The Portrayal of Pastoral Authority in Worship

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Every Sunday morning, in less than an hour, the chancel at Southminster Presbyterian Church is transformed. As the traditional worship service draws to a close around ten o'clock, the leaders end worship with restrained, dignified moves that are similar to those with which they opened worship an hour earlier. The congregation sings the final hymn, the robed minister pronounces a benediction, the choir in the balcony sings a response, the formally dressed lay assistant closes the large Bible on the communion table and gathers it in her arms, the robed acolyte extinguishes the candles with her taper, and together the assistant, acolyte, and pastor walk down the center aisle, the organist playing a postlude as they leave.

The minute the worship leaders are out the door at the conclusion of the traditional worship service, the leaders for contemporary worship, who are gathered in the narthex, move down the side aisles and begin to rearrange the chancel for eleven o'clock worship. They are dressed in slacks and sweaters and carry insulated coffee mugs with them. They bring out music stands and amplifiers, plug in microphones, and set up a sound board, take guitars out of their cases, lift the lid on the grand piano, and mount an enormous screen on the wall, just to the side of the equally enormous cross that hangs permanently at the front of the church. They scramble to get everything in place quickly, in order to have enough time to rehearse their music before worship. They rehearse until 10:50, when they meet with the pastor, visit with worshipers who have come forward to talk, and light the candles on the communion table without ceremony. The scene is busy and informal.

Contemporary worship begins with a brief piano prelude and a greeting from the pastor, who for this service wears slacks, a sport coat, shirt, and tie. Then the praise team takes over, composed of a guitarist, pianist, lead singer, and four other singers. The five singers each hold a microphone. The team leads the congregation in singing three songs. Between the songs the pastor or praise team leader chats informally with the congregation.

What is going on here? Students of American Protestantism or liturgy might say that history is repeating itself, and that once again we witness a struggle

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between traditionalists who cling to older ways and iconoclasts who desire to let the Holy Spirit move more freely. They would be right, for in one respect this is an old story and the issues surrounding it are not new.

One of the issues embedded in historic and contemporary fights about worship is authority. In the current worship wars, proponents of contemporary worship claim that they are dismantling pastoral authority, and that compared to traditional worship, contemporary worship is nonhierarchical and participatory.[1] This paper investigates those claims, with a comparison of how pastoral authority is constructed in traditional and contemporary worship.[2]

My findings contradict the claims that contemporary worship is comparatively nonhierarchical and participatory. Although a shift from traditional to contemporary worship heightens informality, counters rationalization,[3] and undermines the authority of both traditional church musicians and denominational voices, it tends to enhance the authority of pastors by its emphasis on the preaching and teaching office of the pastor and its elimination of liturgical checks on a pastor's voice. Contemporary worship reshapes and reorients the authority of worship leaders; it does not dismantle it.

Theoretical Approach

Authority, the negotiated privilege that allows someone to exercise power legitimately due to the personal qualities and expertise that she has or others think she has, is essential for pastoral leadership.[4] Pastors acquire authority not only through the status of their office, but also through other interactions. In settings like hospital rooms, committee meetings, counseling sessions, chance encounters, and worship, pastors use their ministerial gifts and build the relationships and trust on which authority is based.

Carroll argues that pastoral authority is grounded in four bases: representation of the sacred, certified competence, demonstrated expertise, and demonstrated piety.[5] He further contends that in the United States pastoral authority is shifting from its official bases (representation of the sacred and certified competence) to its personal bases (demonstrated expertise and demonstrated piety). More recently Ellingson has made a similar argument that expertise, as opposed to religious tradition or the Bible, is a growing base of authority that can be trumped only by personal experience.[6] My findings support these arguments. What we see in this examination of worship as a site for the construction of authority is precisely the shift toward the expert and the experiential that Carroll and Ellingson describe. Traditional worship shapes an authority built on the four bases Carroll identifies, and contemporary worship constructs authority that is grounded almost exclusively on personal bases.

