

JUSTIFIED BY WORK

Justified by Work

*Identity and the Meaning of Faith in Chicago's
Working-Class Churches*

Robert Anthony Bruno



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*This book is dedicated to my mother, who asked me to
always believe in something.*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I HAVE TO be honest: writing about religion and working-class life did not come naturally to me. I'm not a religious scholar and I had no prior expertise in the sociology of religion. But I did feel inspired by the volume of steelworkers, postal clerks, nurses, food store employees, electricians, plumbers, and other hardworking folks who said that God was a part of their lives. What exactly that meant and how that was possible fascinated, troubled, and challenged me. Most importantly, the sacred that workers found embedded within their secular lives was a part of working-class life that I no longer chose to ignore. Getting started, however, and finding a respectful path to some deeper understanding of the meaning of faith in the lives of working-class Chicagoans depended on the good graces of a number of people. The horrid events of 9/11 complicated my desire to gain access to a Muslim mosque. As an American academic of Catholic upbringing wielding a tape recorder, I did not present an inviting invitation to chat about Islam. Fortunately, *Chicago Tribune* reporter Steve Franklin introduced me to people at The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago. The Council's contact did not open up any mosque doors, but it did welcome me into a social setting where I could speak with Muslim taxi drivers. Finding a working-class Jewish synagogue was no less difficult. In fact, I never found an appropriate one. But Mike Perry of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees Council 31 did offer suggestions about rabbis who could help me with my research, and Jeff Weiss of the United Food and Commercial Workers

Union Local 1546 made a genuine effort to solicit Jewish workers from the people who labor in the retail food industry. Once I found people of faith to interview, the easy part was engaging them in conversation. The hard part was transcribing over a thousand pages of interviews into a coherent, accurate record of what was said. Fortunately for me, Linda Ellis was willing to sacrifice much of her leisure time and, with a patient regard for nuance, to help move the voices of my interviewees onto the written page.

Steven Warner, professor of sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago, offered the valuable gift of his time and insight about how my work might fit within the sociology of religion. I am also indebted to the kindness and guidance of Elfriede Wiedam, who helped me to navigate some of the Roman Catholic parishes in the blue-collar neighborhoods of Southwest Chicago.

I was very well served by the contributions of the press's copyeditor Mary Read and the manuscript was nicely improved by the often humorous and always precise suggestions of Managing Editor Eugene O'Connor. It's important to note that while my wife, Lynn, is no expert in religious practices, she encouraged me to take a walk into this subject matter and not be intimidated by what I found. As usual, her faith was justified. Finally, I am most grateful for the pastors and reverends from each of the Christian churches who welcomed me into their spiritual homes and invited me to speak with their faithful. I offer to all of these folks a heartfelt thank you and a silent prayer of appreciation.

INTRODUCTION

The Unhallowed Many

AS A BOY I always walked to school. My navy blue or dark black creased pants, starched white shirt, and hooked-on skinny blue tie marked me as a Catholic. On the first Friday of every month, I attended church service along with other elementary school kids at St. Nicholas Parish. On many of those church visits I was chosen to read from scripture. It was always an honor to be selected. Teachers and school parents were so impressed with my ability to speak publicly from the Bible that they often encouraged me to consider the priesthood for a vocation. While I imagine that the school and parish staff proffered similar career choices to many of my classmates, my father's mother also never tired of telling others that I would make a good priest. Talk of a vocational life in the spirit heightened as I progressed from one Catholic ritual to another. In truth, I seemed to be a favorite of the order of nuns who ran the grade school. Once out of childhood, however, talk of my religious vocation mostly faded, as did much of any personal religious worship or thought.

By the midpoint of my college years I was having spirited debates with College Crusaders for Christ about the existence or nonexistence of God and the meaning of faith. They were always welcome in my dorm room because by jousting with them I could reaffirm what I no longer believed to be true. After countless Sundays of church singing and homilies I had concluded that if there were a God, it mattered little to how my life or anyone else's unfolded. Instead of holding on to my Catholic elementary school training, I was engrossed in my steelworking father's employment

insecurity. Where Sunday masses had taught to me to celebrate God's goodness, I wondered why my mom always seemed so sick and in chronic pain. Undaunted, Mom did miracles night after night with potatoes and bologna, and Dad went in and out of work until he nearly lost his hearing. Neither of my parents were the kind of people to complain about their condition, and they were deeply upset over my transformation from church lector to doubting Thomas. But praying for better times and good health only brought silence. Who was I talking to? What was I expecting to happen?

Then in the late 1970s the steel mills in Youngstown began to close. When the mill furnaces went cold and padlocks went up on chain-link fences, many friends, neighbors, and family were crucified. People caravanned south looking for work, families were torn apart by depression, drinking, and abuse, and a whole generation of hardworking servants of God suffered a terrible loss of civic identity.¹ Most were believers in an all-knowing, all-powerful creator, but like my dad they were out of work and Sunday preaching was no better than salve on a wound. To be honest, Dad hardly went to church, but he insisted that his four boys go. Mom went, too, and she always made a point of reminding me that I needed to believe in something. Faith I had, but not in a god.

I believed that there were political and economic answers to why steel communities were devastated by powerful forces and why wealth congregated in the hands of the top 5 percent of Americans. I was also certain that I had a psychological answer to why my mother's yearning for a more satisfying life got projected into the near fanatical way she served her family and others. But for me nothing that explained the world as it was came from my Catholic upbringing or from religious influences. Not even from the pastor at St. Nicholas Parish, who, after reading a number of my commentaries in a local paper about community renewal following the first mill shutdown, wrote me a heartfelt letter appealing to me to rejoin the church. I coldly rejected the offer from a church which, in my youth, had been part of the neighborhood infrastructure and had been the faith home for countless steelworking families. Pastors had once walked the community adjacent to the church and occasionally stopped by our home unannounced to share milk and break bread.²

Even in the midst of economic panic, many Youngstown houses of worship, including my own, had joined together in an Ecumenical Coalition to try and uplift our community.³ But in the end, religious belief and practice was no match for the love of Mammon. Mills were blown up and workers abandoned. They were sacrificed for higher profits to be drained from other working-class religious communities like those that baptized,

confirmed, prayed, wed, and died at St. Nicholas Parish. So I denied God, and declared to myself that the faith that I had grown up with had lost its meaning. And my faith remained meaningless through family illness, marriage, the adoption of my daughter, and the start of a new career as a college professor. But after teaching labor studies to union workers in Illinois and other states for twelve years, I have reconsidered the meaning of spirituality and religious practice. More specifically, I have become curious about the relationship between religious belief and practice, the work a person does, and the use of faith to get you through the days after Saturday and Sunday.

Almost without exception my students professed a strong faith in God and had an unbroken affiliation with a house of worship. Their experiences strongly buttressed the national religious survey data that showed year after year that an overwhelming majority of Americans are religious or spiritual people.⁴ But most of the people of Youngstown and the workers I have taught were not just faithful Americans; they were working-class believers. They went to work in mills, factories, hospitals, schools, and office buildings and went to give thanks for God's blessings in churches, synagogues, and mosques. Prayer and production happened daily. It was, as one Chicago-area pastor told me, as if they had "hearts to God and hands to work."⁵

One of my students with a heart as big as the furnaces she made was Lori Landers-Rippy. I first met Lori in 2002 while teaching a summer class on labor and politics. The class was part of an educational program for Illinois and Indiana members of the United Steelworkers union. I recall Lori as a vibrant, knowledgeable, and activist member of her Indianapolis-based local union.⁶ But what I had not known about her at the time was that she possessed an unyielding Christian faith. However, in the summer of 2006, at yet another summer class, Lori told me of two unusual blessings that she had received from God that illustrate the way that many of my worker-students experienced their faith.

On April 17, 2003, Lori was diagnosed with breast cancer. She was forty years old at the time and had been working as a press operator for a company that manufactured home furnaces. But two weeks later, Lori underwent a radical mastectomy and had three cancerous lymph nodes removed from underneath her right breast. Eight months of agonizing chemo and radiation treatments followed. During her treatment period, she fought off numerous ill effects of the poison coursing through her veins in search of healthy as well as cancerous cells. The worst part, though, was the needles. Lori hated being stuck. And she hated missing a union-organized trip to Miami to protest globalization and the kind of

government trade policies that were decimating the jobs of thousands of her union brothers and sisters. Chemo-induced pain and lost moments of union activism aside, by the start of 2004 things were looking brighter. With the ordeal mostly behind her, Lori embarked on the future feeling that God had spared her life for some purpose. She figured she would have plenty of time to find out what that purpose was. Until then, she was going bowling.

But to keep doing what she had loved doing for most of her adult life, Lori would have to learn to throw the ball with her left hand. The surgery had saddled her with a permanent five-pound lifting restriction when she used her right hand. On returning to work Lori had sufficiently mastered a non-press operator position, although it did require the generous assistance of a fellow employee. But at the hardwood lanes she would have to go it alone. Lori laughed that “It was a sad sight” watching her throw with two left digits jammed into a bowling ball. Despite her awkward form, Lori, her husband, Greg, and a few fellow workers from the company made it a routine to bowl after the day shift ended at 4:30 P.M. Usually the group ate dinner before bowling and Lori recalled that “one day in May of 2006 I hurt my back while twisting to hold open the door of a pick-up truck I was stepping out of.” At the time she thought that she had pulled a muscle and later that evening bowled as she had done a thousand times before. Only this time she used her left hand and nursed a sore back.

The pain in Lori’s back continued the next day and the next and the next. For a while she “popped ibuprofen to get through the work day,” and participated in some back therapy. But one morning she woke up and discovered that she was in “incredible pain and could not move.” At least four MRIs, multiple bone scans, X-rays, and blood tests later, Lori was told by her doctor that she had cancer—again. “They found a mass in one of the bones near the fourth lumbar.” The cancer was attacking the bone and draining it of calcium. The news devastated her. “I went home and fell into an emotional tail-spin.” What lay ahead for Lori were another twelve treatments of radiation and a monthly intravenous dose of medication for the foreseeable future. It also meant a lot of sharp needles. Her husband, Greg, said that “she cried something terribly when they gave her the first shot.” The shots were still coming when in June of 2006 Lori believed that God sent her another gift.

Both Lori and Greg were to attend a union conference in Indianapolis at the Adams Mark Hotel. However, because Lori’s father was being thrown a retirement party in honor of his working thirty-odd years as a welder for Amtrak, she would miss the first day of the conference. Greg and Lori made plans to meet up later that evening at the union conference

when the party was finished. If Lori had been in the conference hall that morning, she would have witnessed something completely unexpected, modest in its effort and yet powerfully uplifting. The session opened, as they often do, with a prayer. A preacher and union member of Lori's local conducted the prayer. After giving thanks to God for allowing the roughly three hundred union delegates to gather, the union-preacher informed the congregation that Lori Rippy was struck for a second time with cancer. He then proceeded to ask everyone to pray for her and asked God to be merciful. When Lori arrived at the Adams Mark, she was besieged by friends, co-workers, and union members she had never seen before. "I was astonished. They were all praying for me, so many strangers keeping me in their prayers."

Lori had first experienced an outpouring of intercessory prayers from her local "union family" when she was diagnosed with breast cancer. The show of support was "God's first blessing." She was so moved by the response of her co-workers and local union to her health problems that she attended a Sunday morning union meeting to "thank the members for praying for me and making it possible for me to pay my medical bills." Now she was inflicted with another dangerous threat to her life. Again, her co-workers were praying for her and her union-negotiated benefits were paying the medical bills. That, according to Lori, was God's second gift of grace. "I have cancer, God loves me and I love him." Lori has still not determined why she survived breast cancer nor if she'll overcome the illness in her back, but she believes God still has a purpose for her. She has drawn strength from her favorite Bible passage: "For I know the plans I have for you, declares the Lord . . . plans to give you hope and a future. . . . You will seek me and find me when you seek me with all your heart."⁷ Whatever that purpose is, Lori remains confident that "It will be revealed."

The overlapping affinities of the workplace, co-workers, labor organization, and church created a space where working-class individuals like Lori could experience God. National survey research on congregational affiliation has revealed that, although America's religious groups cross class boundaries, religious beliefs and practices can be correlated with annual income, occupation, and levels of education.⁸ H. Richard Niebuhr wrote in his classic work *The Social Sources of Denominations* that "the divisions of the [Christian] church have been occasioned more frequently by the direct and indirect operation of economic factors than by the influence of any other major interest of man."⁹ In 1987 Wade Roof and William McKinney compared members of Protestant denominations, Catholics, and Jews in terms of education levels, incomes, and perceived social

class.¹⁰ Christian Smith and Robert Faris opened their 2005 assessment of socioeconomic inequality by acknowledging that “American religion has from the beginning of its history been stratified by education, income, and occupational status.”¹¹ One of the more intriguing if not unchallenged findings from the sociology of religion field was that social stratification is positively correlated with congregational activity but inversely associated with a spiritual religiosity. In other words, higher- and middle-income believers, as well as college-educated congregants, had higher participation rates in their congregations than working- and lower-class believers. However, believers with less formal education and from working-class backgrounds revealed a greater emotional attachment to their faith than upper-class individuals.

Eric Goode noted that the “lower the class level of an individual, the more likely he is to be spontaneous in the expression of his religious feeling,” while the higher the class level, the more ritualistic or “cultic” religious expression becomes.¹² On the other hand, working- and lower-class belief can be seen as unfolding in a “practice,” or “good works” dimension.¹³ Certainly the owner of a large Fortune 500 company can be religiously zealous (I suspect many are) and if so, he or she offers prayers up for something. But my focus is not on the elite or college-educated believer, but on what the bricklayer, clerk, and truck driver prays for. To paraphrase one of H. Richard Niebuhr’s more trenchant comments on faith and status distinctions, my attention was not on the “righteous few” but on the “unhallowed many.”¹⁴ It was how people like Lori and my parents put their faith to work that inspired me and renewed my own spiritual and intellectual journey.

The motivating questions behind this book are threefold. First, “How does faith inform the lives of working-class people?” Second, “How do working-class people use their faith to find meaning in their lives?” And third, “What influence does faith have on a person’s daily work?” The country’s preeminent sociologist of religion, Robert Wuthnow, has questioned whether the “fine points of belief, matter so much anymore.” His research strongly suggests that “it’s practice” and being in “some kind of relationship with God that matters.”¹⁵ How working people practice and establish that relationship to God is the subject of this work.

While I primarily address the religious views of working-class people, I appreciate that believers in the highest income and advanced education groups are equally challenged to put their faith into action. But this study will not include the voices of professionals, managers, executives, large or small business owners, doctors, lawyers, stockbrokers, or even college professors. It will include people who work for minimal or modest wages,

have had intermittent employment opportunities, and for the most part have little or no college education. Many, but not all, own cars and homes and have earned incomes between \$15,000 and \$75,000. They are men and women of faith who, when they work, do so under the supervision of others and mostly put in steady eight-hour days, and in a few cases hold a second job. The work they do they self-define, with few exceptions, as a job and not as a career even though some have been doing the work for a long time. In most cases they view their material wealth as adequate, if not secure, but they hold little expectations for greater social mobility.

