

TO DO JUSTICE
A Guide for Progressive Christians

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EDITORS

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Preface

Each era brings with it unique circumstances and responsibilities that challenge Christians to consider deeply what it means to be faithful in a time of crisis. The adversity, challenge, and change that are markers of human life mean that crisis is an intrinsic aspect of human life. Part of being human is figuring out how to respond to the world in which we live. Those with vision and passion will hopefully do more than simply respond, but will seek ways to transform the crises they face into opportunities for faith and growth and the possibility of a better world, and they will challenge others to do the same. This book is our response to the challenges that we have heard in recent years from our brothers and sisters who are living on the margins of society, in the United States and around the world.

Climate change, human trafficking, HIV/AIDS, health care, civil war, displaced persons, water shortages, poverty, and hunger are examples of a few of the crises that we face as a human community. Unfortunately, many of these crises have a disproportionate effect on people in the two-thirds world and people living in poverty in the first world. Not only that, but the wealth of the first world is often bought on the backs of the poor in many locales, and our consumer lifestyles translate into a disproportionate environmental impact compared with people in the two-thirds world. Concerned Christians in the United States and around the world are actively organizing to live out the gospel imperatives to “love our neighbor” and to care for the “least of these.” As we listened to the voices of concerned Christians, three particular documents influenced the development of this book project.

The first two documents were recent statements made by the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) on globalization that have named the complicity of first-world Christians as part of the problem of neoliberal globalization in our world today. Primarily initiated by Christians in the developing world, the WCC’s AGAPE document (Alternative Globalization Addressing Peoples and Earth) and the WARC’s Accra Confession both challenge first-world Christians to study the

issues and to respond as people of faith. These church statements make this book not only timely but also responsive to conversations in the global church. The AGAPE document and the Accra Confession provide alternative perspectives for first-world Christians to consider as we think about poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation in our world.

The third document is *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century* developed by the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the National Council of Churches to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the 1908 Social Creed that was part of the Social Gospel movement. *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century* is intended to promote dialogue in member churches and invite discussion about issues of social concern that face us as a nation and a global community. The 1908 and Twenty-first Century creeds focus primarily on economic injustice in the United States. Many issues raised in the latter creed are similar to those presented in the 1908 creed: the need for a living wage, the abolition of child labor, and the abatement of poverty. Other issues have changed since 1908. *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century* underscores the impact of globalization; includes mention of race, gender, and class in reference to economic, social, and political disparities; has a heightened awareness of the exploitation of our environment; and emphasizes the need to adopt simpler lifestyles for those who have enough. Social creeds represent a distinctive genre of writing that calls upon the larger church, local congregations, and members of churches to raise their own voices in a world that is all too familiar with injustice and violence.

The AGAPE document and the Accra Confession stand as the international background for considering domestic issues of social justice. As *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century* was revised and edited, responses to the document from scholars and activists from the Global South emphasized the importance of listening to the voices of those who had been most affected by the injustices named in the creed. In a global context, that means listening not only to U.S. American voices but beginning to make connections about how what we do affects others around the world. Our effort in this book to confront social injustice in the United States is informed by the good work that is being done by progressive Christians around the world. We invite others to call for more progressive public policies that will benefit those who are most vulnerable—socially, economically, and politically—in our nation. We also hope that U.S. Christians will begin to make the connections between what is happening in our domestic economy and what is happening more broadly in the global economy. As scholars, we see this book as a form of activism that we hope will invite conversation, discussion, and further action.

The authors for this volume are an intentionally diverse cadre of well-known, well-respected Christian social ethicists who are actively engaged with local and ecumenical church people and conversations. Each contributor adds a distinctive perspective through his or her own personal experiences and from his or her own justice-oriented work. We have had the good fortune as editors

to work with contributors who were not only willing to labor in writing a chapter but also took the valuable time needed to meet as we formulated our ideas for the book. In May 2007, ten of the twelve contributors met at the Scarritt-Bennett Retreat Center in Nashville, Tennessee, to discuss the book and outline the individual chapters. All of the contributors were given copies of *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century*, the AGAPE document, and the Accra Confession as resource material for their chapters, which informed the development of the book. Through our discussions we identified the topics that needed to be addressed in individual chapters. The subjects of individual chapters correspond to issues raised by *A Social Creed for the Twenty-first Century*. We think that the collective wisdom gathered from the variety of perspectives represented in the book has made it a better and more useful resource. We also hope our process will not only enhance the quality of the book, but will also serve as a model for a dialogical process of engaging contemporary social issues in local churches. We see in this book both a challenge to the church to think more carefully about engagement in public life as well as a resource and guidebook for how to get involved.

Many other people and several organizations supported us in the process of our work. Our meeting would not have been possible without grants from Elon University and the Advisory Committee on Social Witness Policy of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). We are very grateful for that financial assistance. Our editors at Westminster John Knox Press, Stephanie Egotovich and Dan Braden, were immensely helpful throughout the process of editing the manuscript. We also gathered much strength from our families who gave us the support we needed to travel, tolerated our distraction as we edited the book, and served as dialogue partners as we formulated our ideas.

Elizabeth Hinson-Hasty
Rebecca Todd Peters

Introduction

*Elizabeth Hinson-Hasty
and Rebecca Todd Peters*

News of the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor, escalating foreclosure rates, overly burdensome consumer debt, a public education system that too often leaves children behind, and the rising cost of health care cannot escape the attention of anyone in the United States today. Add to the list the swirling eddy of issues stemming from the war in Iraq, U.S. immigration policy, refugees unable to find a country to call home, and the human exploitation of our environment. These are but a few of the problems that leave people in the United States and around the world feeling overwhelmed. Lacking an abundance of simple solutions to our problems, we are in desperate need of people who will see the world and their role in it in a new way.

The purpose of this book is to offer a vision for public life and public policy in the United States that responds to the ways our economy marginalizes the needs of people and the earth. The chapters that follow explore how Christians have been and are currently engaged in social action. Our intention is to encourage you, as a Christian, to envision creative ways in which you can participate in social change in the twenty-first century. The authors, who are all Christian social ethicists and theologians, draw on deep and rich traditions of

social justice and social activism that trace their roots back to the Hebrew prophets and the socially conscious and transformative ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus' life and work are a model for living faithfully in a world marked by sin, greed, and brokenness. Living as Christians in a pluralistic world requires that we work together with other people of faith and the larger community to address the social problems that hinder people from living lives of fullness and integrity.

