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Pastoral Leadership in Sunday Services

A Qualitative Case Study of Seven Pastors in the Church of Norway



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in the Church of Norway

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VID Specialized University

Stavanger

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Abstract

This study is situated in practical theology and aims at contributing to the field of pastoral theology focusing on pastoral leadership. The research question with which this study is concerned is: "How do pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how can this practice be understood?"

By conducting a multiple site case study, I explore how seven pastors in the Church of Norway carry out pastoral leadership during Sunday services, and how their practices can be understood. I have conducted participatory observation of the pastors in Sunday services and interviewed them afterwards. Thus, the empirical material consists of fieldnotes, audioand video-recordings from participatory observation, transcribed sermons and other elements from the services, five sermon manuscripts, as well as transcribed qualitative interviews.

The empirical material is analysed utilizing Askeland's integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice as a theoretical framework. This model stems from the tradition of church and leadership studies in Norway and combines theories from institutional theory and the managerial work behaviour-tradition. I supplement the model with pastoral theological perspectives from the pastoral theologian Carroll, and the liturgical theologian Lathrop.

This thesis aims at giving three main contributions to the field. First, it presents an empirical and theoretical contribution to understanding what pastors do to realize their responsibility as leaders of the Sunday service. I have identified two patterns of how the pastors, as institutional leaders, execute this task in diverging ways. Moreover, I suggest that these

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patterns could be interpreted as institutional logics: one functional and one symbolic logic. These diverging logics demonstrate a relationship between the pastors' personalities, backgrounds and spirituality, the local context they are situated in, and how they are marked by and/or relate to other contextual elements. Moreover, the logics demonstrate four fundamental dimensions of theologies and values pervading the leadership practice of the pastors.

The second main contribution is a theoretical contribution to pastoral leadership studies within pastoral theology suggesting a model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

Third, the thesis gives a theoretical contribution to the field of church organisation and leadership studies. I expand and nuance Askeland's theoretical framework. This thesis contributes to developing how the contextual elements, as well as the actors' personalities, backgrounds and spirituality, and their theology and values, are interwoven in their practice as leaders.

Samandrag

Denne avhandlinga innan praktisk teologi gir eit bidrag til den delen av pastoralteologien som særleg fokuserer på presten som leiar. Forskingsspørsmålet avhandlinga svarer på, er: Korleis utfører prestar pastoral leiing i søndagsgudstenester, og korleis kan ein forstå praksisen deira?

For å svare på dette spørsmålet har eg utført eit case studie med fleire lokasjonar. Eg har gjennomført deltakande observasjon av korleis sju prestar i Den norske kyrkja leier gudstenester. Etter gudstenestene har eg intervjua prestane. Det empiriske materialet består av feltnotatar, lyd- og videoopptak frå deltakande observasjon, transkriberte preiker og andre element frå gudstenestene, fem preikemanus samt transkriberte kvalitative intervju.

Det empiriske materialet er analysert ved å gjere bruk av Askeland sin integrerte modell for kyrkjeleg leiing og institusjonelt leiarskap som eit teoretisk rammeverk. Denne modellen er utvikla innan fagfeltet kyrkjeleg organisering og leiing og kombinerer teoretiske perspektiv frå institusjonell teori og den såkalla managerial work behavior – tradisjonen. Eg supplerer denne modellen med pastoralteologiske perspektiv frå pastoralteologen Carroll og den liturgiske teologen Lathrop.

Denne avhandlinga gir tre hovudbidrag til feltet. For det første gir ho eit empirisk og teoretisk bidrag til å forstå kva prestar gjer for å bidra til leiarskap i og gjennom gudstenestefeiringa. Eg har identifisert to mønster der det blir tydeleg korleis prestane, som institusjonelle leiarar, utfører oppgåva si ulikt. Eg føreslår at desse mønstra kan tolkast som to ulike institusjonelle logikkar; ein funksjonell og ein symbolsk logikk. Desse to logikkane

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viser at det er samanheng mellom prestane sin personlegdom, bakgrunn og spiritualitet, den lokale konteksten dei er i, og korleis dei relaterer seg til andre kontekstuelle element. Vidare viser dei to logikkane at det er fire fundamentale teologiske og verdimessige dimensjonar som gjennomsyrer leiarskapspraksisen til prestane.