Their ages ranged from the early twenties to the early seventies and most were either married or divorced. In most cases the working-class folks I spoke with had been lifelong members of a particular faith, and many had grown up in the religious community they were now worshipping in. Nearly everyone claimed to be a “practicing” member of the faith and a regular attendee at worship services. Only two interviewees—both Jewish—said they were not practicing. When questioned about their self-imposed designation, these workers explained that they were not (but had been) members of a synagogue, or presently respecting all religious/cultural traditions or tithing a percentage of their income. However, in conversation with each of them, they acknowledged a belief in God and, more importantly, stressed that they had a relationship to God through the way that they lived their life. More will be said about these two people and all the other workers as they are introduced to the reader.

While only a few did volunteer work for their congregation, most had participated in one or two nonworship congregational activities. Their congregational status and regular attendance at worship services sets them apart from the majority of people who believe in God, claim a religious affiliation, sometimes attend a worship service, and are not members of any congregation. Mark Chaves estimates that roughly only 25 percent of believers attended weekly worship services in the 1990s and Michael Hout and Claude Fischer estimated that about 60 percent belonged to a congregation.¹⁶ Believers included Caucasians of various ethnic backgrounds, African Americans, and U.S. and foreign-born Hispanic-Latinos. Nearly all were lifelong Chicagoans or had lived the bulk of their lives in one of the inner suburbs ringing the city.

They are people who belong to or attend, with one exception, houses of worship located in Chicago or within the city’s inner suburbs. The Religion in Urban America Program at the University of Illinois has documented, among others, the rich religious denominational history that exists in Chicago.¹⁷ From the concentrated wealth of the Near North Side to the deindustrialized South Side, the city of Chicago and Cook

County are home to at least sixty-three different faith traditions. A conservative estimate reveals that there are at least 2,346 denominations, including 307 Catholic and 778 mainline Protestant churches, 117 Jewish synagogues, and 46 Islamic mosques.¹⁸ Historians and sociologists have described how life in the city's diverse ethnic working-class neighborhoods most often revolved around the community's dominant houses of worship.¹⁹ Chicago's reputation as a working-class polyglot of national, denominational, and commuter religious groups makes it a fertile ground for a study of the everyday meaning of faith. The workers in this book are but a small sample of the city's religious groups, but they include believers from Mennonite, Lutheran, Christian Reform, Catholic, Evangelical, Unitarian Universalist, Muslim, and Jewish faiths. While only one of the congregations would fit Liston Pope's description of a "mill church," each has either a predominant or significant number of working-class believers (see the appendix for denominational descriptions).²⁰

The conventional wisdom about a person's religious affiliation is that it influences how that person interprets and practices her or his faith. Surveys of congregants' religious beliefs have documented the influence of denominational identity. Christians from mainline to Pentecostal churches widely disagree on subjects like voting for president, affirmative action policy, regulation of business, the inerrancy of the Bible, evangelism as a personal responsibility, the actual existence of Satan, eternal salvation, that Jesus Christ was sinless, and even that God is all-powerful.²¹ Differences among Jewish Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations over "Jewish identity," values, culture, world outlook, the existence of miracles, and God's response to prayer have been equally well documented.²² Islamic ideas about the prophet Muhammad, the status of women, the use of force, predestiny, concepts of good and evil, and God's methods of guidance are also contested among Muslims originating from different parts of the world.²³ In addition, different views on many spiritual and secular subjects are evident across religious traditions. It would appear, then, that denominational identity is—within limits—a fair predictor of a person's religious views.

But would religious affiliation still matter as much if congregational members were asked to explain how their spirituality actually informed their daily lives? What if the focus was not on conventional matters of theological concern or about correlating faith with voting patterns? Would denominational variation still predominate? The cumulative account of what is conventionally known about religious attitudes raised for me a compelling question: if believers' responses were correlated with a set of variables that would assign to each person a class status, would the way that denominational views informed their lives still be explanatory?

I suspect that efforts to understand religious meaning as a class phenomenon could be very threatening to many clerical leaders. Identifying the influence of class filters in understanding the word of God seems contrary to any religion's universal message, dominant theology, and accepted dogma. It might also challenge the position of the religious leaders as an authoritative interpreter of the faith. Certainly the explosive growth and popularity of Liberation Theology in large parts of Central and South America have demonstrated the impact that concrete economic, political, and social reality can have on how God's salvific power is understood and put into practice.²⁴ The United States' early-twentieth-century Protestant Social Gospel and Depression-era Catholic Social Worker movement, and the support that first-generation Jewish immigrants gave to constructing nascent labor organizations attest to our own experiences with a living faith sharply influenced by a muscular working-class component.²⁵

The workers interviewed in this book were not handed a survey to fill out and were not quizzed about theology. Where they worshiped and what religion they claimed membership in was mostly for comparative purposes. My interest was not primarily in what Judaism (orthodox or reform), or Christianity (Evangelical or mainstream), or Islam (rationalist or traditionalist) established as correct views on anything. The focus here is on how a small number of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim working-class believers used their faith to inform their lives. Believers were all members of a particular congregation chosen to ensure an approximate representation of Chicago's dominant faiths. Congregations consisting of predominantly Hispanic-Latino and African American believers were also added to reflect some of the racial and ethnic diversity in the city. Individual congregations were selected through contacts made with Chicago-area religious leaders who recommended houses of worship with primarily or significant numbers of working-class members.

Identifying Protestant and Catholic churches with janitors, nurses, painters, secretaries, bus drivers, junkyard workers, and flight attendants was easily accommodated, but finding a suitable Jewish congregation proved rather difficult. I conducted a wide and comprehensive search among orthodox, traditional, conservative, and reform communities, as well as through numerous Jewish civic and labor associations. In the learned opinion of nearly every Jewish religious, civic, and labor leader I spoke with, Chicago was not home to many, if any, predominantly working-class congregations.²⁶ One of the more common responses to my inquiries among Jewish leaders was that my search was a generation or so too late. Early-twentieth-century first-generation Jewish immigrants to Chicago and other urban areas were among the country's hardest-working industrial workers. Jewish immigrants worked extensively in garment, textile,

and meatpacking industries. But an unrivaled commitment to educational and social betterment, fueled to a large extent by European and American anti-Semitism, produced in a few decades a burgeoning entrepreneurial and professional class of Jewish descendants of butchers, tailors, and candlestick makers.

Large-scale studies of socioeconomic status and religious affiliation underscored the successful social mobility of the American Jewish community. Among the most well-educated Americans, more than 60 percent of Jewish citizens hold college degrees (compared to only 21.7 percent of Catholics) and the average Jewish household income is the highest among the country's top twenty religious denominations.²⁷ For that reason the Jewish workers featured in this book were either not currently members of a synagogue or of the same synagogue. They were, however, with few exceptions, all members of reform congregations and claimed to be religious Jews.²⁸

Another exception to the one congregation approach applied for strikingly different reasons to Muslim workers. As a result of widespread government and civilian bigotry against Arab Americans since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, I could not get permission from any Chicago-area iman to approach a Muslim congregation. Instead, I needed the assistance of active members of the Chicago Islamic Council to arrange for me to interview individual Muslims at a popular restaurant that caters to Islamic dietary preferences. Further reflecting a fear of public exposure, none of the Muslim workers would reveal the names of the mosques in which they worshiped.

My conversations with working-class believers amounted to over one hundred hours of discussion and their voices are prominently featured in the pages that follow. While the learned opinions of religious leaders will be evident at certain points throughout the book, it is not my primary purpose to assess what the congregational leaders think about faith and work. Surprisingly, based on the minimal scholarship on this subject, it appears that local religious officials spend very little, if any, time thinking about what Armand Larive calls a "theology of work."²⁹ The eminent Southern religious scholar and Christian pastor Tex Sample goes so far as to point out how irrelevant most church services are for working people. He challenges his pastoral colleagues to develop a "blue-collar" ministry that will speak more meaningfully to the needs and fears of parishioners who struggle to put and keep the bread of life on their tables.³⁰

Larive's concern for working people and church ministry leads him to think deeply about "the importance of what they [workers] do and how poorly it is honored by the church."³¹ What, after all, was a religious act?

Most faith traditions would recognize attending religious service, praying, reading from a holy book, tithing, and accepting sacraments as faithful acts. But Larive provocatively declared that “getting out of bed is a religious act.”³² At least it is when a fireman awakens from a midnight sleep to respond to an alarm or when a teacher rises early in the morning to get to school to make sure her classroom is ready for learning. If Larive is correct, then my non-church-attending, but God-believing, father was as religious as St. Nicholas’s Father Gubser who liked to drop in on my parents to drink a glass of milk and read the Bible. Dad never failed when able to work; nor did Father Gubser. The two men worked in different places under different contexts and expectations. They used radically different tools and produced different end products. One was compensated by communal offerings of daily support, the other with union-negotiated wages. But both had worked in the conventional sense in common and, according to Larive, there is an underappreciated theology “in the way God is present with workaday activity.”³³ It is the idea that the work people do constitutes an authentic religious ministry that informs much of the discussion at the core of this book.

Extracting the sacred from pipe fitting or lawn maintenance is not, however, the same as using religious beliefs and spirituality to sweat additional labor out of employees. A manipulative cottage industry has developed among Christian employers characterized as the “faith and work” movement. Books, articles, magazines, newspaper stories, weekend seminars, professional and business associations, Web sites, and blogs have touted the social and financial capital gains that can come from training a company’s managers to motivate workers with the “relationship skills that Jesus used to train and motivate his team.”³⁴ While I claim no special insight into the life of Jesus or Muhammad, I feel confident that their life experiences, no matter how cleverly distorted, were not about corporate team building or developing “marketplace leaders.”³⁵

In texts that commend the reader to link overt religious beliefs and evangelizing with employment practices, religion is primarily a tool for CEOs and supervisors and hence becomes a wickedly perverse strategy for workplace discipline and control. In addition to the dubious purposes of using the workplace to proselytize, so-called faith-friendly companies run a considerable constitutional legal risk when they impose biblical principle upon their employees.³⁶ Since 2000, religious discrimination complaints with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have risen more than 30 percent.³⁷ Attorney Angela Ekker successfully represented one group of employees in a religious discrimination case and noted that “there is a sort of religious fanaticism growing in this country,

and as a result we'll be seeing more of these cases in the workplaces."³⁸ The pursuit of ways to use God to further denominational growth and the bottom line have unfortunately gotten considerable assistance over the past ten years from the United States Congress, which has considered legislation to allow greater expression of religious views at work.³⁹

Larive's concern for the inherent sacredness in labor is further juxtaposed to conventional religious treatments of work. Christian churches, he notes, typically reduce the sacred value of work to opportunities to be kind toward others, for keeping the Ten Commandments, to make a personal witness, and to build a workplace ministry. Religious leaders are quick to talk of proper workplace ethics but hesitant to raise the issues precipitating a local workers' strike or the closing of a community manufacturing plant due to foreign competition. It's of course true that there are many Christian and non-Christian religious leaders who have condemned corporate greed and called their congregations to the defense of worker rights. Chicago is the home of the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice, which has led many ecumenical campaigns to benefit particularly low-wage workers. But these locally based religious leaders are the exceptions. I believe that in houses of worship all over the country the most common response to the need for a faith portrayal of working-class realities would be similar to the words spoken to me by a well-respected Chicago rabbi and a Catholic pastor. In explaining why he was not interested in talking about faith and labor, the rabbi undoubtedly incorrectly noted that "in the [Chicago] synagogue there are not workers and non-workers, only children of God." The Catholic priest simply rejected the idea by stating without any apparent irony that his mostly low-wage immigrant "parishioners don't have time to talk about work and faith, and besides they come to the church for other things." It seems the message to the believer is that secular activity has some value as a way to do service to others, but the work a person does possesses no inherent religious value. Sadly, believers come away from each long workday incorrectly thinking that God cares more for their soul than God does for their body.

A believer could be excused for elevating a metaphysical existence above a three-dimensional life of blood, bone, and muscle. Douglas Sherman revealed that out of a poll conducted with 2,000 Christians, 90 percent had never heard a religious sermon applying biblical principles to everyday work issues.⁴⁰ For example, Sherman noted that congregants were not familiar with sermons on health-care policy or on the need for a livable wage to ensure that "the laborer deserves his wages."⁴¹ On the

other hand, in 1997, Robert Wuthnow documented that 58 percent of church members “claimed to have heard a sermon about caring for the poor.”⁴² Now nearly 40 percent of the poor are competent workers without sufficient work or income, but a sermon on caring for the disadvantaged is effectively a message of Christian charity. It is not a message about an employer, government, civic association, or union acting to dignify work or make work pay in the way that God intended for an act of co-creation. And while Sherman does not mention it, I feel very confident that only the barest fraction of church members has ever heard the word “labor organization” mentioned alongside any of the Gospels. Sherman also surveyed religious seminars, prayer meetings, religious bookstore listings, and recorded tapes and concluded that the “Church has grown virtually silent on the subject of work.”⁴³ A noted example of this absence is revealed in the most recent work of religious historian Alan Wolfe. A review of the index of Wolfe’s book subtitled *How We Actually Live Our Faith* does not include a single reference to “work” or “labor.” The table of contents does, however, address the topics of “doctrine,” “morality,” “sin,” “worship,” “tradition,” and “witness” among others.⁴⁴

Family, marriage, personal piety, morals, sacred traditions, biblical texts, and institutional needs typically make up the canon of professional preaching. In my own church-attending experiences I have also been confused by the narrow “playlist” of suitable topics. Even an uninformed reader of the Bible, Torah, or Qur’an would recognize the numerous textual references to economic justice issues. At best, a religious leader may offer his or her congregation an obligatory sermon or homily about the nobility of work on a Labor Day Sunday. Larive explains this lack of attention to work life on the dearth of training that church leaders receive on a theology of work: “One can search seminary academic catalogues in vain for any such course offerings.”⁴⁵

The absence of much formal training is all the more surprising considering the rather sizeable and significant public positions that each of the world’s major religions have taken on the proper role for human labor. Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Islamic theologians have written about how their faith provides clear principles for respecting a fundamental religious truth that through work people share in the activity of the Creator. The neglect of work in the spiritual life of community religious institutions is inconsistent with every major religion’s command to speak out on the value of work. While my discussions with workers were not designed to elicit the substantive knowledge of each person’s faith or to discern a correct theology, I do refer to sacred scriptures and writings to support the

way that Christian, Muslim, and Judaic religions embrace the dignity of labor and labor organizations.