In this book we articulate a vision for how churches can be engaged with public life in ways that help address social problems in our world. Along the way we share with you critical social analysis of these same problems. We ground our suggestions for action in a theology that challenges Christians to love their neighbors by addressing their concrete material needs and by transforming the structures in our society that prevent them from making ends meet and flourishing in the way that God hopes for all creation.

The term "progressive" has long been used to represent an understanding of Christianity marked by an awareness of social sin, a consciousness of institutional and human potential and shortcomings, and an emphasis on the church's mission to engage the world. While progressive Christians support charitable actions to meet the immediate needs of people in crisis, their deeper concern is to transform the social systems and economic structures of society that marginalize people and the natural world. Progressive Christians draw upon a variety of rich resources (Christian teachings and tradition, science, experience, social sciences, philosophy, etc.) to better understand society's problems so that we can work in collaboration with others to help our society, our world, and the church to move toward God's vision of a new earth.

Progressive Christians find firm footing for their social justice pursuits in Scripture. The concepts of covenant, hospitality, and justice lie at the heart of the biblical witness and fly in the face of the dominant social attitudes of power, responsibility, and individual freedom. Our common narrative as a faith community is rooted in the covenant relationship that God established with creation. This covenant tradition begins with Noah; is renewed with the descendants of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar; and is renewed again by Moses on behalf of the Israelites. It implies not only a relationship between God and the people of God, but also that the people of God are a community bound together by bonds of kinship, faith, and responsibility. Through God's covenant the whole creation experiences God's blessing. The New Testament describes the actions of Jesus in the world as renewing the covenant between God and God's people to enjoy God's blessing, one in which the believing community is not only accountable to their kin and to God, but they are charged with offering hospitality to their neighbor. As Jesus interprets the Great Commandment "to love your neighbor as yourself" in the parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10, Jesus challenges his listeners to remember that their hospitality codes and obligations require the inclusion of strangers, enemies, and those who are in peril. In Matthew 25:34–40

he instructs his followers to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, welcome the stranger, clothe the naked, care for the sick, and visit with prisoners. Jesus reminded others of their larger commitment to God's covenant relationship, a covenant requiring justice for the most vulnerable.

The witness of the Hebrew prophets in seeking social justice within their communities has offered guidance and wisdom to successive generations of Jewish and Christian followers. In the sixth chapter of Micah, God challenges the Hebrew people to remember how God acted to liberate them from the oppression of the Egyptians in the exodus. Micah challenges the Hebrew people to remember God's justice as the foundation of human action and asks, "What does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Mic. 6:8). In the Gospels, Jesus is remembered as standing within this larger Jewish prophetic tradition. Through his teachings and actions Jesus resisted the unjust laws of his time that served to marginalize and oppress. Luke challenges us with the memory of Jesus proclaiming, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me . . . to bring good news to the poor, . . . release to the captives, . . . sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free . . ." (Luke 4:18). These biblical values form the foundation for a progressive Christian worldview that can help Christians guide their behavior and actions as people of faith in the world.

A TRADITION OF SOCIAL ACTION

Churches in the United States have long responded to the biblical witness through social action. The abolitionist movement in the nineteenth century was, for many, rooted in religious beliefs and the conviction that the Bible laid out a case for the equality of the races. It was the duty of what abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison called "reasoning Christians" to speak out and work against social evils such as slavery and war, which were defended by Christians opposed to abolition. Further, Garrison argued, slavery meant bondage not only for slaves but also for the righteousness, order, and prosperity of all of American society. Former slave and abolitionist speaker Frederick Douglass criticized the slaveholders for using the church to "preach up the divine right of the slaveholders." Garrison, Douglass, and other abolitionists took great risks of their own to inspire many faithful people to confront unjust laws that kept the slaves in bondage. Other Christians, such as Levi and Catharine Coffin and Harriet Tubman, risked their own lives to assist slaves as they traveled to freedom on the Underground Railroad.

For many of the men and women who supported abolition—Susan B. Anthony, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Douglass, Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Sojourner Truth, among others—it became increasingly clear that the Bible also spoke of equality for

women. The first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848 in a Methodist church in Seneca Falls, New York. Antoinette Brown Blackwell gained a national reputation for her preaching and speaking on the causes of temperance, abolition, and women's rights. Breaking boundaries in church and society, Blackwell was ordained in 1853 by the Congregational Church, becoming the first ordained woman in the United States.

With the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came the Industrial Revolution and with it another set of social and economic problems specifically related to industrialization—child labor, poverty, and work conditions, to name a few—which drew the attention of people of faith. In response, the Social Gospel movement brought together committed Protestants to work toward much-needed social reforms in the United States and Britain. Social gospelers advocated for an eight-hour workday, financial security in old age and in the face of disability, the abolition of child labor, and the abatement of poverty. Social gospelers encouraged churches and church organizations to take public action. They published statements such as the Federal Council of Churches' 1908 Social Creed, which was revised over time as additional problems emerged. The 1908 Social Creed urged Christians to “uphold the dignity of labor” and to address issues such as a living wage, safety in the workplace, sweatshop labor, and provisions for adequate pensions. Social gospelers understood their actions on behalf of the most vulnerable in society as fulfilling the mission of the church. They questioned the churches' complacency in response to the social conditions of the working class. Walter Rauschenbusch, the most widely recognized Social Gospel theologian, alerted people of conscience to the stark contrast between God's vision for human well-being and the impact on the working class and other vulnerable people of the dominant economic policies and social practices. Rauschenbusch was optimistic that people could become more compassionate, increase their own consciousness of common human needs, and seriously make an impact upon the structures and systems that created poverty.

The optimism of the Social Gospel movement met with criticism from Reinhold Niebuhr, who, while taking social concerns seriously, also emphasized the reality of human sin and the limitations of human beings to address social problems. Niebuhr cautioned Americans not to become too self-assured and confident in their own government, even as the Cold War loomed during much of Niebuhr's lifetime. He became the church's public voice as he reminded Americans that any government, even our own democracy, has the potential to become a tool of oppression for others.