Det andre hovudbidraget er eit teoretisk bidrag til studiet av pastoral leiing innanfor pastoralteologien. Eg foreslår ein modell for pastoral leiing i søndagsgudstenester.

Det tredje hovudbidraget denne avhandlinga gir, er eit teoretisk bidrag til feltet kyrkjeleg organisering og leiing. Eg utvidar og nyanserer Askelands teoretiske rammeverk ved å utvikle korleis kontekstuelle element så vel som aktøren sin personlegdom, bakgrunn og spiritualitet, teologi og verdiar er vevd saman i praksisen til leiarane.

Acknowledgements

I grew up with fjords and mountains as my nearest neighbours. While some liked to climb the mountains, I preferred to stay by and on the sea. I enjoy fishing. However, I also climbed some of the mountains. It has been good to challenge myself at times, and I must admit that it is incredibly satisfying to reach the top, enjoy the view, and get new perspectives.

In 2014, I found I needed a new challenge. Therefore, I started to climb the mountain represented by a PhD. I started as a research fellow at the School of Mission and Theology (MHS). This trek has definitely challenged me in multiple ways, and, moreover, given me several new perspectives. I have felt privileged to be able to immerse myself into what has been, for me, different world. However, I am glad I did not know what kind of trek this would be. Usually, when I climb a mountain, I have access to a good map, or the route is at least marked, and there is a path to follow. In this case, not even the map was complete when I started the journey.

Although I have had to figure out the route and make decisions myself, I have had several generous, helpful people with me during the climb. They have supported me when my back and legs have hurt and when I have not been able to see my next step. A huge thank you to the two Hs: Hans and Harald, my supervisors. Hans Austnaberg has followed me from the time when I was taking my first steps through to when I was figuring out a way to the top. Thank you for keeping up with me and my project and for your patience, useful input, and thorough readings of my texts. Thank you also for managing the difficult task of being both a good colleague and a good supervisor. Harald Askeland was my co-supervisor, and entered the project at a critical stage when I did not know which trail to follow. Thank you for your constructive suggestions, critical questions and remarks, and sound insight along the way.

Thank you to MHS for admitting me as a research fellow in the first place, and to VID for giving me a regular position in 2017, even though I had some time remaining as a research fellow. Thank you also to my directors: First, to Bård Mæland, former rector at MHS, and – after the establishment of the Centre for Mission and Global Studies at VID – I have had both Knut Holter and Anna Rebecca Solevåg as directors. Thank you both for your encouragement and support! In addition, thank you to Daniela Rapisarda, who has been my director during

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One of Jorunn's ideas was to name the pastors after people I know. Thus, the seven pastors are named after my mother Olaug, her two sisters, and four brothers. Moreover, the

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congregations were named after places where they have lived. Now only my mother, my aunt Elsa, and my uncle Sigmund are still alive of those family members. However, when struggling with the structuring of all the empirical material, I could think of my mother, uncles, and aunts and remember all of them with joy and gratitude. What a privilege! Last but certainly not least: thank you to my nearest and dearest. To my husband Einar, and our children Andreas and Oda: thank you for your patience, for your encouragement, and for believing in me!

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PART I:

SITUATING THE STUDY

1. Introduction

Sunday morning before the service started in Indrevik, Gunnar spent a lot of time informing the substitute verger of the routines for the coming service. He also talked to the organist. During the final minutes before the service started, Gunnar spent time alone in the sacristy. During the service, he presided, firm and formal, and did not add much to the liturgy. He never changed or removed elements of the liturgy, however he moved the Lords' Prayer. Gunnar used the pulpit when he preached and expressed how he was personally challenged by the biblical text of the day. However, he did not have any strategic or visionary elements in the sermon. After the service, Gunnar walked down the aisle, and stopped and talked to several people.