Scholars like Tex Sample contend that work is absent from much official religious inspiration and education because churches, synagogues, and mosques have traditionally treated the working life as a distraction from the holy. Joanne Ciulla argues that for many people work “substitutes for the fulfillment we used to derive from family, friends, religion and community.”⁴⁶ Instead of finding happiness in doing God’s will or in social relationships, we have committed the fruitfulness of our lives to the “hands of the market and our employers.”⁴⁷ Ciulla recognizes that human labor can provide discipline, identity, and self-worth. It can structure our time and impose a rhythm on our lives. Work can engrain us into various kinds of groups and social relationships. It makes possible improvements in living standards and provides for the collective needs of others. Remunerated work is also the means by which we provide for our material sustenance. Clearly the working life holds out much promise. But how does living in a capitalist society predicated on a production for private profit morality, with an increasing dependency on the fate of our employers, bring our lives closer to the image of God? Work, it seems, can easily betray a balanced life of spirit and sweat.

If our work is debilitating, humiliating, and valuable only as a means to survive, then traditional Christian views of work as a curse and punishment would seem to support a benign neglect of the labor we do. At best, attendees at religious services will come to know work as having only an instrumental and worldly value. And, most important, the work we do can never save our souls. Regardless of the bridges we build, the bodies we heal, the children we educate, the toilets we clean, the food we harvest, and the garments we mend, we amass no credit with the Almighty. Salvation only comes through “accepting the free gift of God’s grace.” But what if Greg Pierce of the National Center for the Laity is correct and “work itself is holy—not just a means to proselytize others”?⁴⁸ What if Larive is right that a person who does good work is like the “good and faithful servant,” and that God delights in the work we do? What if “good works” included a well-painted house, a safely driven bus, or my father’s nicely repaired roller in the 9-inch pipe mill? Can work, after all, be a Christian, Jewish, and Islamic path to God?

In searching for the relationship between the work lives of people and the faith they hold, my conversations with workers continuously revealed a few dominant ideas or meaningful narratives. While worker comments did not exclusively fit into narrow categories, five principal faith and work

narratives emerged. The first was a narrative of *human suffering and healing grace*. A second life story evolved around how workers understood *God's will*. A third account stressed the *obligations of the righteous* to overcome injustice and sin. The fourth was embedded in a debate over the *genesis of work*. And, poetically, the final one centered on a story of *salvation*. Each of these narratives is briefly introduced below.

Human Suffering and Healing Grace

It was important to know how people have used their faith in meaningful ways. Asking folks to relate a story of where in their life faith mattered to them in a particularly special way enabled me to identify the real places, occasions, and inspirations that triggered a phenomenological religiosity. Hearing personal accounts of how people strongly felt when they believed themselves to be in God's presence introduced me to the importance of struggle and suffering in measuring a faithful life. The role that suffering plays emerges from these discussions as a fundamental condition of working-class spirituality. Pain is to be expected. Family members get sick, loved ones leave, and jobs are lost. Some jobs pay too little; others are, as Studs Terkel poignantly notes, "too small for the human spirit."⁴⁹ A human life is a temporary gift filled with all manner of treasures and dangers. The body, heart, and mind are capable of brilliant flights of knowing and creation. They are equally susceptible to injury, breakdown, and disease. In C. S. Lewis's words, the faithful "are never safe, but we have plenty of fun and some ecstasy."⁵⁰ In the discussions I had with workers, suffering is not always preordained, nor is it necessarily God's will. But significantly, it always strengthens the faith.

God's Will

Workers also described their God. The words, phrases, stories, and metaphors they used to characterize the object of their faith revealed the nature of the relationship that working-class people believed was possible with a transcendent figure. It also established the boundaries—if any—for what God was responsible for in the material world. Within that relationship was the opportunity for God to bless a person with a new job or a pay raise. It's also possible that God's plan could leave a worker behind. The people who spoke to me declared unanimously that God or Allah made all things

and all things possible. But was God responsible for poverty, homelessness, hunger, and corporate greed? Was the lack of health care afflicting millions of Americans God's doing? If not, then what or who was responsible and did a person's faith help her to understand her economic status?

Obligations of the Righteous

Questions about God's will and the usefulness of faith to make sense of one's station in life underscored the relationship between a believer's faith and his sense of justice. Workers who turned to biblical readings and accepted Sunday preaching against immoral behavior had grounding for judging righteous action. But what did faith compel the servants of Allah, God, or Yahweh to do when they witnessed evil? And what was evil? By conservative accounts the marketplace is managed by a den of thieves and scoundrels. In 2005 the nation's poverty rate rose to a shameful 12.7 percent and nearly 46 million Americans had no employer-provided health care.⁵¹ Pensions at large employers like United Airlines and major steel firms were dumped to free up cash for company executives with six- and seven-figure compensation packages.⁵² Scandalous accounts of corporate theft and destruction of employee retirement savings at Enron Corporation, Tyco, Global Crossing, WorldCom, Adelpia Communications, and HealthCare South, to name just a few, seemed to define a marketplace rife with injustice.⁵³ But what does a faithful working-class Jew, Lutheran, or Catholic do about such things? When injustices exist at work and in the marketplace, does faith require the worker to walk a picket line, join a union, boycott an employer, stop shopping at Wal-Mart, participate in a demonstration, sign a petition, or vote for a particular political party? My interviewees reminded me that one could also do nothing and leave the unacceptable situation to God.

Speaking of evil required us to also recognize the existence of sin in the world. Sin, according to the Ten Commandments, the Qur'an, and the Torah, is clearly delineated and well understood by the workers interviewed in this book. But is it a sin to offer people work without health care or a pension? Was it a sin to close a factory and move it overseas to take advantage of cheap labor? Was it sinful to make products with prison or child labor? Workers admitted to knowing sinners and to being sinners, but the sins of the marketplace were not so obvious. It seemed that faith could be a redress for some offenses, but not necessarily for others. Sin required offending God, but as heart-wrenching as the demands of commerce could be, economic dislocation appeared to be a victimless act. No

employer was willfully violating God's law when they laid a worker off. But if work was holy, how could it be denied and still preserve a person in the image of God or Allah?

Genesis of Work

If the market and the job a person does could be occasions for sin, then they could also be a blessing. Despite long hours and insufficient compensation, the majority of workers revealed that they are deeply committed to the work they do.⁵⁴ It is in the end not all about Mammon. But are workers called to do the jobs they do? Is this, too, where God wants them to be? The workers interviewed came to their labors from vastly different directions and they were not unanimous in whether they were led or whether they had simply chosen. Work for some could be a vocation, but for others "work ain't nothing but a job." The Greeks also thought of work as a necessary evil. Aristotle thought mechanical labor was enslaved to the needs of the body and among its many detrimental effects was to keep a person away from higher contemplative activities.⁵⁵ From the Renaissance came visions of work as creative expression; from Henry Ford came nightmares of work as mechanical motion. Martin Luther and John Calvin interpreted work in the book of Genesis as "God's commandments to us, not his curse on us."⁵⁶

Work in the American civic imagination has always embodied a host of life-enhancing qualities. No matter that work was necessary for survival and that differences in power created one class of people who worked and another who lived off the labor of others. Our labor fulfills goals, is redemptive, and is a path to social mobility. My parents, my students, and my interviewees lived by a simple faith: labor really works. Philosophers like James Bernard Murphy, Al Genie, and others have written persuasively that work should be a means of self-realization and often defines a worker's sense of self-identity.⁵⁷ Simply stated, we are our jobs. But did God mean for work to be hard or delightful? Were there godly jobs or jobs that made a person feel closer to God? Is there a spiritual dimension to the way a person does a job and does the job you do "praise God"? And do religious working-class people really believe that Martin Luther was correct when he declared that "man is not justified by works, but righteousness must come from some other source than his own works"?⁵⁸ Dorothy Sayers thinks the church has sent too limited a message to people who work for a living: "The Church's approach to an intelligent carpenter is usually confined to exhorting him not to be drunk and disorderly in his leisure

hours, and to come to church on Sundays. What the church should be telling him is this: that the very first demand that his religion makes upon him is that he should make good tables.”⁵⁹ What work meant in the lives of each believer and how it was described was an important window into each worker’s spiritual identity.

Salvation

Working for a lifetime is the American way. We expect it to make us productive individuals and citizens. But to a Muslim cabdriver, Jewish grocery clerk, and Catholic nurse, it cannot get you into heaven. Only the grace of God determines the soul’s destiny, and Martin Luther and John Calvin gave structure to a Protestant work ethic that defined people who work hard as good and those who are lazy as immoral. According to Christian, Jewish, and Islamic orthodoxy, it was only through faith that a person could enter the kingdom of heaven. Salvation to each of my workers was a gift from God. But if belief alone was sufficient to attain everlasting life, then what does God expect from the lives we live? Is there nothing redemptive about the efforts an auto assembly line worker commits to in rotating eight- or ten-hour day shifts? St. Augustine and Luther conceived a high wall separating the domains of work and grace. But Miroslav Volf counters that Thomas Carlyle infused work with explicit religious overtones. Mundane work for Carlyle “replaced prayer to God and became a means of secular salvation.”⁶⁰ Was work mere secular instrumentality or a salvific part of a life in the Holy Spirit? The question of human labor’s contribution to salvation fully animated our discussions and significantly shaped the relationship between a worker’s faith and occupation.

In conducting the oral interviews and reading through pages of transcripts, I was reminded of the last time someone encouraged me to be a priest. For many years before I finished this work, my late father-in-law, Donald Quackenbush, and I engaged in spirited debates about economics and politics. After a particularly prolonged assertion of my affirmative belief in the righteousness of workers, my father-in-law pointed out that I should have gone into the church. It was, he noted, there and only there where my “left-wing” views could actually be legitimately expressed. Apparently Don believed that church leaders were expected to “comfort the sick,” “feed the hungry,” “clothe the naked,” and do full-time service for the dispossessed. It seemed to him that religion was best suited for such “do-gooding.” It is precisely what working-class believers expected from their do-gooding that I set out to know.

CONCLUSION

God and Working-Class Lives

MARTIN BUBER, one of the most renowned Jewish thinkers of the twentieth century, had an understanding of God that I believe working-class congregants implicitly endorsed in the way that they *lived their faith*. Buber stressed that God was an all-encompassing presence who engaged humanity through the experience of living in the world. God was not inaccessible or one to be spoken of in the third person. God does not “command law, nor can he be sought after through rituals.”¹ But more important was what Buber had to say about human beings experiencing God in their life: “Man cannot reach the divine by reaching beyond the human.”² The working-class Christians, Jews, and Muslims that I spoke with described a living faith that was realized in God’s name, but was all about finding God in the relationship with others. While making no claims to a grand theology, I found the daily relational nature of spirituality to be a central tenet of working-class faith. Faith to workers was not a solitary show of personal piety, but an act of community building.

Going to church, temple, or mosque were just the tips of a faith-influenced working-class life; while important, it is less relevant to being faithful than the actions of working-class believers after worship service ends. Believers talked about their lives as if they considered them communion with God. God seems to be everywhere to the painter, nurse, bus driver, massage therapist, butcher, processing clerk, cemetery worker, and teacher. God’s quiet and steady presence reflects the unified quality of a

working-class spiritual life. Faith neither begins nor ends with going to temple, reciting the Lord's Prayer, or saying salut. To the working-class Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, Baptists, Muslims, and Jews featured in this book the sacred and secular are integrated. The presence of a spiritual being is just about all that holds together a world of struggle and service for people living paycheck to paycheck. Struggle is paramount and comes with the territory. Being human means experiencing illness, accident, and misfortune as well as joy, elation, and good health. God is not to blame for the pain. Somehow the Almighty is responsible for everything, but not for the particular bad that befalls human beings. Rather, the horrible and tragic is woven into a grand strategy of universal salvation that no one is capable of understanding. What working-class believers did know was that without suffering and sacrifice God is not known. Worker after worker found inspiration and redemption from responding to the agonies of life. Struggle was a physical, social, economic, and psychic state where working people realized the grace of God. In struggle they found hope, gained courage, endured doubt, and fought evil. By the blessing of struggle they were saved.

Few saw miracles of divine intervention, although turning to God in prayer for help was a common practice. There was nothing formal or doctrinaire about the prayers. They were more like brief, unstructured one-way conversations with God. Sometimes giving praise, other times pleading for help. In times of duress workers did not expect their prayers to produce magical cures, although they could, if God willed it so. Some had moments of abandonment and cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34). But the typical cry of suffering was not expected to earn any quid pro quo dividend. At best it sought out only God's wisdom and protection. Prayers of thanks were most often about personal and familial continued good health and for the blessing of "having a job." Petitions happened more often in ordinary places (i.e., the car, the kitchen, and nearly always at work) than during weekly worship.

Workers rarely asked for God's mercy for themselves. There was a belief that a prayer said for personal assistance was less likely to be answered than one said for another. The prayer or petition to God was a way that working-class believers identified with other people who had experienced distress and to seek help for others. I imagine that's why, despite her own ill health, my mother insisted on always talking to God about everyone but herself. In the immediate days before she was to get the results of a breast screening, my mother made an entry in a private journal expressing her fears but added that she was talking to God about my own postsurgical health.

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We got some hail and then we got snow. Just an inch or so. Slag trucks salted the streets and traffic was moving . . . I baked chocolate chip cookies. Tomorrow I'll make more. I don't bake like I did when you boys were home. Dad doesn't need all those sweets! I'm still hanging in there. Very, very hard. I'm trying honey. . . . A little scared what they will find when I go to this doctor. The 2 black spots. Know what I mean? When I know, you'll know. I promise. Love you. I'm praying that your health improves. *It just has to!* (emphasis in original)

Mom made at least eight entries where she mentions praying for me. There were none about petitions to God on her own behalf. She had an enormous capacity to understand the pain of others and even in prayer her personal agonies were not brought before God. Mom's prayers for an end to suffering, like so many of the people I interviewed, reflected "a conviction that things are better off where they are: in the hands of God."³

Most of their prayers were said somewhere other than in a house of worship and were privately uttered in silence. Only a small minority of workers had ever been part of a prayer group or even a prayer chain. Talking to God on the way to work or over a coffee mug was very common. Workers actually prayed to themselves a lot at work, but few kept visible religious icons around them to announce their faith. In some workplaces public displays of faith could be tricky, but in truth no worker thought it was necessary to drape themselves in religious accessories. At most a Bible or devotional book sat close by and maybe a printed prayer taped to a cubicle. For some, talking about God during work breaks was pretty common. A few even shared prayers publicly at work before the day's grind commenced. When praying, Muslim, Jew, Catholic, and Protestant used essentially the same words and addressed common topics.