After Niebuhr, the church's public voice came through clearly in the voices of Civil Rights activists. Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of beloved community echoed Rauschenbusch's emphasis on working toward a kingdom of God on earth but pushed Christians further so as to consider how race and class needed to be taken more seriously for real community to be lived. King's prophetic words and actions motivated thousands to act, to walk for miles, to stand in sol-

idity with the most vulnerable, and to change their lives in pursuit of greater promise. Women, such as activist Fannie Lou Hamer, also played key roles in garnering the energies of congregations. Hamer took personal risks as she registered voters, ran for Congress, and helped to create organizations that would address the living conditions of rural African Americans.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the involvement of Christian congregations in campaigns for peace led nearly every major denomination to call for a freeze on nuclear arms and to challenge the morality of nuclear war. Churches became involved in the Sanctuary Movement, offering asylum to Central American refugees fleeing human rights abuses and civil war. Their actions helped to bring the plight of Central American refugees to the attention of the American media. Christians traveled to Central America to accompany displaced communities, helped find transport for Salvadorans and Guatemalans to safer places in the United States, held ecumenical prayer vigils, protested human rights abuses, lobbied Congress, provided social services to refugees, sold Central American goods, bailed Central American detainees out of jail, and helped them file for political asylum.¹

The economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s led many Christian denominations to develop statements and actions of public witness addressing the economic inequalities of the nation and the plight of the poor. More recently, progressive churches have continued their concern for workers through their involvement in living wage campaigns, which are lobbying to secure fair and reasonable wages for the working poor, and in the Jubilee 2000 campaign, which is working to reduce the international debt of impoverished countries. Churches continue to take a leading role in calling for peace in a war-torn world. In January 2007, Christians concerned about unjust immigration laws and increasingly hostile deportation strategies joined together with Jews, Muslims, and Sikhs to launch the New Sanctuary Movement to protect undocumented workers and their families while working toward comprehensive immigration reform.

Progressive Christian movements have had a long-term impact in our society and the church. The abolitionists successfully humanized the conscience of many people and captured the attention of elected officials who could create laws that instigated change. Although it took seventy-two years from the first Women's Rights Convention until the Nineteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, women did finally win the right to vote. Many of the reforms that the social gospelers advocated became part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal: social security programs and federally defined fair labor standards are benefits still enjoyed by millions of Americans. No one can dismiss the power of the Civil Rights Movement that resulted in legal desegregation, increased voting rights for blacks, and the challenge of equality between the races that continues today.

The goal of progressive Christianity has been to ensure that people have access to the freedom spoken about in the Constitution and to hold our understanding

of freedom accountable to the claims of justice rooted in Christian faith. When the Constitution originally protected the right of slaveholders and the slave trade, progressive Christians could not avoid Paul's statement that "in Christ there is no east or west, slave nor free." They saw themselves like the early Christian community in the book of Acts, which continued to teach and participate in acts of healing after Jesus' death so that "many signs and wonders were done among the people through the apostles" (Acts 5:12). Today we must draw upon this rich legacy and speak out clearly and loudly on social issues in hope of transforming the unjust systems in our world. The mission of the church in the public forum is to continue the work of healing, restoration, and reconciliation within God's creation.

A DISTINCTIVE WORLDVIEW

A worldview is the lens we use to understand and interpret the world and represents a set of ideas that shape how we see the world. Our worldviews are influenced by many things, including our religious beliefs, race, class, gender, education, and even the part of the country where we were raised. A progressive Christian worldview is distinct from others; it is rooted in three important principles that shape attitudes about the relationship between religion and politics and about what it means to be a Christian living in the United States today:

1. Christian faithfulness requires public action by churches and people of faith.
2. Christian social witness and public action should correspond to accepted practices of deliberative democracies.
3. The cause of social problems is often structural or systemic.

These three principles represent claims made by this book's authors about our world, human nature, the Divine, and our faith that help make sense of our problems as we seek solutions. As you read, you will see how these principles are rooted in Christian faith and tradition and how they offer a more comprehensive way of understanding and correcting social problems. Certainly a better understanding of our problems will help lead us to more effective solutions. We invite you to examine your own faith commitments and worldviews in light of these principles.

Called to Live Differently in the World

One goal of this book is to encourage you, as a Christian, to envision creative ways in which you and your community can participate in social change in the twenty-first century. We begin by inviting you to think about the first guiding principle:

Christian faithfulness requires public action on the part of the churches and people of faith.

Christianity is not simply a personal and private matter between an individual and God; it is also about community responsibility and faithfulness in public life—social, political, and economic. While this principle is neither new nor radical, it ought to guide behavior of individual Christians and Christian communities. The brief history of U.S. churches' engagement with social justice offered earlier in this chapter illustrates some of the ways Christians and their communities have embodied this principle.

Viewing our roles as Christians and citizens in holistic ways has the potential to offer more creativity and move us beyond simplistic solutions that do not adequately consider the complexity and interdependence of the world in which we live. As Christians living in a democracy, we have a special and unique opportunity to work together to confront the problems that are shaping social patterns and practices in destructive ways. Some may argue that the separation of church and state creates a deep line in the sand between matters of faith and matters of the world. However, it is unrealistic to expect people who have been shaped by the moral traditions of their faith to leave their religion at home when they enter the public square. Values often guide public decision making and the development of public policy, and whether those values are the values of the business community (profit and efficiency) or the values of religious communities (justice and care for the marginalized) can make a significant difference. Excluding faith from political debates bars an important resource for moral reasoning.

Moreover, the Constitution does not encourage Americans to keep our faith and our public life separate. What the First Amendment says is, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," which means that there shall not be a single state religion, that all people of faith are free to practice their religion in this country, and that our government should not favor any one faith tradition. The separation of Christian life from public affairs creates an artificial boundary between the church and the state; it also makes an artificial boundary between our faith and the world. Christianity is not an individualistic faith; rather, Christians are called to live in community and to be active in the world in ways that witness to our faith in all areas of our lives.