When I entered the church in Hagneset, Lars was rehearsing performing the gospel text by heart. As his co-workers came, he welcomed them and talked to them. Moreover, he took care of several practical tasks. Before the service started, the people involved in the service gathered in another room. An important element in this gathering was prayer. Lars asked a lay person to lead the prayer. In presiding, Lars was loose and informal, he had visionary and strategic elements in the welcoming, and he added content to some of the liturgical elements. He preached on the floor, and had both personal, strategic, and visionary elements in his sermon. Moreover, he used humour. After the service, he enjoyed the church hour and found it hard to leave.

These brief summaries of the practices of two of the pastors in this study demonstrates diverging approaches when conducting Sunday services. This qualitative multiple site case study explores how these two and five more pastors in the Church of Norway carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how their practice can be understood. The empirical material is analyzed utilizing Askeland's integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice as a theoretical framework. This model is found in the tradition of church and leadership studies in Norway, and combines theories from

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institutional theory and the managerial work behaviour-tradition. I supplement the model with pastoral theological perspectives from the pastoral theologian Carroll, and the liturgical theologian Lathrop.

The thesis aims at contributing to the branch of pastoral theology focusing on pastoral leadership. By studying how pastors execute their task of being responsible for leading the Sunday service, and how this practice can be understood, this thesis aims at giving three main contributions to the field.

First, it presents an empirical and theoretical contribution to understanding what pastors do to realize their responsibility as leaders of the Sunday service. I put forward two patterns of how the pastors, as institutional leaders, execute this task in diverging ways. Moreover, I suggest that these patterns could be interpreted as institutional logics; one functional and one symbolic logic. These diverging logics demonstrate a relationship between the pastors' personal personality, background, and spirituality, the local context they are situated in, and how they are marked by and/or relate to other contextual elements. Moreover, the logics demonstrate four fundamental dimensions of theologies and values pervading the leadership practice of the pastors.

The second main contribution is a theoretical contribution to the field of church organization and leadership studies. I expand and add nuance to Askeland's theoretical framework. His model has been developed to examine leadership practices of leaders in the Church of Norway. It has, however, not been utilized on the pastoral leadership practice of conducting Sunday services. By doing so, this thesis contributes to developing how the contextual elements, as well as the actors' personality, background and spirituality, and their theology and values, are interwoven in the practice of the leaders.

The third main contribution is a theoretical contribution to pastoral leadership studies within pastoral theology suggesting a model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

1.1. Research Question

In this section, I present the research question for this thesis and how this is understood and conceptualized. The research question with which this study is concerned is: 'How do

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pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how can this practice be understood?'

Paragraph seven in the official regulations for pastors in the Church of Norway¹ states, 'The conducting pastor is responsible for leading and preparing services and religious ceremonies'.² This complies with article 70 in the general regulations for Sunday services. This article states that the conducting pastor has the overall responsibility for preparing and carrying out of Sunday services.³ Paragraph 10 in the official regulations for pastors expands on the task of pastors in being responsible for Sunday services: 'In the administration of word and sacrament, all pastors carry out pastoral leadership and contribute to the strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation'.⁴

I understand paragraph 10 to build on the general understanding that the administration of word and sacraments involves the whole practice of conducting a service, and not only parts of it.⁵ According to article seven in the Augsburg Confession, the church is 'the assembly of all believers among whom the gospel is purely preached and the holy sacraments are administered according to the gospel'.⁶ In other words, the church is defined by referring to a service. Article seven is the context in which article five, about the ministry, is to be understood. Article five states that 'So that we may obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted'.⁷

Paragraph 10 in the official regulations for pastors is normative. However, neither this paragraph nor other paragraphs or guidelines, elaborates what this paragraph means, or tells pastors how this pastoral leadership should be conducted. My empirical study thus aims at shedding light on this subject and contributing to how this paragraph can be understood. The interrogative 'how' in the research question indicates the explorative character of this

¹ Since the field work of this study was conducted, the Church of Norway gradually separated from the state. Thus, the Church of Norway has passed new laws and regulations. However, in this thesis, I present and utilize the laws and regulations that were valid at the time of the fieldwork.