When, if, or how God would make things better was an alluring mystery, but no person of faith believed that God willed suffering or wanted people to hurt. Nobody was being punished for living in a state of sin. Few people even felt comfortable defining what a sin might be or when a sin had occurred. One strong exception was St. Denis parishioner Larry Hill, who offered an explanation that resonated with me: "If you put yourself in a position where you can assist people or treat them morally and do not, then that is sinful." For most others sin was something that simply displeased God. But in the end, that was for God to determine. However, individual acts were easier than corporate acts to characterize as sinful. It seems, according to most working-class believers, that despite the forceful critique of abusive authority emblazoned in the Qur'an, Hebrew Bible,

and Christian scriptures, individuals are far more susceptible to displeasing God than corporations or governments.

As interpreted by working-class believers, the actions of business leaders were cloaked in uncertainty over whether corporate behavior was driven by necessary economic forces (not sinful, no matter the consequences to workers, consumers, or citizens) or greed (voluntary and probably sinful). For instance, a farm labor contractor who hires homeless people and then drives down their wage by selling them crack cocaine, beer, and cigarettes from a “company store” is the devil in the flesh. But the contractor who pays the workers just pennies for every bushel of tomatoes picked and then calls the Immigration Control and Enforcement service when the workers talk about unionizing is a more redeemable character.⁴ Now, the guys who engineered the financial meltdown of employee retirement incomes at Enron appeared sinful; working-class believers saw what they did as pure theft.⁵ After all, there are Christian, Judaic, and Islamic commandments against stealing. But when the chief executive officer at General Motors demands that retired auto workers pay more for their health care, or company officers at United Airlines use a bankruptcy court to dump their obligations to pay retirement benefits to thousands of workers, or Wal-Mart’s business strategy erodes local revenue streams vital for schools and public hospitals, or the ten largest investment banks pay over \$1 billion in fines, working-class members of faith communities are less certain of what religious principle had been violated.⁶ Despite the fact that large numbers of working-class and poor families are most often badly victimized by corporate economic decisions, it is harder to call the logic of capitalism or the particular market moves of a CEO sinful than it is to point an accusatory finger at an individual who claims an illegal tax deduction.

The legal distinction is significant. While no worker would say so, it seemed that sinful activity and illegal actions were often, though not always (e.g., abortion) the same. It is certainly horrible when thousands of workers lose their income, health care, and the kitchen sink, but if the cause of such dislocation was market-driven forces and not criminal corporate activity then it passes the “temptation test.”⁷ Where making more money at the expense of workers and pursuing rational profits for the stockholders diverged was unclear. Working-class Christians, Muslims, and Jews agreed that everyone was sinful; but except for the personal decisions we make that injure others, sin was an abstract concept better accepted than understood. Despite some religious education on the occasions for sin, working-class believers were more accepting of their own sinful natures than of the existence of evil in the world. Most thought evil

was real, but few had an idea of how it was made manifest in the world. Perhaps evil would have been a more pressing concern if congregants had been more worried about an eschatological judgment day.

To the working-class Christian, Jews, and Muslims I spoke with, the heaven promised to believers after death probably exists. Yet, no one, particularly the Jewish believers, was obsessed about getting there and the focus of life did not revolve around some unclear “end-times.” Workers universally agreed that they should be doing more to create a more God-like world than testifying to righteousness with an eye to eternal life. Few were active in any civic associations dedicated to social causes and only a handful had ever done more politically than to cast a vote. Not that eternal life was not desired, but that was, after all, in God’s power. What was, however, in each individual’s power was the means and opportunity to participate in and contribute to a kind of heaven on earth. The value of life was that it gave everyone the opportunity to experience a “taste of heaven.” Unlike God’s Kingdom in heaven, believers thought they knew the parameters of His or Her domain on earth. But if eternal life was possible, then the work we did would have something to say about our final judgment. Workers’ belief that God cared about and measured our labors suggests an eschatological purpose for work. It also recalled the words of a poem on resurrection and work by the Sufi poet Rumi:

On Resurrection Day God will say,
 What did you do with the strength and the energy
 that your food gave you on earth?
 How did you use your eyes?
 What did you make with your five senses
 while they were dimming and playing out?
 I gave you hands and feet as tools
 for preparing the ground for planting.
 Did you in the health I gave, do the plowing?²⁸

The faithful saw beauty all around them and felt blessed by one opportunity after another to do God’s will. Most expected a final reward to follow a life clothed in muscle and bone. But no one minimized the value and presence of God’s Kingdom evolving on earth. Life was no mere practice session or testing ground for salvation. It may not be the only life we have, but it was a life given by God with no less significance or value than any promised. Walt Whitman, the quintessential nineteenth-century U.S. poet of the artisan working class, saw God similarly in the simple spaces occupied by others:

Why should I wish to see God better than this day?
 I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each
 moment then,
 In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in the
 glass;
 I find letters from God dropped in the street, and every one is signed
 by God's name,
 And I leave them where they are, for I know that others will
 punctually come forever and ever.⁹

If today is truly the Lord's Day, then the working class were not living a lesser life in anticipation of life eternal. In fact, to live as if human beings had no work to do and no obligations to one another was to commit the greatest of all sins. Avoiding the opportunity to do good work on earth was a terrible rejection of the talents God gave everyone. Working-class believers worshiped for eternal life, but acted as if "earth's crammed with Heaven."¹⁰

Believers made very clear that they are on the earth for an earthly purpose. Surprisingly, everyone knew of a purpose that they all shared: to take care of one another. What many did not know was how they would personally contribute to serving the needs of others. Some people thought they had discovered their personal contribution. Those who did referred to it as a "calling." For those believers, work brought happiness and fulfillment. They noted how much of their life revolved around the day's labors and accepted Thomas Aquinas's warning that "there can be no joy in living without joy in work."¹¹ Everyone also accepted that God had plans for the world and everyone inhabiting it. The plan included everything that happened to us and all that we did. Unfortunately, how that plan made sense was beyond human comprehension. For every worker it came down to simple faith. God has a purpose for you and, more important, your life has a purpose for others.

No other message was more compelling about the role of faith in the mundane experiences of working-class believers than that a faithful life necessarily involved doing services for others. In referring to the message in Matthew's Gospel, Donald Spoto indicates that "the standard of judgment for all of us will be the extent to which we have found some personal means of alleviating human misery when we see it."¹² This was not, however, a commitment to saintly acts of charity or hours of selfless volunteerism, or political stands in the gap between God's vision and earthy disparities. By reflecting on the subtle dual interpretations of the command passage from the prophet Micah (6:8), we can articulate

how the vast majority of believers served the stranger along the road. In answering what the Lord required of a person, the prophet began by asserting the need “to do justice.” Now it was clear that all the workers attempted to refrain from committing unjust acts. Acting justly meant avoiding sinful behavior; according to St. Bruno parishioner Bernice Feltz, it came down to personal accountability: “Did you treat people fairly?” In other words, acting justly meant not being racist, mean, unkind, dishonest, greedy, selfish, intolerant, or uncaring. Believers recounted how they had been good Samaritans and often helped someone less fortunate than themselves. But with notable exceptions, few acted outwardly “to do justice” for others. Instead, Micah’s affirmative-action call “to do justice” in the world was heard as a subjective identity claim “to be just.” The former likely requires acting politically on behalf of the sojourner; the latter does not. The latter is a private commitment to God to behave; the former is a pledge to publicly assist the less fortunate. For most congregants, faith had primarily made them aware of their own obligation to be just (by avoiding doing what is bad), but not necessarily to do justice (by acting politically to eliminate the bad).

Still, acting according to God’s commands transformed the merely temporal movements of daily life into something sacred. Being faithful to God simply meant making sure your daily actions, very often remunerated ones but including everything a person did, contributed to the well-being of others. The process of expanding physical, emotional, and intellectual labor in paid work not only helped others (no matter the job), but did for God what God wanted done by us. The Muslims, Jews, and Christians interviewed became partners with God because they eased a muscle pain, solved a billing problem, transported someone, painted a room, sawed a piece of wood, taught a class, or cut a piece of kosher meat. They were not certain what God intended for them or even how to stay on the righteous path, but they believed that the jobs they did were particularly important vehicles for fulfilling God’s plan. In Matthew Fox’s imagining of meaningful human activity, the work we do is an instrument of physical and spiritual agency that “becomes our true worship.”¹³ Life may happen because God wills it. No one thought otherwise. But life is maintained, nourished, and changed because God’s only hands (i.e., you and me) work the earth. In the metaphorical words of Pastor Reginald McCracken, if “it’s cold, we have a fireplace. Outside are plenty of trees and we have a saw, yet you’re complaining we’re cold. Get up! Take that saw (faith). Because you believe it will cut. And cut some wood [work].”¹⁴

According to the testimonies of workers, we are active doers in the Liturgy of God. Work is as sacred as the prayers we offer in silence and in

public assembly with others. The separation between being holy, devout, and religious and acting in the secular world as creative human beings is an illusion. Godly work and good works are not distinct entities; it is impossible to act justly and not act as God, Jesus, or Muhammad preached. Workers of different faiths would embrace Dorothy Sayers's claim that "the only Christian work is good work well done . . . whether it is Church embroidery, or sewage-farming."¹⁵ While conventional insistence that only God's grace can ultimately afford us salvation is not quarreled with, the way many believers spoke of their work as placing them in a co-creative relationship with the Almighty suggested that work is more salvific than church attendance, prayer, reading holy texts, and self-proclamations of faith.

Believing in God is, of course, paramount, but acting as a good Christian, Jew, or Muslim required more than right belief; it demanded acts that made the world more like heaven. "If you believe in God," according to Bernice Feltz, then "you cannot turn around and cheat on your wife." To the working-class faithful I talked with there was no long list of religious commands required to satiate an unforgiving lawgiver and judge. In fact, God was more a partner, parent, teacher, builder, healer, and doer than a cosmic ruler. Justice after death might ultimately get done, but most workers were more focused on how they were living in the "here and now." Few failed to see a heaven among God's creation. Day by day, believers asked God to help them to get by and live righteously. They sought guidance for a myriad of everyday occasions and drew spiritual satisfaction by pleasing their Creator one work hour at a time. A transcendent heaven may or may not exist, and it was up to God whether anyone got there. But workers were here now, on earth, with the hands, feet, heart, and intellect necessary to serve. Formal congregational worship rejuvenated a person's spiritual batteries and allowed believers an uninterrupted time of corporal rest to be only with God. Most also found inspiration and insight in the sermons and homilies of their religious leaders. Now and then a small number of parishioners and congregants read from a holy book and a few could cite a favorite verse. But no faith community member thought a steady diet of overt religious practices was sufficient to live in accordance with God's desire that we live in the service of others. On the other hand, the days between worship services were not to be treated dismissively. God's real work got done in the rise and shine of each workday.

When first approached about the intersection of work and faith, most working-class believers responded like disciples who should either evangelize their workmates or merely act toward them with humility and kindness. Faith seemed principally a guide for social interaction and a set of

rules for ethical work performance. The idea that a well-painted room or an efficiently processed phone bill could be an expression of spiritual service was at first an odd notion. I was not surprised by the initial hesitation. Most workers had never heard a worship homily or sermon about their jobs (St. Denis Church being the major exception) or read a religious book about work and the Holy Spirit. No matter the faith tradition, Muslim, Jew, and Christian workers alike knew more about the importance of keeping the sacraments than they did the role of work in allowing people to cooperate with God in transforming the world. It was also true that most knew very little about the formal teachings of their faith. With rare exception, the working-class faithful did not profess a theoretical understanding of their faith. They knew rather skeletal or common things about Jesus, Muhammad, or Yahweh and loosely held scattered, undeveloped thoughts about their own religion's founding or precepts.

Most Christian, Jewish, and Muslim workers were simply obedient to God or at least to what they believed God commanded. In nearly all cases, when they discussed the real practical meaning of faith in their lives, it was nearly impossible to distinguish a person's faith affiliation. Putting formal doctrine aside (something most workers emphatically claimed no real understanding of), there was little significant *religious difference* in how working-class believers lived out their faith. People approached suffering, injustice, God's will, work, and salvation differently, but with few exceptions these differences were not primarily because of their religious membership. By all accounts, in the day-to-day practice of faith there is only one religion: belief in God. All else appears as just a lot of spiritual accessorizing with no significance (except for an Orthodox Jew) in the lives of working people. Ironically, I found working-class believers to be devout followers of the grand idea of a loving, all-powerful Creator and of little else that was religiously doctrinaire.

The claims made here about how working-class people use their faith to find meaning in their lives may of course not be much different from how middle- or upper-class believers put their faith to work. Without asking people of faith from different class identities about how faith informs their lives, it is not possible to claim something definitively unique about a working-class perspective. But even so, it is necessary to understand how working people live out their faith. I further contend that the difference faith makes to the lives of working-class people is even more important to comprehend than it is for middle- and upper-income class believers. Consider for a moment the overwhelming numbers of poor (i.e., once working, sometimes working, working off and on) and working-class congregational members who support rural, storefront, community corner

and megachurches, mosques, and synagogues. By every standard of formal religious observance, it is the nation's lower-income groups which not only represent a numerical majority of worshipers, but they also tithe a higher proportion of their incomes than any other religious constituents. In a very real sense, the working class makes it possible for a vibrant and diverse congregational religious observance to flourish in America.

But it is not all about the congregational numbers or financial offerings. The work of numerous religious scholars has documented the heightened way that lower-income groups are drawn to intense religious appeals. In addition, while Christianity, Islam, and Judaism are open to all, they each make special offers to help and redeem the lowliest stationed of God's children. Religion may be a luxury for the wealthy, but it is often a lifeline for the needy. As many of my workers stated, it is those who have an excess of wealth and education who "think they don't need God." In fact, many of the workers recognized a tension between a life of luxury and a commitment to God. Wealth in itself was not a bad thing, but it was nearly always distracting. Christian, Muslim, and Jewish workers pointed out that if you possessed a vast store of riches, it was unlikely that you were being attentive to a spiritual life. Poor and working-class folks were seen as having a deeper commitment to God and a truer understanding of what the Creator required of people.

Jesus, after all, dressed in a simple cloth robe, and when commissioning disciples to spread the word of God throughout the land, he commanded them to "carry no purse, no bag, no sandals" (Luke 10:4). It was the actions of "radical missionaries" who preached to the "ordinary people a message both by what they said and how they lived."¹⁶ The message was an unconditional rejection of society's dominant material values. There was no getting around it; being the "salt of the earth" was impossible when you owned the salt mine. However, possessing wealth did not automatically disqualify a person from entering the kingdom of heaven. The key for working-class believers was what an individual did with his or her material blessings. Riches hoarded or simply left to children carried no spiritual weight. But donations to charities, paying a fair day's wage, and a commitment to humanitarian causes opened up the needle's eye allegorized in the Christian Gospels.¹⁷ Again, service to others was the behavior that marked you as deserving of God's grace.