> A status, a position, a social place is not a material thing, to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, coherent, embellished, and well articulated. Performed with ease or clumsiness, awareness or not, guile or good faith, it is none the less something that must be enacted and portrayed, something that must be realized.[7]

I examine the construction of authority in worship by analyzing the *action* of worship and how authority is enacted and portrayed. What people do to-

gether as they worship is the text I examine. Guided primarily by the work of Goffman, Ducey, and Carroll, I use four lenses to examine how this occurs[8]:

1. *Displays of knowledge and expertise*, such as preaching, highlight the education and skill of a worship leader, and set her apart. Preaching distinguishes the pastor from other worshipers by virtue of her knowledge and speaking ability, and results in the religious stratification that establishes pastoral and professional authority.[9]

2. *The role of focal worshipers*, leaders who act as role models for worshipers, affects the construction of authority in worship.[10] As focal worshipers, leaders are responsible for modeling good churchmanship[11] and they define the worshiping situation by displaying and encouraging the emotion appropriate to it.[12] Because the emotional norms of worship can vary dramatically across denominations, styles, and contexts, the role of focal worshipers is often misunderstood and contested.

3. *Framing* is the ordering of worship that sets worship apart from daily life, establishes its formality, and constructs social distance between worshipers and leaders.[13] Worship leaders arrange the elements of worship to mark the boundaries of the service and help people make the transition into a space that can seem foreign to someone not acquainted with its vocabulary and rhythms.[14] Worship leaders frame the worship experience in both the traditional and contemporary styles. The biggest differences in the two styles result from their frames, a concept that includes approaches to music, instrumentation, formality, dress, symbols, and other elements of worship.

4. *The use of subtraction devices* also shapes the construction of authority in worship.[15] Both traditional and contemporary worship employ resources and practices that divert attention away from worship leaders and focus instead on the congregation or the historic voices that have authored hymns and prayers, composed music, or shaped other liturgical resources and practices. Day calls this "the ancient and honorable art of subtraction."[16] The presence or absence of subtraction devices in worship works in conjunction with other factors to shape leaders' authority.

The data on which this analysis is based come from my study of Sunday worship in three mid-sized, suburban Presbyterian congregations, each of which uses a different approach to worship.[17] These congregations are not anomalies. They exemplify other mainline Protestant congregations that wrestle with how to worship faithfully in a mobile and increasingly diverse context. Because my research focus has been on Presbyterians, my discussion focuses on them, but I believe that the theory and findings have parallels in other religious traditions as well.

Analysis and Findings

The construction of authority is more complicated than whether or not worship leaders wear robes or preach from the pulpit. In addition to decisions

about dress and the use of traditional furnishings, authority is also enacted as pastors and other leaders share specialized knowledge, model piety, shape the emotional tenor of worship, and make decisions about equipment and liturgical resources that enhance or reduce the leaders' visibility. Both traditional and contemporary worship practice multiple strategies that portray their pastors and other leaders as authoritative.

Displays of Knowledge and Expertise

In the two styles of worship, the most powerful enactment of pastoral authority occurs through preaching. The centrality of preaching is common to several traditions in North American Protestantism, including African American churches, traditions shaped by revivalist movements, and churches from the Reformed and Lutheran traditions. The Presbyterians whom I studied share this respect for preaching. In theory, the high point of Presbyterian worship is the reading and interpretation of the Bible in preaching. Good preaching teaches people about the Scriptures and connects those teachings with people's everyday lives. It requires and displays solid biblical scholarship, faithful reflection, cultural insight and sensitivity, and the capacity to connect these coherently.[18] The act of preaching displays a pastor's intellectual and rhetorical expertise, and positions her as well-educated, wise, faithful, and articulate—in short, authoritative.

All the worship services that I observed in either style devoted up to a third of the service to the sermon, and spotlighted the preaching role and skill of the pastor.[19] During the sermon all eyes were on the pastor, who held forth with thoughtful and reasoned reflection on the scriptures, faith, and life. In coffee hour conversations and structured interviews, many worshipers reported a deep respect for their pastor's wisdom and learning. Preaching is a central location for the portrayal of pastoral authority.

Traditional and contemporary worship differ sharply, however, in other approaches to the enactment of authority. Focal worshipers shape the divergent emotional norms that characterize the two styles. Each employs distinct framing strategies. Finally, the use or abandonment of subtraction devices in the two styles affects the degree to which pastoral performance is diluted or emphasized during worship.