² My translation of part of §7: 'Forrettende prest har ansvaret for å lede forberedelsen og gjennomføringen av gudstjenester og kirkelige handlinger'. In this thesis, I follow The New Oxford Manual of Style.

³ Kirkerådet Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke* (Stavanger: Eide forlag, 2011).

⁴ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester. Forskrift 11. april 2016 nr. 1814', §10.

⁵ As an example of how a professor in Lutheran studies uses the term word and sacrament in this sense, see Knut Alfsvåg, 'Bibelsyn og bibeltolkning- om virkelighetsforståelsens betydning for bibellesningen', *Dansk Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 48, no. 1 (2021).

 ⁶ Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelish-Lutherischen Kirche, (Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press, 2000), 42.
 ⁷ Kolb and Wengert, *The Book of Concord*, 41.

study.⁸ The qualitative methods undertaken are congruent with this perspective. I conducted participatory observation of the pastors' practice the hour before the services started, during the services, and for a period after the services ended. The services were additionally video- and audio-recorded, and the participatory observations were followed by qualitative interviews with the seven pastors.⁹

It is necessary to clarify some of the terms in the research question. Although other terms are used in this thesis, the term 'pastor' is primarily used when translating the word '*prest*' from Norwegian; 'pastor' is commonly used by Lutherans and others when referring to the ordained leader pastor.¹⁰ The pastors in this study are parish pastors¹¹ in the Church of Norway.

Other important terms in the research question and in this thesis are the terms lead, leading and leadership. In daily life, the word leadership is used in two main different understandings of the word. First, it is an understanding of leadership that 'refers to a process that helps direct and mobilize people and/or their ideas'.¹² Second, it is an understanding that leaders are 'people in formal positions where leadership, in the first sense of the word is expected...'¹³

Pastors in the Church of Norway are formal leaders of the Sunday Service¹⁴ and carry out pastoral leadership in the services.¹⁵ As a preliminary and fundamental definition of leadership, I apply the understanding that leadership is a process of influence aiming at achieving goals through others.¹⁶ In this study, I utilize theoretical perspectives from church

⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, eds. Leonard Bickman and Debra J. Rog, 4th ed., vol. 5, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), 9; 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', (2016).

https://lovdata.no/dokument/INS/forskrift/2016-04-11-1814?q=Tjenesteordning%20for%20menighetsprester. ⁹ For further presentation and considerations regarding methods, see chapter 3.

¹⁰ Some use the word 'minister' or 'priest' when translating the term *prest* in Norwegian. However, I follow Kaufman in her argument for using 'pastor'. See Tone Stangeland Kaufman, *A New Old Spirituality? A Qualitative Study of Clergy Spirituality in the Nordic Context* ed. Göran Gunner, vol. 15, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017), 3. This is in line with Lathrop who also argues for the use of the term 'pastor'. Gordon W. Lathrop, *The Pastor: A Spirituality*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011). ¹¹ In Norwegian, *menighetsprester*.

¹² This is a simplified understanding of the term. However, this is not used as a definition, but as a way of contrasting the two major understandings. An attempt for defining leadership follows. John P. Kotter, *A Force for Change: How Leadership Differs from Management* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 3.

¹³ Kotter, A Force for Change, 3.
¹⁴ Den norske kirke, Gudstjeneste.

¹⁵ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', (2016), §10. https://lovdata.no/dokument/INS/forskrift/2016-04-11-1814?q=Tjenesteordning%20for%20menighetsprester.

¹⁶ Gary Yukl, *Leadership in Organizations*: Global edition, 8th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2013), 18.

leadership and organization studies.¹⁷ The framework is Askeland's integrated model of church management and institutional leadership.¹⁸ He utilizes perspectives from Selznick's institutional theory,¹⁹ and the managerial work behaviour tradition represented by Mintzberg²⁰ and supplemented by Kemmis' understanding of practice.²¹ I further apply Carroll, who utilizes Selznick's understanding of the leadership tasks when he presents his understanding of the pastoral leadership tasks as 'meaning interpretation', 'community formation', and 'empowering public ministry'.²² I complement Carroll's 'community formation' with Lathrop's emphasis on 'inviting to bread and forgiveness'.²³ Drawing on these theoretical perspectives, I analyze how the pastors contribute to pastoral leadership as they conduct Sunday services.