It is certainly a broad overstatement about the appeal of faith to upper-income groups to suggest that faith and wealth cannot be reconciled. Even the most faithful of the working class is unlikely to have given away all of their worldly possessions. The truth is that Muhammad and Jesus set a standard that none of us are equipped to follow. But nonetheless, it is

hard to deny that Christianity was forged among the enslaved, down-trodden, and lost. Islam and Judaism equally provide a worldview of ultimate liberation and salvation for generations of people victimized by oppressive rulers and invaders. Religious scholar Elaine Pagels's citation of the "Gospel of Truth" found at Nag Hammadi wonderfully boils down the message and teachings of the Bible, Torah, and Qur'an: "Speak the truth to those who seek it, and speak of understanding to those who have committed sin through error; Strengthen the feet of those who have stumbled; extend your hands to those who are sick; Feed those who are hungry; Give rest to those who are weary; And raise up those who wish to rise."¹⁸ Despite the universal benefits of spiritual atonement or the shameful abuses of religious leadership, these religions were not found for the powerful and wealthy. While the workers I interviewed claimed no monopolistic ownership over their faith, they did see themselves, as people of modest means, as living closer to the image of their Creator than people who live as if they are gods.

Listening to the voices of working-class believers is also critically important for one final reason. Religion promises salvation, redemption, and eternal happiness. It suggests a vision of life that is beyond hate, suffering, inequality, and sadness. Under God everyone is equal. But in our secular society violence, despair, hurt, and inequality abound. In socioeconomic terms it is the poor and the working class that are exploited for the advantages of more powerful groups. The paradox of an American society flowing with milk and honey, yet saddled with shameful poverty and class exploitation, seriously challenges the relevancy of a "take care of others" faith. When approximately 1 percent of the population can own nearly 40 percent of the nation's net financial wealth, it is an open question just how godly a place America really is.¹⁹

Anyone who genuinely believes in an all-knowing, all-loving God cannot avoid asking profound questions of American life. How do you explain a modern wealthy society of God-fearing, God-loving people where 22 million other God-fearing, God-loving people live in poverty?²⁰ By what stretch of rationality can we explain the presence of God's houses of worship all over the American landscape while 3.5 million people are living on the street or in temporary housing?²¹ Is it really possible to believe in the healing power of faith when 46 million American people have inadequate medical care?²² Can the life-giving power of the Lord be respected by a nation that ranks first among the wealthiest countries in the world in infant mortality?²³ What can faith possibly offer by way of explanation for a near 400 percent income disparity between a company's average worker and a Fortune 500 chief executive officer?²⁴ If we are a nation that submits

to a God of justice, then what justice is there when 25 percent of employers illegally fire at least one worker for union activity?²⁵ At a time when 98 percent of Americans say they believe in God, but 46 percent of those who are actually working state they are “dispirited,” how can the religious views of working Americans be ignored?²⁶

Yet in the face of abundant economic exploitation Bruce Springsteen can sing that “at the end of every hard-earned day” working-class people “find a reason to believe.”²⁷ Faith, unfortunately, can be easily exploited. Perhaps no belief system lends itself more readily to the manipulative purposes of charlatans, dictators, presidents, corporate heads, foundation directors, media pundits, and would-be spiritual leaders than religion. Because of their economic vulnerability, working-class people are usually the targets of religious fraud. The woman who cleans the office space and the guy who repairs the train tracks believe in God no matter the reality of their socioeconomic situation. Neither low pay nor inadequate benefits shake their spiritual resolve. Redemption is still coming and God’s grace is liberatory. Holding doggedly to a belief in a metaphysical entity with the power to return the world to paradise while you balance your life on an economic high wire is either an incredible act of faith or pure insanity. I’m no expert in these matters, but the people who spoke openly with me were decidedly not crazy. It was clear, however, that their faith above all else was strongly shaping the way they interpreted their station in life. Confronted with a force so ubiquitous and unyielding, it makes sense to ask working-class believers how they use their faith to find meaning in life. Does a person’s religious identity compel them to upend the moneychangers’ tables or capitulate to a society divided by class disparities? It is not enough to say that religion should arouse the consciousness of people to “do justice and love kindness” (Micah 6:8).

All religions declare that people should be treated as God’s children. Very often these faiths come together to speak on behalf of exploited workers. In the late summer of 2006 a coalition of four hundred Chicago religious leaders spoke out in support of a hospitality union negotiating a new contract for thousands of hotel workers. The group, including Father Larry Dowling and Ahmed Rehab, the executive director of the Council on American Islamic Relations, signed a “Hospitality and Human Dignity Scroll.” Rabbi Victor Mirelman, president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis, also signed the document and clearly stated what is true of every Abrahamic faith: “To exploit or oppress a worker because one has the power to do so is to offend God.”²⁸ Yet what the religious texts pronounce and leaders pontificate about is not the best source of faith’s impact on a person’s life. To know the difference that faith actually makes in some-

one's life requires asking believers to talk about their spirituality between daily prayer sessions, and after Saturday temple or Sunday services.

In the final analysis, a comparison of how faith and secular life merge among different socioeconomic groups is very likely to reveal important class differences. Tex Sample has already admonished the Christian church for not responding to the economic and social realities that assault working people everyday. He writes that "blue-collar Americans are caught in a web of ideology and relative powerlessness," and insists that the Christian church needs to "take seriously the empowerment of working-class people and the poor."²⁹ Luminary Catholic priests from the "Right Reverend New Dealer" John A. Ryan to the beloved Jack Egan and Monsignor George Higgins of the Chicago archdiocese were also fiery partisans for the working class. Higgins was a familiar presence in union halls because he believed that by being there the "church signals its support for the legitimate aspirations of working people."³⁰

Chicago's "labor priest" concretely integrated into his ministry the profound meaning of God's relationship to human work as expressed powerfully in the 1981 Encyclical Letter of Pope John Paul II, *Labor Exercens*. The Catholic pontiff annunciated that the Spirit, values, and freedom are not introduced into the world through humankind's pious relationship to a higher presence, but as Gregory Baum explains, the Holy Spirit "emerges from the exigencies of labor itself."³¹ John Paul II reconfirmed the "fundamental truth that man, created in the image of God, shares by his work in the activity of the Creator and that, within the limits of his own human capabilities, man in a sense continues to develop that activity, and perfects it as he advances further and further in the discovery of the resources and values contained in the whole of creation."³²

Religious support for labor and the people who do the world's creative work was also enumerated numerous times in the Old and New Testaments. An Internet Bible search of the word "work" returned over four hundred matching verses.³³ While not all of them address work in the sense of labor, most references, like "I will render to the man according to his works" (Proverbs 24:29) and "the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the works of thine hand which thou doest" (Deuteronomy 14:29), connote an unconditional moral obligation to act justly toward workers. The theological turn to work as a co-creative act with God was represented by the way many workers spoke of their employment. Work was part of the earth's stewardship and it unfolded in the "sacred space" that Verna Dozier pragmatically defined as "where mothers tend their children, teachers guide their students, police officers patrol the streets, doctors care for their patients, [and] laborers ply their trade."³⁴

In support of a Christian gospel of work is the National Center for the Laity. The center was formed in 1978 to perpetuate the principles of the Second Vatican Council and to promote the importance of Christian ministries in daily life. The Center for the Laity's founding charter declared that the organization sought "to redirect the church's strategic approach to social action and to urban ministry; to refocus attention on the secular role of the laity." One of its primary endeavors is the publication of a national newsletter, *Initiatives*. The monthly publication features information and resources chronicling the numerous ways that everyday life calls up opportunities to defend and promote Christian principles by supporting the work that people perform. Newsletters published between 2003 and 2005 addressed "taking the initiative" in health care, the classroom, against global poverty, in business ethics, in meat processing, in the labor movement, assisting the unemployed, on wages, among farmworkers, for human rights, on pay disparity, on the global economy, and against materialism.³⁵ Consistently the National Center for the Laity has asked rank-and-file Christians and pastoral leaders to examine how their faith informed their vocation.

Jewish religious law (*Halachah*) and writings have also long acknowledged respect for the dignity of labor.³⁶ As Michael Perry, chairman of the Chicago Jewish Labor Committee details in *Labor Rights in the Jewish Tradition*, Jewish teaching has for centuries comprehensively recognized labor rights. From Exodus' "six days thou shalt do thy work" to Talmudic passages like "Love labor and hate mastery and seek no acquaintance with the ruling power," work in the Jewish faith has been highly valued.³⁷ Talmudic scholars have interpreted passages from the Torah and other documents to provide workers with numerous labor protections. Perry, who is also a staff member of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees Union, Council 31, points out that an "entire class of Talmudic labor law deals with conditions of work, establishing rights that in many instances foreshadow modern trade union practices."³⁸ As evidence of Perry's insights, Jewish community leaders and organized labor in Chicago have built a strong contemporary relationship through an annual Labor Seder.³⁹

The Muslim community, and advocates for labor rights as well, share common goals of social justice, economic fairness, and decent treatment for workers. When the prophet Muhammad began teaching in Mecca, he challenged an abusive economic structure that permitted the rich to exploit the poor. The central place reserved in Islam for the unity of faith and good works was highlighted in 2001 as Muslim leaders met in Washington, DC at the "Islam and Labor: Forging Partnerships Conference."

The meeting was convened by the Muslim Public Affairs Council and the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice. Muslim imams from around the country pointed out that Islam recognizes the themes of worker justice, equality, the dignity of work, and employer responsibilities toward their employees. Imam Abdul Malik from Minnesota noted that the prophet Muhammad and his companions had ended slavery in Arabia, but that now a new “wage slavery” had emerged in the world. Just as Muhammad had worked 1,400 years ago to unravel an economic structure that held an underclass in bondage, Malik made clear that today’s Islam equally holds that “no matter whether you are working in the corporate penthouse, or down in the basement sorting the mail, all people have rights. They’re equal before the Lord.”⁴⁰

Bringing together the efforts of numerous community, religious, and labor organizations to promote a spiritual message of dignified work is the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice (NICWJ). Formed in 1991, NICWJ calls upon shared religious values to mobilize the faithful of all denominations to advocate on behalf of worker rights. It has pursued worker rights in many different forms. The organization has trained seminary students to “witness and engage in struggles for fairness” for workers. It has developed a “Labor in the Pulpit” program bringing people of all faiths into different houses of worship on Labor Day to “preach” a special message about the nexus of faith and work.⁴¹ The Interfaith Committee has sponsored numerous forums on worker rights and social justice. NICWJ has also actively participated in worker campaigns around the country for fair treatment, decent pay, and the right to unionize. In every case the organization has boldly pronounced the inseparable connection between being a faithful servant of God and doing good works in the workplace.⁴²

The cumulative effort of faith-based groups to rally believers of all denominations to a collective and individual respect for God’s co-creative partnership with human beings is a time-honored moralistic championing of the poor and working class. It is a movement with deep roots in the American cultural tradition. Prophetic traditions (speaking out for what is right as the ancient religious prophets spoke out against the powerful) on behalf of the economically oppressed reach back in American history and parallel the country’s nineteenth-century transition from a rural-farming to a twentieth-century urban–manufacturing society.⁴³ In the twenty-first century, world-shattering economic shifts underway since World War II have now provided faith–community–labor coalitions with a new “world order,” where workers confront the destructive imperatives of “one market under God.”⁴⁴ While the cultural wars waged over the last three decades

by religious and secular conservatives against abortion, gay marriage, the theory of evolution, and the constitutional separation of church and state may have come to dominate the public debate over religious values and secular life, I believe that a quieter and more meaningful approach to God is practiced in working-class households.

It is an approach visible in the minutiae of coping with everyday life activities and in the challenges and temptations of human relationships. Working-class believers regularly march off to worship services, put money in the collection plate, and believe in a loving, all-powerful God. If you take the time to ask them, they will also tell you that they, more or less, have ideas about a great number of other religious subjects. But for the most part, their faith begins and ends with God. What happens in between, however, is where working-class faith is really practiced and defined. Faith is shaped by the need to catch the early bus to get to work. Faith is framed by the long hours invested in finishing up the office paperwork. Faith is a carpenter's perfect cut and the teacher's inspiring lesson plan. Faith is stretching a paycheck a little longer, while helping God to keep the building you work in a lot cleaner. Faith is holding a sick person's hand and writing a letter to a politician about bus safety. Faith is tolerating an abusive boss or walking off your job to demand better treatment. Faith is doing your job well. Faith is living with pain, going to work, and being thankful. Faith is ultimately what you do in the name of God. For working-class believers desirous of living a life faithful to God's covenant, "eventually all the theory, the ideals and the well-meaning words must give way to practice, action, the real world and people's concrete situations."⁴⁵

The religion practiced by working-class Christians, Jews, and Muslims comes with all the institutional elements that necessitate a faithful following and provides for those who need to gather in common. For some members their church, mosque, and synagogue offer the only essential teachings about God's essence and will. It is enough to worship and do no harm. Other people of faith find the inspiration to be opponents of social injustice and human exploitation beyond the sacred grounds of formal worship. For them an affirmative collective act to bring justice to the world, including the workplace, is necessary. Some, of course, go regularly to church and fight for things like affordable housing, health care for all, and an end to racism. Despite the differences in how faith was lived, every worker claimed to deeply love God. What it meant to love God, however, included a wide spectrum of beliefs and behaviors. If faith was truly the embodiment of that enduring love, then *actually loving God* should have been practiced in what my late father-in-law called a

person's do-gooding." Donald Spoto put it in the following exacting and socially conscious way:

To care about the plight of the poor, the sick, the victims of war, poverty, epidemics and injustice; to cry out against those who would exploit the disenfranchised and abuse the powerless; to love our friends and those who have a claim on our compassion; to attend wholeheartedly, generously and passionately, in so far as we can, to the needs of others—this is what it means to love God.⁴⁶

While few of the workers in this book lived out their faith in such socially dynamic forms, they did recognize a deepening relationship with God in the service they did for others. Meeting human need and acting for the benefit of others was an act of faith. Perhaps what most working people continue to find in the daily application of their faith was best articulated by Sherwin Epstein, the Jewish meat cutter: "just be good to other people." Amen, brother, amen.

NOTES

Introduction

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2. See chapter 2, pp. 43–44 in Robert Bruno, *Steel Worker Alley: How Class Works in Youngstown* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

3. Thomas Fuechtmann and Robin Lovin, *Steeple and Stacks: Religion and the Steel Crisis in Youngstown, Ohio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

4. In a Newsweek/BeliefNet Poll, Princeton Survey Research Associates found that 79 percent of Americans were either “spiritual” or “religious” (*Newsweek*, August 29/September 5, 2005, 48); An American Religious Identity Survey conducted in 2001 by the Graduate School of the City University of New York found that 86.8 percent of Americans were religious (www.gc.cuny.edu/studies/aris). According to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 87 percent of Americans claimed that religion was “very” or “fairly” important in their lives (www.peoplepress.org/reports).