The Role of Faith in Public Debate

As we live out our values and commitments in public as well as in private, we must also recognize the concerns many people have that as religion and politics interact, we run the risk of moving toward political and legal systems based on theological claims. Therefore, we must modify the first principle with this second one: Christian social witness and public action should correspond to accepted practices of deliberative democracies.

Deliberative democracies encourage decisions to be made by consensus and invest power in smaller groups working together to envision creative solutions for change. Leaving room for diversity of opinions, values, or contrasting world-views to enter into the debate is a characteristic of deliberative democracy. This model allows for insights and perspectives rooted in faith experience to enter the public square. The variety of voices and perspectives also generates greater insight into the problems that we face and enables us to envision creative change as we engage in dialogue and work collaboratively with others.

Determining appropriate individual and public policy responses to social problems necessarily involves the discussion of values. These discussions can be difficult as we are confronted with ideas that are quite different from our own. A variety of factors in our lives—including families, communities, education, reason, and religious beliefs—shape our values. Because beliefs are, by nature, subjective and because different religious belief systems and values sometimes conflict with each other, relying upon exclusively religious justifications for social reform in the public forum, without attempting to find common ground with others, is not particularly effective, nor appropriate. While the Constitution protects our right as citizens to speak about faith in public discourse, it also protects the rights of those who do not share our faith claims.

The challenge then becomes *how* people of faith should bring their faith concerns and values to the table in ways that enhance and promote the common good. At the same time, in a religiously diverse community, we cannot expect our faith claims to have authority for people who do not share them. Therefore, as we move into public forums to debate and advocate for social change, it is important to identify commonly held values, ideals, or language that are consistent with our faith, but not exclusively derived from it. By identifying commonly held values, ideals, and language, we are able to facilitate a meaningful dialogue with people from different (or no) faith traditions as we work together toward change.

Martin Luther King Jr. provides an excellent model of combining the language of faith and the language of democracy to share his dream for a better world: “And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed that day when all of God’s children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, ‘Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last.’”² Christians are called to work collaboratively with others toward common public policy and social change goals, even if we do not share the exact same faith stories and motivations. Thus, while our faith motivates us to act in the world, we must develop language and moral arguments that allow us to debate with and enlist the support from those who may not share our faith commitments but do support democratic discourse in a pluralistic world.

Focusing on Structural Injustices

The third principle that underlies the essays in this book is the belief that social problems are not exclusively the fault of the individual but are often caused by structural or systemic failures. As we work toward developing public policy solutions to social problems such as poverty, racism, and crime, it is important to examine the structures and attitudes in society that support or exacerbate these problems. A structural or systemic analysis of social problems recognizes the power that is embedded in social structures and attempts to examine how lack of access to power and resources can negatively affect individuals whom those structures are supposed to serve. For example, while all children in the United States have access to public education, the quality of that experience varies widely—often along lines of race and class—in ways that further marginalize disadvantaged students.

Thinking about social injustice from a structural perspective requires refocusing the dominant worldview in the United States from its obsession with an individualism that views success or failure as the sole responsibility of the individual. While it is important to recognize and affirm individual human rights as vitally important to the health and well-being of our country, when individualism is taken too far, it is too easy to forget the common bonds of humanity that ought to bind us together into supportive communities and nations. Too much contemporary public policy grows out of a worldview rooted in an individualism that threatens to tear the fabric of our community apart. We all stand on the shoulders of others—our parents, teachers, ministers, mentors, friends, families, and all the other people who have contributed to our success and well-being in the world. Recognizing our interdependency is critical to effective social change. As we work toward developing public policy solutions to social problems such as poverty, racism, and crime, it is also important to examine how the structures in society contribute to or worsen these problems. Take, for example, current attitudes about poverty.

The most recent welfare reform legislation, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, was based on a worldview that assumed an individualistic cause of poverty—that poor people are lazy. This is not a statement of objective fact, but rather a claim that has been suggested as a guiding principle for understanding our world. Widespread popular acceptance of this claim limits our ability to understand poverty, which can have a significant impact on public policy. One of the assumptions underlying this legislation was that if poor people simply learned how to be more responsible, then they would not be poor anymore. But legislation based on the assumption that the poor are lazy is unable to attend to the multiple sources of oppression that confront people living in poverty—low-wage jobs; inadequate or no health care; disability; depression; domestic violence; sick children; lack of affordable, high-quality child care;

physical and mental illness; and inadequate education. If we examine the U.S. Census data, we discover that in 2005 there were 37 million people living below the poverty line in the United States. Thirteen million of those living in poverty are children. Furthermore, 60 percent of those families had at least one working family member.

Some Christians justify the existence of poverty by using Jesus' own words, "You always have the poor with you" (John 12:8), as a theological excuse to allow poverty to persist and to emphasize the culpability of individuals for their own impoverishment. It is difficult to reconcile that interpretation with Jesus' other words and actions. Jesus was more likely reminding his audience of the teachings of the Torah: "There will, however, be no one in need among you . . . if only you will obey the LORD your God by diligently observing this entire commandment that I command you today" (Deut. 15:4–5).

Because significant causes of social problems lie in society's institutions and structures—our education system, our tax policies, the criminal justice system, the military, the banking system, the healthcare system, to name a few—the approach to studying those social problems must be both more nuanced and more thorough, and must include an examination of long-term strategies of resistance and healing. Each of our lives is touched by these structures in a variety of ways throughout our lifetime. Some of us benefit from these systems by procuring a solid education, by obtaining a loan to buy a car or a house, through safe streets or communities, or a safe and healthy childbirth. These same systems fail others through, for example, inadequate schools, lack of access to health care, and racial discrimination in lending.

Our intention in this book is not to condemn these structures, but rather to compare how they are intended to function in society with how they actually function. Social problems can rarely be pinned down to a failure in any one system, but are often the result of several contributing failures that send a person into poverty, prison, or worse. We invite you to look more closely at the ways in which many of the problems in our country are rooted in an unjust social order that continues to discriminate along lines etched by race, class, gender, and nationality. Statistics show that disparities in health care, education, the housing market, poverty, the criminal justice system, wages, and employment are correlated to race, class, and gender. Too often, people confuse correlation with causation. To understand the *causes* of these social disparities, it is necessary to examine the underlying structures of injustice in our society. Understanding any one social problem in our society in isolation is impossible. Problems in the criminal justice system are related to problems in the education system, which are connected to problems with employment and housing. While each of the chapters addresses a single issue, we hope you will notice how often these topics and problems overlap and interconnect.

