 1960s are now placing more emphasis on individual change. In others cases, groups and individuals with more conservative values and interests have gained power. The 1960s groups pressing for social justice have been replaced by '80s and '90s groups wanting more emphasis on spiritual renewal and self development (Warner, 1988).

Warner's (1988) study of Mendocino Presbyterian Church illustrates both points beautifully: congregations change and, in recent years, the change has been toward an inward orientation and an individual emphasis. In the 1960s, the Mendocino church had a theologically and socially liberal pastor. It frequently used its facilities for political purposes and social outreach ("nascent liberalism" Warner called it). By the 1980s, the church had a more conservative pastor and restricted the use of the church building to religious programming ("institutional evangelicalism" was Warner's phrase).

Conclusions

We have argued that the mutual benefit-public benefit dichotomy that dominates analyses of nonprofit organizations' orientations toward their members and their environments is limiting in three very important ways. It does not recognize the full range of choices organizations in relating to members and nonmembers; does not appreci-

ate the diverse ways in which groups address their members' needs and those of outsiders; and does not make allowances for changes in organizations' inward and outward orientations.

Using an open system power approach, we have have responded to these limitations in three ways. First, we contend that organizations are ordered along a continuum ranging from emphasis on members over nonmembers to an emphasis on nonmembers over members. Nonprofit organizations are located at virtually all points along this continuum.

Second, we argue that nonprofits at all points along this continuum develop different ways of addressing members' and society's needs. Thus, we suggest another continuum, this one ranging from an emphasis on individual deficiences and solutions to an emphasis on social problems and remedies. We use the literature on congregational studies to describe how these differences express themselves in six spheres of congregational activity (worship, solidarity, education, administration, witness, and social ministry).

Third, we submit that, rather than having fixed inward and outward orientations, organizations frequently change course. Using studies of churches to make our case, we argue that some congregations that were quite prophetic and socially oriented at one time have become more pastoral or even priestly and more individually oriented.

Several research topics arise from this discussion. For one, we need studies that attempt to measure and describe the inward and outward orientations, the individual and social emphases, and the changes we have delineated. More precise conceptualizations and operationalizations of each factor are needed before we can be sure that the ideas we have put forth are valid and reliable. Moreover, measurement and description needs to take place in a wide variety of nonprofits, including religious organizations. Only then will we know if our ideas are generally applicable or peculiar to religious groups.

Also, our analysis needs to be extended to other types of religious organizations, such as convents and seminaries, colleges and universities, monasteries, advocacy groups, and coalitions of denominations and congregations. Like the inwardly oriented ("priestly") congregations we have described, parochial schools, convents, monasteries and seminaries may stress members' needs over public needs. Yet, some of these groups may carry out significant public ministries. Ecumenical social ministry groups may be more similar to outwardly oriented ("prophetic") congregations in their emphasis on public benefits. However, some may stress the individual needs of their members in important ways. Studies of all these organizations would produce a more accurate profile of religious groups' orientations.

A third set of questions addresses the origins or formation of groups' inward and outward orientations. Under what conditions do these different orientations develop? Similarly, why do some groups develop individually oriented orientations to members' and nonmembers' needs, while other groups develop more social orientations? We are inclined toward an open system power approach to these questions, looking at the manner in which inside and outside leaders' values and interests shape these outcomes. However, we invite scholars with other views to pursue these issues as well.

A fourth set of issues relates the matter of persistence and change in organizations. When and how do organizations' inward and outward orientations remain stable over

time? When and how do they change? Under what conditions do groups' individual and social orientations remain stable or change? Studies addressing these questions would be important contributions to the study of nonprofits generally and religious nonprofits in particular.

Fifth, researchers need to consider the effects organizations actually have on their constituencies. It is one thing to measure the extent to which organizations invest their resources in programs oriented toward their members or others; it is another to measure the effects these programs have. It is one thing to document organizations' sponsorship of programs oriented toward fostering individual and social change; it is another to ascertain whether these programs succeed.

To date, organizational researchers and sociologists of religion have been better at measuring leaders' intentions and actions than they have been at measuring the effects of their actions. The measurement of mutual and public consequences needs more attention than it has received to date. Thus, we ask: to what extent do organizations succeed in producing the mutual and public benefits they intend to have? The results are likely to vary along a continuum ranging from total success to total failure. Organizations might be very successful in producing the benefits they intend to have for their members *and* the benefits they want to have on the public at large. They might succeed in their intended mutual benefits, but fail in their intended public benefits. They might fail to produce the benefits they want to have among their members, but succeed in having their intended public benefits. Or, finally, they might fail in both areas. To explore these issues, researchers need information on: the effects organizational leaders intend their actions to have on specific aspects of society or members' and nonmembers' lives; the effects their actions actually have on those specific dimensions of society or people's lives; and the effects contextual conditions and other organizational factors might also have on these outcomes.

We hope our analysis demonstrates to sociologists of religion the value of paying attention to the organizational level of analysis and using organizational theory to study religious groups. We also hope it has shown organizational theorists who have neglected religious organizations in the past the value of paying more attention to realm of religion, which continues to be a vital part of society. Understanding the dynamics of religious organizations will enhance the integrity and utility of sociological theories of organizational behavior and sociologists' understanding of religion.

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