The Role of Focal Worshipers

The praise band is the first thing that most people notice in a contemporary worship service. Loud, active, joyful, and inviting, the group of singers begins worship with energy and excitement. A member of a praise team described her work to me:

> [We are] physically there to remind you of the joy of what you're doing, to see the emotion. We always laugh because we're always crying. But I think the second any of us feels it, it's just an instantaneous connection to see that, to see someone feeling the Spirit. It just spreads. It spreads among everyone. And so I think that's the benefit of having someone up front. It's to help spread the feeling of the Spirit.

This focal worshiper understands her role well. Her job is to engender the happiness and openness that characterize contemporary worship. As a visible leader responsible for modeling and constructing appropriate worship demeanor, her responsibility is to help the congregation see and catch the emotion she displays.

Praise and worship team leaders are not alone in their responsibility to be focal worshipers who model the emotion and piety appropriate for worship. In both styles of worship, all leaders are responsible for this. Contemporary worship pastors are keenly aware of this dynamic. The pastors I interviewed told me that people respond to the pastor as more of a peer in contemporary worship. The theological transition then is to make the pastor a person, and to realize that the spiritual process can be a normative process for everybody, in that we are not different, but we're the same.

Leaders in traditional worship are also focal worshipers, but they work with understandings of piety and emotional norms that are different from those of their contemporary counterparts. With its formal frame and dramatic production of a sense of sacred presence, the emotional norms for traditional worship are sobriety, awe, and respect. Worship leaders model and evoke appropriate emotion through their dress, dignified carriage, self-restraint, and serious demeanor. Pastors, choir members, and lay leaders are expected to comport themselves with the respect and restraint that the occasion demands. Leaders of traditional worship are no less responsible for displaying and modeling pious emotion in worship than are contemporary worship leaders.

The attention that leaders receive as focal worshipers and the significant role they play in shaping the ethos of worship provide space in which worship leaders construct authority. In traditional worship settings, leaders both represent the sacred and demonstrate piety as they conduct worship. In contemporary worship, leaders act even more self-consciously as role models, and enact authority based on demonstrated piety—their openness to the leading of the Holy Spirit, obvious delight in their faith, and willingness to share this with others.

Framing

The responsibilities of focal worshipers are components of the larger frames that characterize the two styles. All the moves, which set worship apart from everyday life and help worshipers to move physically and emotionally into a worship space, comprise worship frames. At the heart of these framing strategies is the construction and interpretation of social distance, which creates mystery and awe, produces a sense of the sacred,[20] and imputes sacred integrity[21] to worship leaders.

Traditional worship relies on the construction of explicit social distance and formality for much of its effect. Framed by powerful organ music, majestic hymns, dignified processions, and formal symbols of light and word, traditional worship highlights much that separates it from everyday experience. Its sounds are strange to everyday ears, its rhythms slow and plodding. Its choir and ministers wear special clothing. The action of the service takes place in the chancel, and dedicated leaders conduct the entire service.[22] All these strategies intentionally distance worship from the everyday and leaders from the congre-

gation. If they want authority, pastors benefit from this social distance, because it constructs authority for them as representatives of the sacred. Such authority is enhanced as leaders perform priestly duties.[23]

Contemporary worship, on the other hand, is deliberately designed to avoid the construction of the type of social distance that worshipers and leaders experience in traditional worship. All the changes that I described earlier in this paper—the elimination of a procession, the decision to wear casual dress, the downplaying of symbols, the choice to move leaders from the chancel to the floor, and the use of music that sounds familiar—combine to lessen the type of social distance established by traditional worship. These efforts are mostly successful. Contemporary worship is informal and comfortable.

It would be inaccurate, however, to contend that contemporary worship eliminates social distance between worshipers and leaders. Quite the contrary—it constructs a different type of social distance that sets leaders apart from worshipers, through the front to back configuration of leaders and worshipers,[24] the loss of eye contact when leaders move out of the chancel,[25] and the restricted use of microphones and amplification by worship leaders. Contemporary worship adds visible layers to a congregation's sound system with its large amplifiers and hand held microphones. The use of this additional amplification distances praise and worship leaders from worshipers by placing them in the role of pop concert stars and giving them restricted access to an extra set of microphones, which are powerful instruments.[26]

The Use of Subtraction Devices

> We have more opportunity for Scripture; we have one additional Scripture slot for sure. There's more desire to have interpretation given prior to Scripture. There's more liturgy where people have to read and think about what they're reading. So there's more opportunity to communicate the story directly. (A pastor characterizing traditional worship.)