1.2. Situating the Study Related to Academic Discipline

This study is situated in practical theology and aims at contributing to the field of pastoral theology. When I utilize the term 'practical theology', I follow the understanding of Hunter and Burck, who define it as an 'umbrella term' inclusive of pastoral theology.²⁴ I thus understand pastoral theology as a branch of the wider field practical theology.

¹⁷ These are mainly found in Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, eds., *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse: Et verdibasert og praksisorientert perspektiv* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2021).

¹⁸ Harald Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet. En integrert modell for verdibevisst kirkelig ledelse', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021). 191. In Norwegian, Askeland calls this model 'Integrert modell for ledelse og institusjonelt lederskap i praksis'.

¹⁹ Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*, A Harper International Edition, (New York: Harper & Row, 1957; repr., 1984).

²⁰ Henry Mintzberg, *Managing* (Harlow, England: Prentice Hall. Financial Times, 2009).

²¹ Stephen Kemmis, 'Knowing Practice: Searching for Saliences', Pedagogy, Culture and Society 13, no. 3 (2005); Stephen Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice: A Synoptic Framework ', in *Understanding and Researching Professional Practice*, ed. Bill Green (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2009).

²² Jackson W. Carroll, *As one with Authority: Reflective Leadership in Ministry* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2011), 93-108.

²³ Gordon W. Lathrop, *The Pastor: A Spirituality* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 23-40.

²⁴ Miller-McLemore, 'Five Misunderstandings about Practical Theology', *International Journal of Practical Theology* 16, no. 1 (2012), 19.

Practical theology is a multifaceted discipline, and what practical theology is and should be is an ongoing international discussion; no approach is universally accepted.²⁵ However, as McLemore states in the introduction to *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology,* most of the contributors share the understanding that practical theology is 'a general way of doing theology concerned with the embodiment of religious belief in the dayto-day lives of individuals and communities. It engages personal, ecclesial, and social experience to discern the meaning of divine presence and to enable faithful human response'.²⁶ This is a broad, open, and descriptive definition. However, I don't find it decisive to define practical theology with a more narrow and specific term in this thesis.

The field of practical theology includes both normative and more descriptive studies, empirical and more theoretical studies. These studies give new knowledge about explicit churchly practices as well as religion and spirituality in society in general.²⁷ This study is primarily descriptive, however with a normative interest. It is empirical and it focuses on a churchly practice.

Turning to the term pastoral theology, I follow Saxegaard who uses the title and term of Huse and Hansen's book when he argues for an understanding of pastoral theology as 'an interdisciplinary meeting place for research on pastors'.²⁸ Although Huse does not consider the research in their book to be pastoral theology,²⁹ Saxegaard uses their term and expands on their understanding of research on pastors by also including leadership studies. Saxegaard further draws a figure for an updated and more explicitly defined discipline of pastoral theology:³⁰

²⁵ Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore and Joyce Ann Mercer, 'Introduction', in *Conundrums in Practical Theology*, eds. Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore and Joyce Ann Mercer, Theology in Practice (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1; Stephen Pattison and James Woodward, 'An Introduction to Pastoral and Practical Theology', in *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral and Practical Theology*, eds. James Woodward and Stephen Pattison (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), xiv.

 ²⁶ Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, 'Introduction', in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, ed.
 Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, Wiley-Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 14.
 ²⁷ *The Wiley Blackwell companion to Practical Theology* gives an impression of the diverging methods and approaches in practical theology. Miller-McLemore, ed., *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, Wiley-Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

 ²⁸ Fredrik Saxegaard, 'Pastoralteologi: Status og stifinning', *Tidsskrift for Praktisk Teologi* 37, no. 1 (2020), 93.
 ²⁹ He uses the term 'presteforskning', research on pastors, as something distinct from pastoral theology. Morten Huse, 'Møteplass for presteforskning', in *Møteplass for presteforskning: Presten i norsk kirke- og samfunnsliv*, ed. Morten Huse and Cathrine Hansen, KIFO Rapport (Oslo: Tapir akademisk forlag, 2002), 12.
 ³⁰ This is my translation of the model found in Saxegaard, 'Pastoralteologi', 93.