CONCLUSION

As progressive Christians committed to moving the level of moral discourse in our nation beyond personal morality and overly simplistic solutions to complex problems, we do not offer here a single, universal proposal for change; to be honest, no single solution is possible. The essays that follow explore the social dilemmas we are most concerned about today: difficulties faced by families, unfair treatment of undocumented workers, increased militarization, the exploitation of the earth, poverty-level wages and their impact upon workers, the importance of social safety-net programs like Social Security, tax policies that favor the common good, the quality of public education, affordable housing, the impact of current drug policy, the adequacy of our criminal justice system, and lack of access to adequate healthcare. These problems and proposals to create change will be explained and discussed in light of Scripture, tradition, science, and lived experience. Our aim is to challenge common assumptions and to prompt new ways of thinking about what makes sense in and for our world. We also highlight the creative ways that progressive Christian communities have and can address the problems we are facing. Our goal is to propose and invite further discussion about a social agenda that has the potential to create healthier, more egalitarian, relational, and inclusive practices in our society and Christian communities. To that end, we include questions for reflection and additional resources for your use.

A majority of people in the world claim to be religious. Communities of faith around the world possess the potential to address the social problems that currently plague our country and our world. However, the transformation of hearts, minds, and communities that is required to accomplish this task is deep and profound. This transformation must come from within individuals and communities. We sincerely hope that thoughtful, faithful Christians around the country who are willing to seriously engage in this conversation will discover that they, in fact, share our progressive belief in structural analysis and social change as foundational to Christian life. We also believe and have hope that the world can be something different than it is today. God is calling us to work toward reconciliation and healing in everything that we do. We hope that fruitful discussion will also lead to action and that progressive churches will think of creative ways to more fully and faithfully attend to the problems described in the chapters that follow. The world will only change when people work to change it. Progressive Christian communities represent a powerful partner in the work to abolish poverty, reform our education and criminal justice systems, redress racism and ethnocentrism in our communities, and transform the United States into a peaceful and responsible global ally.

NOTES

1. Susan Bibler Coutin, *The Culture of Protest: Religious Activism and the U.S. Sanctuary Movement* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 3.
2. Martin Luther King Jr., "I Have a Dream," in *A Testament of Hope*, ed. James M. Washington (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1986), 220.

Chapter 1

For Workers

ELIZABETH HINSON-HASTY

A story has been told about advice that Clarence Jordan, Baptist minister and founder of Koinonia Farms, gave to a pastor who complained that he could not persuade the board of deacons at his church to increase the custodian's pay. Jordan asked the pastor how many children the custodian had to support. The pastor replied, "Eight." Jordan then inquired as to how many children the pastor had. "Four," the pastor responded. Knowing that the pastor made more money than the custodian, Jordan suggested that the pastor "swap salaries" with the custodian and thought the problem was solved.

I have heard this story used as a sermon illustration that raised not only significant questions among members of the congregation but also some anger. For some, it seemed unnatural to pay the custodian, whose job was considered to be less prestigious, the same amount as, if not more than, the pastor. Others wondered why the pastor who preached this sermon did not "practice what he preached." The preacher's congregation at the time paid its custodial staff minimum wage. The point that seemed obvious to Jordan was that remuneration for work should not be set according to what job society considered more prestigious or by value judgments placed on what was considered "good" or "bad"

work. Pay should not even be set according to the value placed upon it by market competition. If we believe that all human beings are valued by God and created as equals in God's image, then wages should reflect the value of workers by covering workers' basic needs.

The practice of considering the needs of others along with one's own individual and family needs is firmly rooted in biblical teachings and a long Christian tradition. The author of Acts characterized the early Christian community in this way:

Now the whole group of those who believed were of one heart and soul, and no one claimed private ownership of any possessions, but everything they owned was held in common. . . . There was not a needy person among them, for as many as owned lands or houses sold them and brought the proceeds of what was sold. They laid it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to each as any had need. (Acts 4:32, 34–35)

What might we as a society and in Christian community gain by practicing an ethic that considers the needs and interests of others along with our own self-interest? How would we need to reconsider the economic value placed upon different forms of work in American society? What changes would need to be made for our society and our Christian communities to reflect the ideal that there would not be a needy person among us—where all can satisfy their own basic needs?

LOW-WAGE WORKERS: THE NEEDY AMONG US TODAY

Individuals who earn the current federal minimum wage of \$5.85 an hour and work full-time for fifty-two weeks a year will only earn \$12,168 before taxes. This will barely raise them above the 2007 federal poverty guidelines of \$10,210 for a single person and is nowhere near enough to support a family. The current federal minimum wage is set to increase incrementally to only \$7.25 an hour by 2009. Think for a moment about how much \$47.00 (the present minimum wage times eight hours a day) a day can buy where you live in the United States. Would it be enough to afford a decent place to live? Adequate food? A reliable car? Necessary trips to the doctor? What if you were also supporting dependents and had to pay for day care, clothe your children, or buy prescriptions to alleviate chronic illness? The vast majority of minimum-wage workers also lack important benefits such as retirement and health insurance.

Many people assume that the average minimum-wage worker is a teenager working at the local McDonald's and living at home with his or her parents. Others think that people working minimum-wage or low-wage jobs are unskilled and deserve low pay because of some fault of their own. Statistics

show, however, that the average minimum-wage worker is an adult woman, over twenty years old, who has earned at least a high school diploma and has family responsibilities. Minimum-wage workers earn the lowest wage that employers are allowed to pay workers as established by federal law. According to the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), 79 percent of minimum-wage workers are adults and 59 percent are women. The majority of minimum-wage workers are white women. EPI estimates that 13 million workers (10 percent of the workforce) currently will be affected by the increase in the federal minimum wage that goes into effect in 2009.