> A good worship service is one with actually a lot of good music, without a lot of extraneous things, just the nuts and bolts of it.
>
> What kinds of things are extraneous?
>
> Actually all the things that are recognizable as normal Presbyterian things, I guess, standard things. Because it just becomes so rote, you know, just kind of go through the motions. Really, you could just boil it down. You could just have good music, Scripture, and a good sermon. That would be fine for me. (A praise and worship team member discussing good worship with the researcher.)

One of the biggest differences between traditional and contemporary worship lies in how the two styles use and arrange subtraction devices, the elements of worship that rein in the power of preaching, piety, and framing by "putting liturgical brakes" [27] on worship leaders, especially pastors. The use of subtraction devices counters pastoral authority by deflecting attention away from ministers. Some liturgy focuses attention instead on worshipers, and empowers them to speak for themselves, without the pastor's mediation.[28] The use of historical liturgical resources also draws attention to the religious wisdom and authority in tradition, beyond the wisdom of the pastor or other leaders.

Traditional worship services are rich with subtraction devices. Many of the additional resources used in this style have intellectual weight; they articulate doctrine or give voice to thoughtful declarations of faith. Litanies, hymns, creeds, unison prayers and readings, and a time for sharing prayer concerns allow worshipers themselves to make these declarations, and promote independence from worship leaders. Vestments, prescribed texts and movements, and chancel furnishings shift attention away from the individuality of the pastor toward the office she holds.[29]

Contemporary worship depends primarily on congregational singing and the work of praise and worship teams to draw attention away from the pastor. For fully the first third of a contemporary worship service the pastor is relatively invisible, the praise team draws the congregation into worship, and the entire body participates in the subtraction device of song. Miller characterizes this as democratized access to the sacred.[30] It is also democratized access to authority, and is the grounds on which people claim that contemporary worship is less hierarchical than the traditional style.

If contemporary worship continued its assault on pastoral authority after the conclusion of the praise set, it would significantly realign authority in worship and consequently in congregations. But it does not; instead, contemporary worship orders the service in a way that both clears a path for and spotlights individual pastoral authority.

Contemporary worship is lean. Many of the song texts it employs are, by intention, simple. The logic of sound is often more salient than the logic of text[31]; and, although it often expresses deep faith, equally often praise and worship music lacks intellectual depth.[32] In addition, in its efforts to avoid distracting worshipers with what some regard as tedious liturgical practices, contemporary worship prevents worshipers from intellectually substantive participation by eliminating many of the subtraction devices employed in traditional worship.[33]

This clears the way for the pastor to demonstrate the depth of her knowledge, wisdom, and oratorical skills in the sermon. Here she is spotlighted, not only because the sermon is the only site in contemporary worship for logical and sustained reflection on the content of faith and its meaning, but also because, in the concert format and logic of this style of worship, the praise set serves as a warm-up act for the encounter with God in scripture and sermon.[34] With little left in the service to draw attention to worshipers or the wider Christian tradition, and with attention focused on her at center stage, the pastor is free to display the full range of her expertise, thus establishing herself with unique authority in the congregation.

Pastoral Authority in Worship

I have argued that contemporary worship does not deconstruct authority for its leaders, but that it instead reshapes authority. Instead of enacting authority through a balance of the four bases of authority and the use of multiple subtraction devices, as occurs in traditional worship, contemporary worship leaders portray authority through displays of piety, and pastors especially portray authority through their display of knowledge in preaching. Because of the removal of meaningful and varied subtraction devices, pastors in contempo-

rary worship may actually construct more authority for themselves than their counterparts in traditional worship.

The contrasting ways that authority is constructed, which I examine in this paper, illustrate the claims of Carroll and Ellingson that religious authority for pastors and their congregations is increasingly based in expertise and experience. Carroll believes that this shift can place a pastor in a precarious position, because it increases her vulnerability and temptation to play to her congregation's demands rather than to the demands of her larger vocation.[35] If he is right, and I think he is, then a pastor needs to be particularly aware of how such vulnerability might affect her work, for good or ill.