Figure 1: The discipline of pastoral theology

As seen in this figure, Saxegaard points to leadership studies as one of possible five branches of pastoral theology. In an earlier article, he argues that the pastoral theological discipline must get a closer relationship to leadership studies, amongst other things.³¹ This study is situated in the part of pastoral theology focusing on the pastor as leader. Saxegaard moreover argues that pastoral theology should have wide and fluid frontiers concerning themes and objects of study. According to him, specific practices, like the pastoral practice of leading Sunday services, counselling, preaching, and teaching, belong to separate disciplines. Pastoral theology, however, discusses the relationship between the different practices, and the relationship between normative and empirical descriptions of the service of pastors.³²

Liturgical studies and homiletics are separate and independent disciplines relevant to this study. However, I argue for allocating this study to the field of pastoral theology. The object of study is the leadership practice of the pastors, and I analyze the whole practice of conducting Sunday services, not only the liturgical or the homiletical part.

³¹ Fredrik Saxegaard, 'Pastoralteologiens samtalepartnere: Om pastoralteologi som praktisk-teologisk disiplin etter den empiriske vendingen', *Tidsskrift for Praktisk Teologi* 33, no. 2 (2016), 43,

https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.48626/tpt.v33i2.5198.

³² Saxegaard, 'Pastoralteologi', 93.

1.3. Situating the Study in the Academic Literature and Debate

This project is situated within a Scandinavian folk church context. As such, I focus on research and literature from this setting; when particularly relevant, however, I broaden the perspective to other contexts. Only literature published in English, Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian is considered.

The literature review is written from three perspectives. First, I briefly introduce empirical research focusing on the clergy, as they are the objects of this study, and on the Sunday services, as this is the site for the study (1.3.1).

The literature on leadership is reviewed from two perspectives. First, I focus on the field of pastoral theology and the development towards what can be named an empirical pastoral theology focusing on pastoral leadership (1.3.2). In this part, I focus on pastoral theological contributions focusing on the pastor as leader, and trace the development within this field from an exclusive normative focus to empirical contributions. Moreover, I review homiletical contributions focusing on the pastor as leader. Taken altogether, these reviews demonstrate that this thesis gives a substantial empirical contribution to the field.

The other main perspective on leadership literature follows another strain, as it reviews the development and contributions from church organization and leadership studies (1.3.3). This part of the literature review aims at giving a brief introduction to where the main theoretical perspectives utilized in this thesis come from, as well as giving a review of empirical contributions where the leadership practice of pastors has been studied from this theoretical framework.

1.3.1. Research on Clergy and Sunday Services

Focusing on clergy, Blizzard's sociological study of pastors gave an early empirical contribution.³³ In a Nordic context, there have been several empirical contributions in

³³ Blizzard found 14 integrative role categories of pastors. Samuel W. Blizzard, 'Protestant Parish Minister's Integrating Role, The', *Religious education* 53 (1958).

different fields lately focusing on clergy. There have been studies on the pastoral role,³⁴ on spirituality,³⁵ learning trajectories of pastors,³⁶ and on calling, vocation, and the pastoral profession.³⁷ However, none of these studies focus on the pastor as leader, and I don't find any of them relevant to this study. The Institute for Church, Religion, and Worldview Research (KIFO)³⁸ has also conducted several projects focusing on the life and ministry of pastors in the Church of Norway.³⁹ However, none of these contributions emphasize the leadership role of the pastor.