In addition, a larger proportion of African American and Hispanic workers earn poverty-level wages than white workers. A poverty-level wage is defined as an hourly wage which if worked full-time and year-round does not total enough to meet the federal poverty standard for a family of four. For 2005, the federal poverty-level wage was \$9.60 an hour. EPI found in its study *The State of Working America 2006/2007* that 29 percent of women workers and 20 percent of male workers earn a poverty-level wage. Thirty-seven percent of black women and 29 percent of black men, and 35 percent of Hispanic men and 46 percent of Hispanic women earn a poverty-level wage. Another category of workers are the more than 30 million Americans, about one-quarter of the American workforce, who work low-wage jobs. Low-wage households bring in more than the minimum wage, typically earning two times the federal poverty standard. In 2007, the federal poverty guideline was defined for forty-eight states, excluding Hawaii and Alaska, as \$20,650 for a family of four. The percentage of African American and Hispanic workers affected by low wages is far higher than their overall representation in the workforce.

Many think that fast-food restaurants employ the highest percentage of low-wage workers. In reality, fast-food jobs make up only a small percentage of low-paying jobs. Other low-wage jobs include the people whom we depend upon most to be skilled caregivers, such as day-care providers, home health aides, and nurses' assistants. Security personnel, food service workers and processors, cooks, maids, cashiers and pharmacy assistants, agricultural workers, and laundry and dry cleaning employees also fall into the low-wage category.

These statistics became real to me when I took a class to the Salvation Army Center for Hope in Louisville, Kentucky, and met Lydia. Our assignment was to break bread with the homeless and other impoverished people dining at the center. In conversations around our tables, we learned that several of the people who were homeless worked full- or part-time. I ate dinner with Lydia and her two children. Lydia worked full-time in a Laundromat, washing and folding clothes for customers paying by the pound for their laundry to be done. Although she and her children lived in low-rent temporary housing provided by the Salvation Army and ate dinner at the shelter most nights, she expressed her optimism about her own future: "Things are gonna get better. I just need to get more education and get some benefits." Lydia shares a belief held by many

Americans. If she works hard enough and gets enough education, then she will be able to “pull herself up by her bootstraps” and lift herself out of poverty.

Unfortunately, recent trends do not support such optimism. Political agendas often focus on education as the means to create economic upward mobility for people who are poor. Today, the majority of low-wage workers have earned a high school diploma. Some have even earned a college degree. In the past, education may have helped workers gain entrance into the middle class but upward mobility is becoming increasingly difficult even for those with some education. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 2005 that between 2004 and 2014 the greatest growth in employment will be in the “service-providing sector,” often the lowest-paying occupations and which do not require college degrees.

The circumstance of low-wage jobs generates a great deal of instability in workers’ lives. Low-wage jobs are more likely to require working nonstandard, more rigid, and less stable hours. Unpredictable work schedules make it more difficult for a worker to plan for child care, get an education, and keep in contact with extended family and organizations that provide networks for support. Unstable income causes more frequent changes in residence, including the increased likelihood of eviction, being forced to live without utilities, and, for children, more absences from school. Low-income workers are at a disadvantage when trying to establish consumer credit, making it difficult to afford reliable transportation. When credit is approved it is often at high interest rates. Many live without phone or Internet service and opt to live with others or rent rooms in budget-rate motels. Workers paid low wages have greater difficulty affording nutritious foods. Government subsidies for crops such as corn, wheat, and rice make carbohydrate-heavy foods cheaper than healthier fruits and vegetables. Statistics show that about 38 percent of low-wage workers receive health insurance from their employers, compared to 69 percent of higher-wage workers. Individuals and families without health insurance lack access to consistent medical care, and medical care is often simply unaffordable for low-income families. In times of illness the only available medical care may be the emergency room, which is extremely expensive.

These examples bring to life patterns that are becoming norms for workers. Beth Shulman, author of *The Betrayal of Work*, invites us to reconsider assumptions made about the responsibility placed upon individuals for their poverty. The accumulation of wealth of the people at the top of the employment ladder is linked to the poverty experienced by those at the bottom. Shulman argues that “the great secret of America is that a vast new impoverished population has grown up in our midst. Yet these are not Americans who have been excluded from the world of work; in fact, they make up the core of much of the new economy. Indeed, our recent prosperity rests, in part, on their misery. Their poverty is not incidental to their role as workers, but derives directly from it.”¹

Paying low wages allows businesses and corporations to offer low consumer prices and enjoy high stock prices, while putting billions of dollars of profits in the pockets of investors, CEOs, and other executives.

“APARTHEID ECONOMY”

Harvard economist Richard Freeman writes that

income inequality in the United States has massively increased. This jump owes to the unprecedented abysmal earnings of low-paid Americans, income stagnation covering about 80 percent of all families, and an increase in upper-end incomes. The rise in inequality—greater than in most other developed countries—has reversed the equalization in income and wealth we experienced between 1945 and 1970. The United States has now cemented its traditional position as the leader in inequality among advanced countries.²

Freeman argues that these inequalities have the potential to create an “apartheid economy,” in which the lives of working-class and poor people are fundamentally and qualitatively different from those of middle- and upper-class people.

Traditionally, economists have argued that wages are based upon market competition and that employers themselves have little or no power to set wages. Many owners of businesses, both small and large, will also claim that they simply cannot afford to pay higher wages. Deviating from the wage being paid by their competitors could mean that they will sustain losses and be forced out of the market. Therefore, the market itself sets limits upon workers’ wages through competition. However, no such limits are placed upon the salaries of corporate executives. According to Forbes.com, the highest-paid CEO in 2006 was Apple executive Steve Jobs, who hauled in \$647 million in vested restricted stock. Forbes.com also reported that in the same year CEOs of America’s five hundred biggest companies received an average pay raise of 38 percent. Economist James Galbraith challenges a traditional approach to understanding the determination of wages. He argues that we need “a rebellion against the idea that people are actually paid in proportion to the value of what they produce . . . We need a rebellion, not so much against existing market institutions, *as against the analytical tyranny of the idea of the market*, as it applies to pay.”³

Reduced government regulation gives major corporations tremendous power to shape American social and industrial policy. Economists, journalists, and academics lift up Wal-Mart as an example. Nelson Lichtenstein, professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, observes that Wal-Mart’s revenues outreach those of the entire country of Switzerland. As the largest employer in twenty-five states, Wal-Mart has tremendous economic clout to set the domestic standard concerning wages and benefits for many other corporations.⁴

People have varied reactions to critiques of Wal-Mart because they enjoy and benefit from cheap goods. In some areas, particularly rural areas, Wal-Mart may be the only option for shopping within several miles. For many poor people, it is also the only place that they can afford to shop. Wal-Mart is appealing to many Americans because it promotes itself as a patriotic corporation whose practices are rooted in Judeo-Christian values and the Protestant work ethic. Lichtenstein interviewed several Wal-Mart workers who commented that they appreciated the friendly atmosphere where employees remained on a first-name basis with their managers. But Wal-Mart is no friend of laborers at home or abroad.