The portrayal of pastoral authority in worship has an impact beyond the individual pastor. Tied to the question of authority are issues such as the interpretation of the transcendence and immanence of the sacred, emotional norms for worship and the demeanor appropriate to them, the religious networks built by the use of particular resources, relationships between worship leaders and worshipers, and congregational identity. It is no wonder that people fight about worship. There is much at stake. How people worship shapes how they relate to each other, and how they think about themselves, their congregations, and their God.

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Notes

1. See Barry Liesch, *The New Worship: Straight Talk on Music and the Church,* with a foreword by Donald P. Hustad (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996), 167–73.
2. In this paper I define traditional worship as that style that has characterized Presbyterian worship for several decades. It includes worship practices shaped by Presbyterian worship books such as the *Book of Common Worship* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). I define contemporary worship as that style which adopts the practices of the new paradigm churches, such as the Vineyard Church. See Mark Shibley, *Resurgent Evangelicalism in the United States: Mapping Cultural Change since 1970* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996); Donald Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity and the New Millennium* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Michael S. Hamilton, "The Triumph of the Praise Song: How Guitars Beat Out the Organ in the Worship Wars," *Christianity Today* 43 (July 1999). Although there are several other worship renewal movements that currently affect worship in mainline Protestant churches—the liturgical renewal movement, new hymnody and psalmody, and the introduction of international resources, for example—I do not address them here.
3. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion,* with an introduction by Talcott Parsons and a new foreword by Ann Swidler (Germany: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922; reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 81.
4. Richard Sennett, *Authority* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980; reprint, New York: Random House/Vintage Books, 1981), 10; Jackson W. Carroll, *As One With Authority: Reflective Leadership in Ministry* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 14. Jackson W. Carroll, "Leadership and the Study of the Congregation," in *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook,* ed. Nancy T. Ammerman, Jackson W. Carroll, Carl S. Dudley, and William McKinney (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998), 170.
5. Carroll, *Authority*, 44–60.
6. Stephen Ellingson, "The Bible, Tradition, or Willow Creek: Reconfiguring Religious Authority in Local Congregations" (paper presented at the Association for the Sociology of Religion, Chicago, IL, 2002), photocopied, 6–7, 28–30. Ellingson's and Carroll's insights are particularly helpful when used to

understand changes in the white Protestant mainline tradition. They are less useful when applied to Protestant traditions that do not insist on an educated clergy and have always leaned toward the personal bases of authority identified by Carroll.

7. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1959), 75.

8. Michael H. Ducey, *Sunday Morning: Aspects of Urban Ritual* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 84–86. In this study of how moral authority is constructed in worship, Ducey examines three different dimensions of ritual: the positional (spatial arrangements), the operational (what people do—motor activity), and the exegetical (the location of interpretation and meaning).

9. Ibid; Richard Bauman "Verbal Art as Performance," *American Anthropologist* 77 (June 1975), 305; Andrew Abbott, *The System of the Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor (*Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 59–85; Pierre Bourdieu, "Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field," in *Comparative Social Research,* vol. 13, ed. C. Calhoun (Stamford, CT: JAI Press, 1991), 6–9; Stephen Sharot, *A Comparative Sociology of World Religions: Virtuosos, Priests, and Popular Religion* (New York: New York University Press), 202–10.

10. I adopt the term "focal worshiper" from Sharot, *A Comparative Sociology*, 107.

11. Liesch, *The New Worship*, 116; Carroll, *Authority,* 54–55.

12. Goffman, *Presentation*, 9–13, 106–40, 208–37; Erving Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior* (New York: Pantheon Books), 47–96; Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 1–86.

13. Goffman, *Presentation*; Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk,* ed. D. Hymes, W. Labov, and G. Sankoff, Conduct and Communication Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience,* with a new foreword by Bennett Berger (New York: Harper and Row, 1974; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986).

14. Arnold van Gennup, *The Rites of Passage,* translated by M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, with an introduction by S. T. Kimball. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 15–25.

15. Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing: The Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York: Crossroads Press, 1990), 141–47.