5. The phrase was from Cale Aardsma, the pastor at Park Lane Reform Christian Church, in Evergreen Park, Illinois.

6. Lori and her husband, Greg, are members of USW Local 1999 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

7. Jeremiah 29:11, 13; all subsequent biblical quotations will be taken from the Revised Standard Version.

8. In his book *Blue Collar Ministry: Facing Economic and Social Realities of Working People* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1984), Saint Paul School of Theology Emeritus Professor Tex Sample notes that there are no unambiguously working-class or lower-class denominations. However, citing research from the 1960s and 1980s, Sample records that the highest percentages of working-class congregants regularly attending church (roughly 20 to 30 percent) can be found in Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist, and Roman Catholic denominations. See also: Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 256 (March 1948): 84–91; Stan Gaede, "Religious Participation, Socioeconomic Status, and Belief-Orthodoxy," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16, no. 3 (September 1977): 245–53; Erich Goode, "Class Styles of Religious Sociation," *British Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 1 (March 1998): 1–16 and "Social Class and Church Participation," *American Journal of Sociology* 72, no. 1 (July 1966): 102–11.

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13. *Ibid.*, 1.

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15. Quotes are taken from Robert Wuthnow, online interview with Public Broadcasting Service's *Religion and Ethics Newsweekly*, Episode no. 534 (April 26, 2002).

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18. Data taken from the 2000 American Religion Data Archive, funded by the Lily Endowment and housed at Pennsylvania State University (www.thearda.com).

19. A brief list of Chicago community works and faith-based institutions would include the following: Albert Hunter, *Symbolic Communities: The Persistence and Change of Chicago's Local Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); James R. Barnett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Carolyn Eastwood, *Near West Side Stories: Struggles for Community in Chicago's Maxwell Street Neighborhood* (Forest Park: Lake Claremont Press, 2002); Hartmut Keil and John Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to WWI* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Dominic Candeloro, *Chicago's Italians: Immigrants, Ethnics, Americans* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2003); James B. Lagrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002); John Gerard McLaughlin, *Irish Chicago* (Chicago:

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25. Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement: The Intellectual and Spiritual Origins* (New York: Paulist Press, 2006); National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1989); John Coleman, ed., *One Hundred Years of Catholic Social Thought* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis

Books, 1991); Gregory Baum, *The Priority of Labor: A Commentary on Laborem Exercens* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982); David Byers, *Justice in the Marketplace: Collected Statements of the Vatican and the United States Catholic Bishops on Economic Policy, 1891–1984* (AAA, 1985); Ronald C. White and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976); Christopher H. Evans, *The Kingdom Is Always But Coming: A Life of Walter Rauschenbusch* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Erdmans Publishing, 2004); Steven Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Marc Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

26. One major exception to the nonworking-class Jewish congregation was the Orthodox North Shore congregation, Agudas Achim. The Rabbi Philip Leftkowitz was very gracious in explaining to me that his members were all elderly nonworking immigrant Russian Jews who spoke no English and were actually surviving on very meager incomes.

27. By comparison Jewish household income in 1996 was \$51, 871, Catholic was \$35,788, Missouri/Wisconsin Lutheran \$37,686, and United Methodist \$33,893. See Christian Smith and Robert Faris, “Socioeconomic Inequality in the American Religious System: An Update and Assessment,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44, no. 1 (2005): 95–104.

28. According to the *National Jewish Population Survey* and *The American Jewish Identity Survey*, American Jews are asked to self-identify as “secular,” “somewhat secular,” “somewhat religious,” or “religious.” The surveys revealed that secular Jews are less likely to be congregational members than religious Jews. In addition, Reform Jews are more likely to have a secular orientation to the world, while Orthodox Jews express a much more religious perspective (2001).

29. Armand Larive, *After Sunday: A Theology of Work* (New York: Continuum Press, 2004).

30. Tex Sample, *Blue Collar Ministry: Facing Economic and Social Realities of Working People* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press 1984).

31. Larive, *After Sunday*, ix.

32. *Ibid.*, 1.

33. *Ibid.*, 2.

34. The quote comes from Laurie Beth Jones’s *Jesus CEO: Using Ancient Wisdom for Visionary Leadership* (New York: Hyperion 1995). Just a few very other eclectic representative examples from the business-oriented “faith and work” movement are Os Hillman’s *The 9 to 5 Window* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2005) and Hillman’s International Coalition of Workplace Ministries and Web site, *Marketplace Leaders: Helping You Fulfill God’s Calling* (www.icwm.net); The Faith and Work Project (faithandwork@improvement.co.uk); “God and Business,” *Fortune Magazine*, July 16, 2001; “Spirituality in the Workplace,” *Business Week*, November 1999; Russell Shorto, “Faith at Work,” *New York Times Magazine*, October 31, 2004; “God in the Workplace,” *Business Reform Magazine*, January/March 2003; *The Professional Association for People Involved with Spirituality in the Workplace* (www.spiritatwork.com); and Billy Graham’s cohosting of the His Presence in the Workplace Conference in Asheville, North Carolina in 2003. Additionally, according to Pat Hammond of Intervarsity Press there were seventy-nine books published on faith and work in 2000 alone.

35. Reference is to Os Hillman’s International Coalition of Workplace Miniseries and Web site.

36. For a definition of religious employment discrimination see D. Douglas Shureen, "What Is 'Religion' for Purposes of Employment Discrimination Cases?" *Employees Relations Law Journal* 29, no. 4 (Spring 2004): 34–43.

37. Helen Irvin, "Proselytizing in the Workplace Carries Risk of Religious Harassment Disputes," *Daily Labor Report*, Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, DC, 151 (August 6, 2004): C1–C4.

38. *Ibid.*, C1.

39. *Ibid.*, C4. The bill in 2003 was titled the Workplace Religious Freedom Act.

40. Douglas Sherman and William Hendricks, *Your Work Matters to God* (Colorado Springs, CO: Navspress, 1987).

41. The second quote is from 1 Timothy 5:19 in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Revised Standard Version* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

42. Quoted from page 425 of Robert Wuthnow, "Overcoming Status Distinctions? Religious Involvement, Social Class, Race, and Ethnicity in Friendship Patterns," *Sociology of Religion* 64, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 423–42.

43. Sherman and Hendricks, *Your Work Matters to God*.

44. Alan Wolfe, *Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Live Our Faith* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

45. Larive, *After Sunday*, 3.

46. Joanne Ciulla, *The Working Life: The Promise and Betrayal of Modern Work* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2000).

47. *Ibid.*, xii.

48. Gregory Augustine Pierce is a founding member of the Business Executives for Economic Justice and author of *Spirituality@ Work: 10 Ways to Balance Your Life on-the-Job* (Skokie, IL: ACTA Publications, 2003). The quote is taken from a letter to the editor published in the *New York Times Magazine* and reprinted on his Web site, Spirituality @ Work Dialogue (gpierce@actpublications.com).

49. Studs Terkel, *Working* (New York: Avon Books, 1972).

50. C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (New York: HarperCollins Books, 2001), 116.

51. *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2004*, United States Census Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, DC and Kaiser Family Foundation and Health Research and Educational Trust, Employer Health Benefits 2004 Survey (www.kff.org/insurance).

52. A bankruptcy court awarded United Airline executives \$45 million in stock as part of a post-bankruptcy reorganization plan. United's workers, however, were forced to accept over \$4 billion in pay and benefit cuts. For an overview of the airline industry and United Airline story, see Beth Almeida, "Weathering the Perfect Storm: Defined Benefit Pensions Plans in the Airline Industry," *Labor and Employment Relations Association Series, Proceedings of the 57th Annual Meeting, 2005*. For a history of the steel industry collapse, see Robert Bruno, "USWA-Bargained and State-Oriented Responses to the Recurrent Steel Crisis," *Labor Studies Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 67–91. An overview assessing the economic rationale for these corporate evasions can be found in Roger Lowenstein's "The End of Pensions," *New York Times*, October 30, 2005; Bernard Condon, "The Coming Pension Crisis," *Forbes Magazine*, August 12, 2004; and Douglas V. Orr, "Strategic Bankruptcy and Private Pension Default," *Journal of Economic Issues* 32 (1998): 669–88.

53. A review of each of these accounting and corporate scandals with a special emphasis on the Enron Corporation can be found in David Teather's "Four Years On,

Enron Men Face Their Day of Reckoning,” *The Guardian*, January 26, 2006. Also the Ralph Nader-founded Citizen Works provided a criminal police-like blotter of corporate malfeasance and illegality at www.citizenworks.org.

54. Robert Wuthnow, *God and Mammon in America* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
55. Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977).
56. Ciulla, *The Working Life*, 49.
57. James Bernard Murphy, *The Moral Economy of Labor: Aristotelian Themes in Economic Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), and Al Genie, *My Job, My Self: Work and the Creation of the Modern Individual* (London: Routledge Press, 2000).
58. Martin Luther, “The Method and Fruits of Justification,” in *The World’s Great Sermons, Volume I*, comp. Grenville Kleiser (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1909), 113–43.
59. Dorothy Sayers, “Why Work?” in *Leading Lives That Matter: What We Should Do and Who We Should Be*, ed. Mark R. Schwehn and Dorothy C. Bass (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006), 195.
60. Miroslav Volf, *Work in the Spirit: Toward a Theology of Work* (Portland, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001), 126.

Chapter 1

1. C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (New York: HarperCollins Books, 1996).
2. C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (New York: Bantam, 1961).
3. My mother accepted her culpability. In her journal entry for December 18, 2002, she wrote, “Can’t blame this on anyone. Just me. Started smoking when it was the thing to do. Stupid!!”
4. Quote is from C. S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1955), 20–21. The “thing” refers to his prayers for his dying mother.
5. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 25.
6. Bart D. Ehrman, *God’s Problem: How the Bible Fails to Answer Our Most Important Question—Why We Suffer* (New York: Harper One, 2008), 3. Subsequent references to this volume will be by page number within the text.
7. Mike Mason, *The Gospel According to Job: An Honest Look at Pain and Doubt from the Life of One Who Lost Everything* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2002), xi.
8. Quoted in Abraham Cohen, *Everyman’s Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 18.
9. Katie was one of the founding members of the Coalition for Labor Union Women (CLUW) formed in 1974. CLUW was organized by women in labor unions to address the critical needs of unorganized women and to make unions more responsive to the needs of all women. CLUW’s founding conference took place in Chicago and Katie was the city chapter’s first director.
10. Father Robert Miller, “In Memoriam, Rev. Paul Bernard Smith,” at www.holyangels.com.
11. In 2005 the black population equaled 85.5 percent of the area (United States Census Bureau, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, DC).
12. For data on unemployment insurance, see the many reports compiled by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities at www.cbpp.org.

13. Information about Family in Faith's history was taken from the *History of Family in Faith, January 1993–August 2006* (document provided to me from church administrative assistant, Karen Schultz).

14. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 114.

15. Wallace Best has written that the “dual themes of captivity and deliverance, or captivities and deliverances, have comprised . . . the most intimate and enduring aspects of black life.” See *Passionately Human, No Less Divine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

16. Quote taken from the church sermon on September 19, 2004.

17. Red Aurebach and John Feinstein, *Let Me Tell You a Story: A Lifetime in the Game* (New York: Little Brown & Co., 2004). Feinstein also told the story in an October 30, 2006 interview on National Public Radio.

18. Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto, *The State of Working America 2004/2005* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 101–2.

19. In this case, both jobs are held by Gerry. But from 1979 to 2000 low- and moderate-income wives increased their working hours by between 60 percent and 70 percent (see Mishel et al., *The State of Working America 2004/2005*, 102).

20. The value of the minimum wage has fallen 22.9 percent since 1967 (see Mishel et al., *The State of Working America 2004/2005*, 198). Rapidly falling unionization rates (24 percent in 1973 to 12.5 percent in 2003), and the economic loss to workers in terms of wages and benefits are detailed in *The State of Working America*, 189–197.

21. A. J. Arberry, trans., *The Koran Interpreted* (New York: Touchstone 1955), vol. II, “Jonah,” chapter 105, 237.

Chapter 2

1. Stephen Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 10.

2. Marcus J. Borg, *Meeting Jesus Again for the First Time* (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, 1995), 14.

3. Michael Zweig does a nice job breaking down the working population by class in his book *Working Class Majority: Americas Best Kept Secret* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2001).

4. Walt Whitman, “Song of Myself,” verse 1274, in *Leaves of Grass, The First (1855) Edition*, ed. Malcolm Crowley (New York: Penguin Classics, 1986), 83.

5. While Denise's observation about construction work crews is anecdotal, it is not without historic credibility. The construction industry in the Chicago-metro area has an ugly history of racial and gender discrimination. In most cases it was either a lawsuit or the threat of one that finally opened unionized apprenticeship trade programs to people of color and women.

6. Part I, “Thunder,” Sura 13:10, in *The Koran Interpreted*, trans. A. J. Arberry (New York: TouchstoneBooks, 1955), 268.

7. Not working during the time that the employee is being paid to work.

8. Quote is taken from David S. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe? The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 97.

9. Quotes taken from Abraham Cohen, *Everyman's Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 93–94.

10. Barry Blaustein belonged to Local 1546 of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

11. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe?* 173–74.

12. In *What Do Jews Believe?* David S. Ariel defines *mitzvot* “as laws based on God’s commandments and the practices developed by our sages specifically in order to implement God’s will.” *Mitzvot* “characterize the Jewish way of life in which actions and behavior are prescribed” (159).

13. According to *Women in the Labor Force: A Databank* (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor), the occupational fields with the highest female participation was “education and health services.”

14. “The Diversity Project: Stories and Practical Learnings about the Origins of Multicultural Urban Churches,” at www.newlifetimeministries-nlm.org.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *The Story of Community Mennonite, Markham, Illinois*, transcribed by Pastor Chuck Neufeld, October 5, 2001 from a document created in the 1980s.

17. Mennonite Church USA—Online Directory, Congregational Information, Community Mennonite Church, at www.directory.mennoniteusa.org/congregation.

18. This compares to the nearly 20 percent of Mennonites in the United States who are African American, Hispanic, or Asian (*Who Are the Mennonites?—Third Way Café—Mennonite Media*, at www.thirdway.com/mennonite).

19. The complete passage is “for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me. I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me. . . . Truly, I say to you as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me” (Matthew 25:40).

20. Jesus’ social class is described by John Dominic Crossan in *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 23–28.

21. Golgotha or Calvary is the name given to the hill on which Jesus was crucified. The hill is described as being outside Jerusalem, but its location is not certain. Calvary is mentioned in all four accounts of Jesus’ crucifixion in the Christian canonical Gospels.

22. Borg, *Meeting Jesus Again*, 75.

23. Shamus Toomey, “Our Lady of Guadalupe Home to Nation’s First St. Jude Shrine,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 5, 2006, A11.

24. One of those charter members was Wayne Huizenga who went on to own Waste Management Inc., Blockbuster Video, the Florida Marlins major league baseball team, and the Miami Dolphins national football league team. *God’s Enduring Faithfulness, Fifty Years, A History of the Park Lane Christian Reform Church, 1953–2003*, ed. Don Sinnema (Park Lane Fiftieth Anniversary Committee, 2003), 75.