Wal-Mart and many other discount retailers depend upon cheap labor to amass their profits. The discount king employs 7.5 million workers around the world, winning it the title of the largest private employer in Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Wal-Mart considers thirty-two hours a week full-time employment (eight hours less than full-time as defined in 1938 by the Fair Labor Standards Act).⁵ Contrast the wages of hourly workers at home and abroad to that of Wal-Mart CEO H. Lee Scott who, according to Forbes.com, earned \$60 million this decade at an average of \$8.5 million a year. Journalists Peter Goodman and Philip Pan reported that Wal-Mart encourages Chinese factories to cut costs in order to supply cheaper goods. In a Chinese factory the journalists visited in 2004, workers were paid only about \$120 per month in American dollars without benefits.⁶ The average Wal-Mart worker in the United States is paid \$8.23 an hour (a poverty-level wage).

Wal-Mart opposes unions, leaving workers little or no negotiating power with the corporation, but even unionized workers employed by other companies are having a difficult time fighting these trends. Unions were once strong and enjoyed stronger support from the U.S. government. In the first half of the twentieth century, unions helped people fight for better wages, an eight-hour workday, and security in old age and sickness. Our government has done much in the last thirty years to limit the bargaining power of unions.

It would be unfair to cite corporations as the only organizations allowing tremendous disparities in pay between workers and upper-level management. Churches sometimes take cues from the market when establishing compensation packages for their staff. In my presbytery, the Presbytery of Mid-Kentucky, the salary in 2006 for the highest-paid pastor was more than ninety thousand dollars a year (not including benefits), twice as much as the associate pastor on staff at the same church. Some congregations in the same presbytery are unable to pay a full-time pastor. In the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), minimum standards are determined for the compensation of pastors, but no minimum standards are set for the fair compensation of Christian educators, church secretaries, or custodians. The result is an accepted order for pay in churches that fails to consider the needs of all those called to serve the congregation.

ARE COMPASSIONATE CAPITALISM AND CHARITY ENOUGH?

The response of many economists, business leaders, and religious people is that these problems can be solved by nurturing greater compassion in the marketplace and by more effectively utilizing the work of charitable organizations. But is compassionate capitalism coupled with charity enough to address the issues people in poverty are facing?

Business leaders and economists advocating for a more compassionate capitalism think that, as a philosophy and system, capitalism is not inherently bad. They point to the tremendous economic growth that a free market has created. Economist Deirdre McCloskey argues in her book *The Bourgeois Virtues* that, by appealing to and nurturing compassion within individuals, capitalism as a system can and actually is improving its moral record.⁷ Business leaders should be more virtuous and treat workers with fairness. What we must do is fully embrace capitalism so that jobs will be created and the market itself will establish fair prices and fair wages. McClosky, however, does not seem to take into account the fact that CEOs and other leaders cannot exercise compassion without losing their own share in the market. Can we simply rely on the good nature of individuals to be more benevolent in their treatment of workers? Don't we need more governmental regulation as well as individual transformation?

So many people fall through the market's cracks. Charity has been seen as another way of responding to the needs of people living in poverty. While charitable organizations have done good and important work to address the needs of many of the working poor, charity does not transform systems that cause workers to live in poverty. Charitable programs are designed to address crisis situations. The majority of social ministries focus on programs that alleviate the economic stress placed upon many families by providing emergency assistance but fail to pay attention to the systemic causes of people's poverty. The Immokalee workers provide a good example.

Primarily Latino, Haitian, and Mayan farmworkers, the Immokalee workers pick tomatoes in Florida that are later supplied to Yum! Brands, the corporation that owns Kentucky Fried Chicken, Taco Bell, Long John Silvers, and Pizza Hut. Although the farmworkers worked full-time they were not paid enough to support themselves. Many relied on charitable organizations when money fell short. Noelle Damico, United Church of Christ pastor and director for the Campaign for Fair Food for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), has observed that charity relieved the strain in crisis situations, but had the effect of subsidizing the businesses that were unwilling to pay workers adequately for their work. Giving financial aid to businesses is a form of corporate welfare that enables businesses to earn profits from lower labor costs but leaves workers vulnerable. Fortunately, the Immokalee workers led a successful boycott of Yum!

Brands that was supported by a variety of churches and the wider public. Yum! committed itself to paying just a penny more per pound for tomatoes, and the workers' wages increased significantly.

The living conditions of poor people and the economic disparities that we see along the lines of race and gender are causes for moral outrage. A more compassionate capitalism coupled with the charitable work of religious organizations may help but will not adequately attend to the problems before us. Neither compassionate capitalism nor charitable programs adequately address the systemic nature of these problems. Our economic policies and practices must be changed so that people who work are valued and the needs of individuals and their families along with the larger community are kept in mind.

Do you remember the parable of the Workers in the Vineyard found in the Gospel of Matthew? In the parable, Jesus compares the kingdom of heaven to a landowner who goes out to hire workers for his vineyard. The landowner goes to the marketplace five different times during the day from early in the morning to late in the afternoon. On each trip to the market he finds workers and sends them to work in his fields. With the first group of workers the landowner agrees to pay them "whatever is right." Late in the afternoon, the landowner expresses concern that there are still workers in the market who have been unable to find a good day's work. Even at such a late hour he sends them to his fields to work. At the end of the day the workers gather for their pay and the landowner pays them all equally. Of course the workers grumble. Some had labored in the fields from early in the morning. The landowner replies:

"Friend, I am doing you no wrong; did you not agree with me for the usual daily wage? Take what belongs to you and go; I choose to give to this last the same as I give to you. Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or are you envious because I am generous?" (Matt. 20:13–15)

This story offers us great challenge because it flies in the face of the competitive spirit we have been conditioned to accept. Jesus' parable invites us to consider the idea that the greatest value should be placed upon the *people* who work, above values for work determined by the marketplace.