16. Ibid, 146.

17. The three churches, which I studied in 2000–2001, range in size from 250 to 450 members. The smallest congregation, with 250 members, practices traditional worship only. The midsize congregation of 350 members has a blended style of worship that is primarily a contemporary approach. The largest of the churches, a congregation of 450 members, has two distinct worship services, one contemporary and one traditional. Each of the congregations has a stable membership and pastorate, and is a member in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). The congregations are predominantly white and middle-class, as are the communities in which they are located. There is, however, growing religious diversity in the congregations and growing ethnic and racial diversity in their communities. I found that issues of diversity, membership decline, and spatial limitations were the most salient factors in congregational decisions about worship styles. For a fuller analysis, see Deborah Kapp, "Agency and Authority in the Performance and Practice of Christian Worship: A Study of Worship in Three Presbyterian Congregations" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University, Chicago, 2002).

18. Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Part II Book of Order* (Louisville, KY: The Office of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church [U.S.A.], 2001), W-2.2007.

19. At Southminster, both worship styles followed the fourfold order of worship that conforms to historic liturgical practice: gathering, word, response, sending. In the other two congregations I studied, both the blended and traditional worship services followed the pattern that characterized Presbyterian worship in the early twentieth century—gathering, prayer and offering, word, sending.

20. van Gennup, *The Rites of Passage*, 12–13; Robert Wuthnow, *Producing the Sacred: An Essay on Public Religion* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 56–61.

21. Goffman, *Presentation,* 69.

22. In the churches I studied, the choirs were not very visible. They sat either in the pews or at the back of the congregation, and were only seen when they performed. They had limited leadership roles, though they made a substantial contribution in their support of congregational singing.

23. Priestly action, such as administration of the sacraments or declarations of forgiveness following confession, is a fifth significant site for the portrayal of pastoral authority. Since such action was so limited in the services I observed, I have not explored it in detail here. In a more liturgical setting it would be much more salient.

24. The contemporary worship services I observed were constrained by sanctuary space that was long

and narrow and had fixed pews.
25. Edward Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), 61–96. Hall notes that distance can be constructed in many ways, one of which is the loss of eye contact, something that leads to the perception that people are far apart from one another.
26. Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 187–217. I find Frith's latter work to be provocative when I think about the dynamics of praise and worship music and its use in worship. Among the issues he raises that invite further research are the importance of the construction of voice and the star performance in pop music. To the degree that contemporary worship leaders imitate the style of pop performers (often uncritically), issues of voice and star power are key in understanding this style and its impact on worshiping communities. See also Hall, 14, who observes that technology can accentuate social distance.
27. Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing*, 141.
28. I realize that my assertions about the empowerment of worshipers raise questions about their agency, and how it might be constructed and expressed. The agency of worshipers is a significant topic that I cannot address adequately in this paper. My focus here is on how worship draws attention to worshipers and diverts it away from pastors. That happens primarily as worship includes people in active and substantive participation, such as unison songs or prayers.
29. As Carroll notes in *Authority*, 55, office is also a base for pastoral authority, but it is one located outside the individual; Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing*, 44–45.
30. Miller, *Reinventing*, 80. I remain unconvinced that this style is any more democratic in its access to the sacred than is traditional worship, which provides such access through its hymnody and other opportunities for congregational participation. I think what is really occurring is an attempt at re-enchantment (see Sharot, *A Comparative Sociology*, 45–47), an effort to counter the rationalized and sometimes deadening characteristics of traditional worship.
31. Frith, *Performing Rites*, 193.
32. John M. Frame, *Contemporary Worship Music: A Biblical Defense* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1997), 50, 126.
33. Marva J. Dawn, *Reaching Out Without Dumbing Down: A Theology of Worship for the Turn-of-the-Century* Culture, with a foreword by Martin E. Marty (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company). I agree with Dawn's general contention that contemporary worship runs the risk of dumbing down worshipers. In the contemporary services I observed, the only subtraction device regularly used in addition to praise and worship music was the sharing of prayer concerns.
34. Liesch, 47–51, 61–69; Donald P. Hustad, *Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1993), 275. Liesch and Hustad describe the beginning movements of contemporary worship as preparing people to encounter God in scripture or reflect on the significance of faith. The emphasis on the teaching aspects of worship is highlighted in a Presbyterian setting, due to the importance attached to this portion of worship.
35. Carroll, *Authority*, 59–60.

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