25. *Ibid.*, 9.

26. *Ibid.*, 15.

27. Isaiah 65: 21–25.

Chapter 3

1. Jack Miles, *God, A Biography* (New York: Vantage Books, 1995), 123.

2. The trilogy of God’s is borrowed from Karen Armstrong’s *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 98.

3. Stephen Hart, *What Does the Lord Require? How American Christians Think about Social Justice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 1996).

4. Mark Chaves, *Congregations in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 95.

5. *Ibid.*, 95.

6. Rory McVeigh and David Sikkink, "God, Politics, and Protest: Religious Beliefs and the Legitimation of Contentious Tactics," *Social Forces* 79, no. 4 (June 2001): 1425–58.

7. Evan Curry, Jerome R. Kochm, and Paul Chalfant, "Concern for God and Concern for Society: Religiosity and Social Justice," *Sociological Spectrum* 24 (2004): 663.

8. For a compelling analysis of Call to Renewal, see David S. Gutterman's *Prophetic Politics: Christian Social Movements and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005). Quote from Jim Wallis, *Faith Works: Lessons from the Life of an Activist Preacher* (New York: Random House 2000), xxvii.

9. Jim Wallis, *The Soul of Politics: Beyond "Religious Right" and "Secular Left"* (New York: Harcourt, Brace 1995), 230.

10. William Glantz, "Labor Objects to 'Super Pensions,'" *Washington Times*, April 7, 2006. Available online at: www.vuchannel.net/other-archive/news/Section-8-business-and-finance

11. The Institute for Policy Studies and United for a Fair Economy, Executive Excess 2007: The Staggering Social Cost of U.S. Business Leadership, 14th Annual CEO Compensation Survey. Available online at www.ips-dc.org

12. Glantz, "Labor Objects to 'Super Pensions.'"

13. Arthur Kennickell, Currents and Undercurrents: Changes in the Distribution of Wealth, 1989–2004, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, DC, 20551, January 30, 2006. Available from Federal Reserve Board.

14. According to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the "working poor" made up 5.6 percent of the labor force, an increase from 4.7 in 2000. "Working Poor" Number 7.8 Million, *Union Labor Report*, Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, DC, 60, no. 12 (June 16, 2006): 91.

15. Rick Wolf, "The Fallout from Falling Wages," mrzine/MonthlyReview.org/ June 12, 2006.

16. The staff of the university program published its research on St. Bruno and other select Chicago-area religious institutions as *Public Religion Faith in the City and Urban Transformation*, ed. Lowell W. Livezey (New York: New York University Press, 2000). St. Bruno was included in Elfriede Wedam's contribution on Southwest Side churches, "God Doesn't Ask What Language I Pray In," in *Public Religion Faith in the City*, 107–32.

17. Wedam, "God Doesn't Ask What Language I Pray In," 112.

18. Donald Spoto, *In Silence, Why We Pray* (New York: Penguin Group 2004), 71.

19. David S. Gutterman, *Prophetic Politics: Christian Social Movements and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2005), 133.

20. Jim Wallis is quoted in Gutterman, *Prophetic Politics*, 139.

21. Since doing the research for this book, Father Dowling was transferred to St. Agatha Parish in Chicago. St. Agatha was the site of yet another case of pastoral sexual misconduct and the archbishop of Chicago removed the incumbent pastor. Father Dowling was installed as the parish's new spiritual leader.

22. Margaret Ramirez, "As Activist Rally, Priests Show Support by Fasting," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 2006.
23. A provision in the airline's reorganization plan granted an estimated \$15 million in equity to Tilton (see Reuters News Service, "United Airlines Emerges from Bankruptcy," February 1, 2006).
24. McCracken is a longstanding, accomplished, and respected union member and steward of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chicago Local 743.
25. Immaculate Conception Parish Diamond Jubilee Commemorative, 1882–1957 available at the Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago, Illinois, 8–21.
26. *Ibid.*, 21–26.
27. The church's commitment to class equality was further enforced after Pope Pius XI published the pro-labor papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. In 1931 a "triduum of supplication" was held at the parish to bring attention to the plight of workers and to improving labor conditions. See *Immaculate Conception Parish Diamond Jubilee Commemorative, 1882–1957*, 83.
28. *Ibid.*, 433–34.
29. Froma Harrop, "Why the Minimum Wage Wins," www.TomPaine.com, April 13, 2006.
30. Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 91.
31. "The Forenoon," Sura 93: 6–8, in *The Koran Interpreted*, 342, trans. A. J. Arberry (New York: Touchstone Books, 1955).
32. Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 229.
33. *Ibid.*, 92.
34. "Distinguished," Sura 51: 5, Arberry, trans., 185.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Quotes taken from Abraham Cohen's *Everyman's Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 196–97.
37. David S. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe? The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 62.
38. Cohen, *Everyman's Talmud*, 101.
39. For the "ten words" that express a person's duties toward God and his/her neighbor, see Exodus 20:1–17.
40. Jane Sasseen and David Polek, "White-Collar Crime: Who Does Time?" *Business Week online*, www.businessweek.com, Special Report, February 6, 2006.
41. Ford Motors took advantage of a loophole in the 2004 American Jobs Creation Act which allowed them to reduce their tax on profits repatriated from overseas from the normal 35 percent to 5.25 percent. The law never required the company to create a single job. The statistic was reported in *Newsweek*, February 6, 2006, 14.
42. The story of "Daniel in the Lions' Den" is covered in Daniel 6:6–24.
43. Darren Cushman Wood, *Blue Collar Jesus: How Christianity Supports Workers' Rights* (Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks Press, 2004), 29.
44. Unfortunately, Katie's activism is still needed. According to a 1999 study of working conditions in Chicago by the Midwest Center in Labor and Community Research, 34.4 percent of all workers were employed in jobs that met the Department of Labor definition of a sweatshop (see Midwest Center in Study at 222.clcr.org).

45. Stephen Franklin, "Two Lines in Caterpillar Strike: Frustration, Hope," *Chicago Tribune*, June 23, 1994, Business Page 1.

46. Reverend Miller has since left the church and taken a sabbatical at Notre Dame University.

47. Genesis data taken from Genesis Housing Development Corporation, 2004 Annual Report.

48. Homelessness data was taken from the Urban Institute, *1996 National Survey of Homeless Assistance Providers and Clients*, accessed October 23, 2006, at <http://www.urban.org/publications/410496.html>. Poverty data were taken from Amy Glasmeierer's *An Atlas of Poverty in America: One Nation, Pulling Apart 1960–2003* (New York: Routledge Press, 2005). Unemployment figures come from the "The Employment Situation: September 2005," Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.

49. The story of Jesus feeding the five thousand was taken from Mark 6:30–44.

50. Quote taken from a church flyer celebrating Black History Month titled "Moving Forth with Pride," February 29, 2004.

51. Wood, *Blue Collar Jesus*, 152.

52. William Mirola, "Fighting in the Pews and Fighting in the Streets: Protestantism, Consciousness and the Eight-Hour Movement in Chicago, 1867–1912" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995), quoted in Wood, *Blue Collar Jesus*, 158.

53. Kim Vargas, "Put Seatbelts on Buses to Save Lives," Letter to the Editor, *Press Publications/Northwest DuPage*, July 5, 2001.

54. Letter from Ann Marie Ferrini, Consumer Affairs Representative, Hasbro Toys, to Mrs. Kim R. Vargas, March 20, 2004.

Chapter 4

1. Mark Chaves uses the term "repertoire" to describe specific ways that congregations behave at worship services. I think, however, the term is flexible enough so that it can be easily used to speak about broader forms of religious practice. *Congregations in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

2. K. L. Ladd and B. Spilka found intercessory prayers to be a prominent form of prayer. See "Inward, Outward, and Upward: Cognitive Aspects of Prayer," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (2002): 475–84.

3. The title is "Prayer before Work" and is not authored.

4. Leonard Fleming, "Muslim Cabbies Get Tickets While Praying," *Chicago Sun Times*, September 16, 2007, Metro 3A.

5. The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, at www.ciogc.org.

6. *Ibid.*

7. "City Worker Charged in Cab Driver's Death," CBS2 News Report, February 7, 2005, at cbs2chicago.com and "Update on Haroon Paryani Case," The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, at www.ciogc.org.

8. "Update on Haroon Paryani Case," The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, at www.ciogc.org.

9. Jewish synagogues hold ownership services on Friday evenings to commemorate the start of the Jewish shabbat or sabbath, which extends from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday. Jews also understand this period as a time to refrain from all

useful or creative work and other prohibited activities that distract the believer from fully commemorating God's creation of the universe. A good primer on the subject is Mark Dov Shapiro and Neil Waldman's *Gates of Sabbath: A Guide for Observing Shabbat* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1991).

10. A mezuzah is a piece of parchment inscribed with Hebrew verses from the Torah.

11. Quote is taken from Abraham Cohen's *Everyman's Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 41.

12. The dietary laws (as many others) were laid out in the Old Testament's book of Deuteronomy ("book of laws"), particularly 14:1–22.

13. Mark Chaves, *Congregations in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 5.

14. John Dominic Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography*, 71.

15. Quote taken from the church sermon on "Faith," September 24, 2006.

16. Armand Larive, *After Sunday: A Theology of Work* (New York: Continuum Press, 2004), 3.

17. Chaves, *Congregations in America*, 169.

18. The reference is from Matthew 5:13. In cultural terms the description "salt of the earth" has come to be applied to working people of simple means and modest wealth.

19. Edward N. Wolff, *Top Heavy: A Study of the Increasing Inequality of Wealth in America* (New York: New Press, 2001).

20. The reference to "eternal life" is from John 4:14.

21. Michael Harrington, *The Other America* (New York: Scribner, 1997).

22. Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography*, 68.

23. Tex Sample, *Blue Collar Ministry: Facing Economic and Social Realities of Working People* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1984), 108.

24. *Ibid.*

25. United Power for Action and Justice is an independent Chicago-area organization of religious bodies, neighborhood groups, and labor unions formed in 1997 to fight for the "common good."

26. Larry Dowling, interviewed by author, October 8, 2005, Chicago, IL.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. Catholic teachings on the economy and workplace come from many different papal and church documents. A good summary of church principles is found in a Statement of the U.S. Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: A Catholic Framework for Economic Life*. Catholic and non-Christian positions on economics, workers, and unions are available online from the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice at www.igc.org/nicj.

31. For Eight-Hour Day and Solidarity Forever lyrics, see Edith Fowke, *Songs of Work and Protest* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973).

32. Dowling, interviewed by author, October 8, 2005, Chicago, IL.

33. *Initiatives* 169 (January 2008): 4.

34. Steven C. Warner, *Christ Has No Body Now But Yours* (Franklin Park, IL: World Library Publications, 2003).

35. The word "liturgy" means "work of the people." From St. Denis worship on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, March 21, 2004.

36. One example of real protection was the church's use as a "sanctuary" for workers employed at a nearby Home Depot who were looking for a safe place to meet with union organizers. The church formed a "workers' rights committee" to welcome and assist the union. An account of the event was shared in an e-mail from William J. Black of the Southwest Organizing Project on February 12, 2004.

37. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1995).

38. Dowling, interviewed by author, October 8, 2005, Chicago, IL.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. The Advocate Health Care system was created in 1995 through a merger of the Evangelical Health Systems Corporation and Lutheran General Health Systems. According to the company's Web site (www.advocatehealth.com), Advocate is the largest not-for-profit health-care delivery system in metropolitan Chicago and employs nearly 25,000 people.

43. "Faith in Action," *Hospitality Accountability Project, Report No. 5*, Service Employees International Union, at www.hospitalmonitor.org.

44. Ibid.

45. Standard and Poor's, "Advocate Health Care Network, Illinois," May 2004 quarterly ratings update; online at www.ratingsdirect.com.

46. For the immediate quote see Leviticus 25:10. The entire Jubilee passage is 25:1–55.

47. See Robert Wuthnow and J. H. Evans, eds., *The Quiet Hand of God: Faith-based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), and Robert Wuthnow, "Mobilizing Civic Engagement: The Changing Impact of Religious Involvement," in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, ed. M. Fiorina and Theda Skocpol (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1988).

48. Donald Spoto, *In Silence, Why We Pray* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 130.

Chapter 5

1. Miroslav Volf, *Work in the Spirit: Toward a Theology of Work* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 126.

2. Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1965), 196, 294.

3. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 126.

4. Larive, *After Sunday*, 25.

5. Quoted in Joane Ciulla, *The Working Life* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2000), 51.

6. Ibid., 26.

7. Quote is from Wally Kroeker, reprinted in *Initiatives* 155 (April 2006): 1.

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10. James Bernard Murphy, *The Moral Economy of Labor: Aristotelian Themes in Economic Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 1.

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12. Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

13. Larive, *After Sunday*, 1.

14. The idea of a “calling” was best popularized by sociologist Max Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner’s Press, 1958).

15. United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Work in America: Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1973).

16. General Social Survey, University of Chicago.

17. Eugene McCarragher was quoted in “A Catholic Work Ethic,” *Initiatives* 159 (October 2006): 1.

18. John 14:12. The verse is completed by “and greater works than these will he do, because I go to the Father.”

19. The full passage is at Isaiah 44:9–17.

20. Started in 1984 as a soup kitchen, over these past twenty years “The Port” has grown into the “Port Ministries.” As described on its Web site (www.theportministries.org), “The Port” is

a multi-faceted ministry to the poor, homeless, families and children (currently housed in 5 buildings) that still continues its mission in the simple ways of our beginnings. As we pray and trust, we vividly see and experience the Lord’s presence, care and love daily . . . in the people we serve and in the many benefactors and volunteers that respond and give from their hearts to serve those in need. We see the secondary mission of Port Ministries fulfilled: giving others the opportunity to touch and serve Jesus in His “distressing disguise.”

21. “Enwrapped,” chapter 73, verse 15, in *The Koran Interpreted*, trans. A. J. Arberry (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 309.

22. David Jensen, *Responsive Labor: A Theology of Work* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 47–48.

23. Al Gini, *My Job, My Self: Work and the Creation of the Modern Individual* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 5. Sherwin is actually part of a crew that daily cuts approximately 1,500 pounds of meat a day.

24. Abraham Cohen, *Everyman’s Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 193.

25. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 189.

26. Matthew Fox, *The Reinvention of Work: A New Vision of Livelihood for Our Time* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 125.

27. *Ibid.*, 126.

28. David S. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe? The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 47.

29. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 108.

30. When Robert Wuthnow asked people in the labor force if they agreed with the statement “I feel God called me to the particular line of work I am in,” only 32 percent did (“The Changing Nature of Work in the United States: Implications for Vocation, Ethics, and Faith,” *Cresset* [Michaelmas 2003]: 11).