MORE THAN JUST THE MINIMUM: CREATIVE WORK FOR CHANGE

There are good examples of businesses and Christian communities who are doing much to value workers and to practice an ethic of generosity. Seven years ago Malden Mills, manufacturer of Polartec and Polarfleece fabrics, was destroyed by fire. Rather than moving the mill overseas, CEO Aaron Feuerstein rebuilt in the same location in Massachusetts and paid his workers as the mill

was being rebuilt. A devout Jew, Feuerstein commented to reporters that “I have a responsibility to the worker both blue-collar and white-collar. . . . I have an equal responsibility to the community.”⁸ COSTCO offers another good example. It is often assumed that businesses, especially discounters, simply cannot afford to pay fair wages. However, COSTCO, a discount retailer, pays workers an average of seventeen dollars an hour with benefits. Sol Price, the owner of COSTCO, rejects the notion that discounters can only profit by giving their employees short shrift.

Some Christians, like those at Koinonia Farms, distance themselves from dominant social and economic structures to witness to a different way of life. Other Christian communities participate in our shared economic structures and push them from within. Religious communities and labor unions have worked together to advance living wage laws across the country. The idea behind the living wage is that full-time workers will be paid enough so that they won’t have to depend upon government assistance programs such as Medicaid and food stamps. In the late 1980s, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church cooperated with other church-supported groups, religious people working in soup kitchens and homeless shelters, workers, and union organizers to form a coalition that backed a living wage campaign in Baltimore. The city had poured thousands of dollars into urban renewal by giving tax incentives to businesses, but the businesses primarily created low-wage jobs. Together, their coalition applied pressure on the local governance until in December 1994 Kurt Schmoke, mayor of Baltimore at that time, agreed to sign the Social Compact that they had proposed. The Social Compact included raising the minimum wage to \$6.10 an hour with an increase over time to \$7.70 an hour and recognizing the workers’ negotiating organization, the Solidarity Committee.⁹

We have so much to gain by attending to the social and economic structures that are creating an ever-widening divide between rich and poor. The call to Christians today is to challenge assumptions that place the burden of the responsibility for poverty upon the shoulders of individuals alone. We must confront the notion that the market itself has the ability to fairly determine wages and cannot be changed. We should challenge tremendous economic disparities between the salaries of those at the top of the company ladder and those at the bottom. Our call is to speak the truth about policies that will ensure that all workers are paid enough so that they can satisfy their own basic needs as well as the needs of their families. Policies should be changed even when it means that we have to take economic risks of our own and transform the systems that have created such inequalities. Workers should be valued not only because of what they contribute to our common life through their work but because they are valued by God.

The prophet Isaiah speaks about God’s vision for a world where God’s people will not “build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat; for like the days of a tree shall the days of my people be, and my chosen shall

long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labor in vain . . .” (Isa. 65:22–23). I cannot help but think that this is God’s vision for all people today.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Investigate the cost of living in your area. What would be a “living wage”? How can and should workers and employers go about determining how much is enough to be self-sufficient? How have religious communities in your area been involved in advocating for adequate wages for all workers?
2. Do you think there are moral limits to profits for individuals and corporations? If so, how much should corporate executives be allowed to make? Two times the salary of the lowest-paid worker? Five times? Ten times? Twenty? Where do you think our society should draw the line so that the needs of all workers are met?
3. Some churches establish minimum salaries for their pastors. Do you think that churches should establish minimum salaries for all of their staff, including custodians, administrative assistants, and Christian educators? Do you think churches should establish maximum salaries for their pastors?
4. What do you think that we as a society and in Christian communities have to gain by considering the needs of others along with our own individual needs? What do you think we have to gain by ensuring that all people who work are paid enough to satisfy their own basic needs?

RESOURCES

Books

- Harper, Nile. *Urban Churches, Vital Signs: Beyond Charity toward Justice*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999.
- Shulman, Beth. *The Betrayal of Work: How Low-Wage Jobs Fail 30 Million Americans*. New York: New Press, 2003.
- Sklar, Holly, and Paul H. Sherry. *A Just Minimum Wage: Good for Workers, Business and Our Future*. With a foreword by James A. Forbes Jr. Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, National Council of Churches USA, 2005.

Web Sites

- The Economic Policy Institute: Research for Broadly Shared Prosperity, www.epi.org.
- Let Justice Roll: Faith and Community Voices Against Poverty, www.letjustice.org.
- Living Wage Resource Center, www.livingwagecampaign.org.

NOTES

1. Beth Shulman, *The Betrayal of Work: How Low Wage Jobs Fail 30 Million Americans*. New York: The New Press, 2003, 4.
2. Richard B. Freeman, "Solving the New Inequality," *Boston Review*, December 1996/January 1997, <http://bostonreview.net/BR21.6/freeman.html>.
3. James Galbraith, *Created Unequal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 266.
4. Nelson Lichtenstein, "Wal-Mart: A Template for Twenty-First-Century Capitalism," in *Wal-Mart: The Face of Twenty-First-Century Capitalism*, ed. Nelson Lichtenstein (New York: New Press, 2006), 4.
5. *Ibid.*, 27.
6. Peter S. Goodman and Philip P. Pan, "Chinese Workers Pay for Wal-Mart's Low Prices: Retailer Squeezes Its Asian Supplier to Cut Costs," *Washington Post*, February 8, 2004, A1.
7. Deirdre McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 22–33.
8. Avi Shafron, "Aaron Feuerstein: Bankrupt and Wealthy," http://www.aish.com/societyWork/work/Aaron_Feuerstein_Bankrupt_and_Wealthy.asp.
9. Nile Harper, *Urban Churches, Vital Signs: Beyond Charity toward Justice* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999).