31. Quote taken from Sarah Stockton, reprinted in *Initiatives* 155 (April 2006): 2.
32. Sharon is a member of the International Association of Machinists.
33. There have been numerous books, magazine articles, and newspaper stories written about the much-debated conservative Catholic order. The official Web site of Opus Dei is www.opusdei.org.
34. For the Marriage at Cana story, see John 2:9–10.
35. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 111.
36. *Ibid.*, 113.
37. Gilbert Meilaender, “Friendship and Vocation,” in *Leading Lives That Matter: What We Should Do and Who We Should Be*, ed. Mark R. Schwehn and Dorothy C. Bass (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006), 231.
38. See Mark 4:35–40; Matthew 6:25–34; Luke 12:22–32; John 14:1, 14: 27.
39. A reference to Adam and Eve’s disobeying God’s direction not to eat from the “tree of the knowledge of good and evil” in Genesis 2:15–17.
40. Goren Agrell, *Work, Toil and Sustenance: An Examination of the Views of Work in the New Testament, Taking into Consideration Views Found in Old Testament, Intertestamental, and Early Rabbinic Writings*, trans. Stephen Westerholm (Lund: Verbum H. Olsson, 1976), 7–13.
41. Larive, *After Sunday*, 11.
42. *Ibid.*, 11.
43. “The Cow,” chapter 2, verse 180, in *The Koran Interpreted*, 52.
44. Larive, *After Sunday*, 13, and Douglas Meeks, *God the Economist: The Doctrine of God and Political Economy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989).
45. For instance, in John 6:1–14.
46. Considerable information, history, and the Protocols of Agreement, along with assorted articles about SEIU’s Hospital Accountability Project, can be found at the union’s Web site, www.hospitalmonitor.org.
47. See “The High Price of Growth at Resurrection Health Care: Corporatization of Quality Care,” AFSCME Council 31 (November 2005). More information about AFSCME’s campaign at Resurrection Hospital can be found at www.afscmeorganizers.org.
48. Bob Gunter, “When Was the Last Time You went to Church?” *Heartbeat*, Illinois State Postal Workers Union Local 854, June 23, 2007, 7–8.
49. Darren Cushman Wood identifies creativity, communalism, and compassion as “those aspects of the imagery of God in every human being that shows how we should view work” (*Blue Collar Jesus*, 148).
50. Douglas Sherman and William Hendricks, *Your Work Matters to God* (Colorado Springs, CO: Navpress, 1987), 49.
51. *Ibid.*, 21.
52. The quote is from Meeks, *God the Economist*, 146.
53. Barbara Rose, “Religious Faith Finding Place in Workplace,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 23, 2005, 1.

Chapter 6

1. Robert Wuthnow, “The Changing Nature of Work in the United States: Implications for Vocation, Ethics, and Faith,” *Cresset* (Michaelmas 2003): 11.

2. Miroslav Volf, *Work in the Spirit: Toward a Theology of Work* (Portland, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001), 126.
3. Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 99.
4. Quotes are taken from David S. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe? The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 74.
5. Martin Luther, "The Method and Fruits of Justification," in *The World's Great Sermons, Volume I*, comp. Grenville Kleiser (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1909), 113–43.
6. Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 139.
7. Quote is from Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe?* 209.
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9. Quote is from Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe?* 208.
10. John Kass, "Decency Drives Cabbie to Do the Right Thing," *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 2007, sec. 1, p. 2.
11. "Salvation," chapter 25, verse 15, in *The Koran Interpreted*, trans. A. J. Arberry (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), II:57.
12. "The House of Imran," chapter 3, verse 140, in *The Koran Interpreted*, I:91; "Cattle," chapter 6, verse 65, *ibid.*, 157.
13. "The Kingdom," chapter 67, verse 25, *ibid.*, II:292.
14. "Repentance," chapter 9, verse 35, *ibid.*, I:211.
15. "Salvation," chapter 25, *ibid.*, II:56.
16. Matthew 25:35–37; Mark, Luke.
17. Lindy Scott, *Economic Koinonia within the Body of Christ* (Mexico City: Editorial Kyrios, 1980), 21.
18. Ariel, *What Do Jews Believe?* 48.
19. Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 114.
20. *Ibid.*, 114.
21. "The Cow," chapter 2, verse 155, in *The Koran Interpreted*, I:48.
22. "Man," chapter 76, verse 30, *ibid.*, II:316.
23. "Enwrapped," chapter 63, verse 15, *ibid.*, II:309.
24. I have also participated as a speaker on many occasions.
25. For a brief history of U-U, see Peter W. Williams, *America's Religions: From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 220–25.
26. To be aware of worship themes or to attend New Garden Community Church services, go to www.NewGardenUU.org.
27. New Garden Community Church service program, February 6, 2005.
28. Reverend Jean Siegfried Darling sermon for New Garden Community Church, "A Middle Way," September 17, 2006.
29. Reverend Jean Siegfried Darling sermon for New Garden Community Church, "Origins," September 10, 2006.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Siegfried Darling sermon for New Garden Community Church, "A Middle Way," September 17, 2006.
33. *Ibid.*

34. Ibid.
35. For a fuller description of the Port Ministries, go to www.theportministries.org.
36. For a fuller description of United Power for Action and Justice, go to www.united-power.org.
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Conclusion

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13. Matthew Fox, *The Reinvention of Work: A New Vision of Livelihood for Our Time* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 127.
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APPENDIX

Roster of Interviews

CONGREGATION: FAMILY IN FAITH LUTHERAN CHURCH

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Donna Schiavone	Massage Therapist	Italian	41	8-10-04
John Schiavone	Data Entry Technician	Italian	46	8-10-04
George Gennardo	School Custodian	Italian	44	8-21-04
Todd Macdonald	Painter (u)	Scottish	42	8-27-04
Craig Rutz	Police Officer (u)	Polish	53	8-07-04
Gerry Vargas	Shipping Clerk	Mexican	41	8-21-04
Kim Vargas	Housewife	Russian	36	8-21-04
Patty Brown	Day-care Provider	English	36	8-21-04

(u) = union member

**CONGREGATION:
CHURCH OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOR JESUS CHRIST EVANGELICAL**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Josie Winston	School Social Worker	African American	55	9-26-04
Ron McCracken	Unemployed	African American	47	9-26-04
James Word	Customer Service Representative	African American	41	9-26-04
Lamont Harrison	Public Relations	African American	21	9-26-04
Florence Joseph	Bank Clerk	African American	62	9-26-04
Cheryl Lawrence	Customer Service	African American	46	9-26-04
Reginald Earle McCracken	Pastor/Project Assistant (u)	African American	51	9-26-04
Philip Blunt	Records Clerk	African American	26	9-26-04
Steve Kennedy	Store Clerk	African American	18	9-26-04
Jason Benoit	Store Clerk	African American	24	9-26-04
Angela Blunt	Customer Service Representative	African American	29	9-26-04

**CONGREGATION:
NEW GARDEN COMMUNITY UNIVERSALIST-UNITARIAN CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Jean Darling	Computer Technician		55	6-2-05
Dave Karcher	School Teacher	German	50	6-2-05
Sharon Perry	Food Service Worker	African American	51	6-2-05
Owen Wagner	Dog Walker	German	58	6-2-05

**CONGREGATION:
PARK LANE CHRISTIAN REFORM CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/ Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
John Dykstra	Computer Technician	Dutch	46	7-17-04
Linda Schutt	Registered Nurse	Dutch	49	7-10-04
Andy Schutt	Truck Driver (u-retired)	Dutch	75	7-10-04
Marvin DeVries	Electrician (u-retired)	Dutch	78	7-10-04
Sandra Aardsma	Registered Nurse	Dutch	49	7-10-04
Craig Doornbos	Truck Driver (u)	Dutch	45	7-10-04
Tim Goudzwaard	Special Ed Teacher	Dutch	38	7-17-04
William Kamp	Field Service Technician	Dutch	46	7-10-04
Marilyn VanderBout	Secretary	Dutch	53	7-11-04

**CONGREGATION:
COMMUNITY MENNONITE CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Don Burklow	Maintenance	German	55	3-6-04
Edmund Mix	Store Clerk (u-retired)	African American	71	3-13-04
Ivorie Lowe	Rehab Counselor	African American	67	3-7-04
Doug Swartz	Home Remodeling	German	52	3-6-04
Martha Stinyard	Beautician (retired)	African American	69	2-28-04
Mertis Odom	Rehab Counselor (retired)	African American	70	2-28-04
Eric Shirk	Quality Control Inspector	Swedish	47	2-28-04
Karen Shirk	Nurse	Swedish	48	2-28-04
Shirley Havock	School Lunch Hostess (retired)	German	79	3-6-04
Kenneth Cook	Special Ed Teacher	African American	40	3-13-04
Chuck Kozlowsky	Postal Clerk (retired)	Lithuanian	68	2-28-04
Gwen Kozlowsky	Housewife	Lithuanian	67	2-28-04
Denis Wilson	Registered Nurse (u)	African American	42	3-13-04
Paul Mares	Carpenter (u)	Bohemian	45	2-28-04
Sandra McDowell	Social Worker (u)	English	45	2-28-04
Barbara Lee	Food Services (u- retired)	African American	68	2-28-04

**CONGREGATION:
ST. DENIS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/ Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Thomas O'Connell	Laborer (u)	Irish	42	3-27-04
Theresa O'Connell	Office Assistant	Irish	38	3-27-04
Laura Dawson	ESL Teacher	English	47	4-3-04
Pat Glatz	Special Ed Teacher (u)	German	59	3-27-04
Ellen Kilmurry	Social Service Counselor	Irish	55	8-22-04
Ed Carrile	Carpenter (u)	French	43	4-3-04
Hank Schuberth	Telephone Installer (u- retired)	Irish	77	3-20-04
Carol Schuberth	Housewife/Artist	German	68	3-20-04
Tom Dahill	Typesetter (u- retired)	Irish	66	3-20-04
Renee Pletsch	Receptionist	German	51	3-20-04
Jim Pletsch	Truck Driver (u)	German	48	3-20-04
Larry Hill	Grave Digger	Irish	52	3-20-04

**CONGREGATION:
IMMACULATE CONCEPTION B.V.M. CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Caroline Garcia	Processing Clerk	Mexican	52	1-16-05
Rudy Ramirez	Food Service (u)	Mexican	62	1-23-05

**CONGREGATION:
ST. BRUNO ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/ Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Barbara Bedus	Processing Clerk	Polish	58	1-24-04
Stephanie Baron	Police Academy	Polish	21	2-21-04
Donna Logisz	Rehab Counselor	Polish	51	2-21-04
Jerry Logisz	Computer Programmer	Polish	52	2-21-04
Bernice Feltz	Office Assistant	Polish	48	1-24-04
Margarita Tellez	Teacher	Mexican	41	1-24-04
Lisa Haugustyniak	Food Service	Polish	38	1-24-04
Jim Stewart	Insurance Agent (unemployed)	English	38	2-21-04
Susan Stewart	Client Service Representative	English	34	2-21-04
Sharon Aftab	Customer Care Representative (u)		41	1-31-04
Edward Bartoszek	Telephone Repair (retired)	Polish	65	1-31-04
Mira Sojka-Topor	Part-time Church Music Director	Polish	31	1-31-04
John Hindelewicz	Welder	Polish	44	1-31-04
Deborah Hindelewicz	Research and Development	Polish	38	1-31-04
Krystyna Bogdanowicz	Lab Technician	Polish	43	2-21-04

**CONGREGATION:
HOLY ANGELS CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Virginia Coleman	Clerk (u)	African American	52	4-25-04
Katie Jordan	Garment Fitter (u-retired)	African American	76	4-25-04
Arthur Reliford	Teacher	African American	49	5-16-04
Eileen Foggie	Office Clerk (retired)	African American	73	5-30-04
Rosemary Sykes	Processing Clerk	African American	52	5-2-04
Vincent Washington	Certified Assessor	African American	42	4-25-04
Sandra Houston	Circuit Board Designer (u)	African American	57	4-25-04
June Sargent	Outreach Manager for Non-Profit	African American	52	5-2-04
Rebecca Danforth	Secretary (retired)	African American	65	5-16-04
Michael Morman	Bus Driver (u)	African American	42	5-16-04

**CONGREGATION:
OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Jim Estrada	Bricklayer (u)	Mexican	40	1-22-06
Marisella Estrada	Housewife	Mexican	35	1-22-06
Jose Estrada	Salesman	Mexican	48	1-22-06
Manuel Murillo	Demolition (u)	Mexican	52	1-22-06
Jesus Flores	Factory	Mexican	35	1-22-06
Ana Valtierra	Housewife	Mexican	37	1-22-06
Javier Castro	Demolition	Mexican	35	1-22-06
Paula Castro	Teacher's Aide	Mexican	32	1-22-06
Mateo Reyes	Salesman	Mexican	42	1-22-06
Arturo Vega	Roofer (u)	Mexican	43	1-22-06
Gabriel Padilla	Scrapyard Worker	Mexican	38	1-22-06
Catalina Padilla	Housewife	Mexican	36	1-22-06
David Castillas	Demolition (u)	Mexican	43	1-22-06
Rosaria Morales	Secretary	Mexican	n/a	1-22-06
Nena Barajas	Teacher-aide	Mexican	n/a	1-22-06

**CONGREGATION:
ISLAMIC/MUSLIM BELIEVERS**

Name	Occupation	Race/ Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Mohammad Hareed	Cab Driver	Somalia	29	5-10-05
Azmat Ali	Cab Driver	Pakistan	43	5-10-05
Hussein Ali	Cab Driver	Kenya	28	5-10-05
Mohammad Khan	Cab Driver	Somalia	54	5-10-05
Omar Ali	Cab Driver	Somalia	43	5-10-05
Mohammad Abdullah	Cab Driver	Sudan	35	5-10-05
Mohammad Hussein	Restaurant Manager	India	26	5-17-05
Mustafa Ali	Cab Driver	Somalia	37	5-17-05
Mohammad Saba	Cab Driver	Somalia	31	5-17-05

JEWISH BELIEVERS

Name	Occupation	Synagogue	Age	Date of Interview
Daniel Weinberg	Teacher	Temple Beth-El	23	1-3-05
Sherwin Epstein	Meatcutter (u)	n/a	58	3-1-06
Barry Blaustein	Mashgiach (u-kosher foods supervisor)	Sherith Yisroel	53	4-28-06
Jeffrey Goldberg	Electrician (u)	B' nai Yehuda Beth Sholom	38	4-1-06
Sarah Goldberg	PT Store Manager	B' nai Yehuda Beth Sholom	36	4-1-06
Sylvia Wald	Inventory Control Clerk (u)	n/a	53	2-28-06

OTHER INDIVIDUALS

Name	Occupation	Race/Ethnicity	Age	Date of Interview
Lori Landers-Rippy	Furnace Maker (u)	Welsh	45	6-15-06

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