The site of this study is Sunday services in the Church of Norway. Several research projects in Norway have been conducted in recent years building on empirical material from Sunday

³⁴ An early contribution: Kirsten Almås et al., *Presterollen: En kvalitativ intervjuundersøkelse om det å være prest i Den norske kirke* (Oslo: Tapir forlag, 1989). Other: Tone Stangeland Kaufman, 'Verken '24/7' eller 'ni-tilfire': Presterollen mellom arbeid og fritid hos norske menighetsprester', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 33, no. 2 (2016), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.48626/tpt.v33i2.5198; Terese Bue Kessel, Hans Austnaberg, and Karen Margrete Mestad, 'Presterollen i trosopplæringen i Den norske kirke', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 38, no. 1 (2021); Hans Austnaberg, Karen Margrete E. Mestad, and Terese Bue Kessel, 'Trosopplæringsreformen er den største forandringsagenten i presterollen'. Presten si intenderte og sjølvopplevde rolle i trusopplæringa', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 38, no. 1 (2021).

³⁵ Tone Stangeland Kaufman, 'A new old Spirituality? A Qualitative Study of Clergy Spirituality in the Church of Norway' (PhD Dissertation MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2011). Later published in Tone Stangeland Kaufman, *A New Old Spirituality? A Qualitative Study of Clergy Spirituality in the Nordic Context, ed. Göran Gunner, vol. 15,* Church of Sweden Research Series, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017); Harald Olsen, 'Mot stillheten og skjønnheten: Endring i norske statskirkepresters spiritualitet', *Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi* 25, no. 2 (2008).

³⁶ Ingrid Christine Reite, 'Between Settling and Unsettling in a Changing Knowledge Society: The Professional Learning Trajectories of Pastors; An Ethnographic Study of the Professional Learning of Pastors in the Church of Norway' (PhD Dissertation MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2014).

³⁷ Kati Niemelä, 'Calling or vocation', *Tidsskrift for kirke, religion og samfunn* 14, no. 1 (2001); Kirsten Donskov Felter, 'Mellem kald og profession' (PhD Dissertation Københavns Universitet, 2010) (Publikationer fra Det Teologiske Fakultet, Nr 18); Kati Tervo-Niemelä, 'Clergy Work Orientation Profiles and Wellbeing at Work: A Study of the Lutheran Clergy in Finland', *Review of Religious Research* 58 (2016),

https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-016-0247-4; Kirsten Donskov Felter, 'Nærværende, deltakende og til stede. Frem mod en nutidig teologi om præsters kald og embede', *Dansk Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 48, no. 01 (2021).

³⁸ KIFO defines themselves as doing research on pastors within the context of church research and explicitly elaborates this as something different than ecclesiology and pastoral theology. Huse, 'Møteplass for presteforskning: Presten', 12.

³⁹ Morten Huse and Cathrine Hansen, *Møteplass for presteforskning: Presten i norsk kirke- og samfunnsliv*, vol. 22, KIFO rapport (trykt utg.), (Trondheim: Tapir, 2002); Ida Marie Høeg and Ann Kristin Gresaker, *Prest i Den norske kirke: En rapport om presters arbeidsforhold*, KIFO Stiftelsen Kirkeforskning (2009). Ida Marie Høeg, *Rom i herberget? Kvinnelige menighetsprester på arbeidsmarkedet i Den norske kirke*, vol. nr 6, KIFO rapport (trykt utg.), (Trondheim: Tapir, 1998).

services. The PhD thesis of Veiteberg,⁴⁰ Øierud,⁴¹ Johnsen,⁴² Sandal,⁴³ Lilleaasen,⁴⁴ and Rystad⁴⁵ all contribute to the understanding of different aspects of conducting Sunday services. Except the contribution by Veiteberg, all of the contributions were conducted after the church service reform in the Church of Norway in 2011.

Veiteberg uses performance theory when conducting her PhD on how pastors perform the baptismal liturgy. Øierud's focus is on how services are adapted for creating meaning. Her theoretical approach was social semiotics. Johnsen focuses on learning in the Church of Norway's Christian education reform. Her theoretical approach is on learning theories, offering a perspective on how to adapt to learning in services. Sandal utilizes architect theory to analyze the sacrality in newer church buildings. Lilleaasen explores how the worship in two congregations in Norway was a negotiation between tradition and the quest for relevance in the liturgy. Rystad's contribution in homiletics focuses on the practice of preaching for children with an emphasis on children's role as listeners. I find all these contributions relevant as discussion partners in the analysis. Besides these PhD theses, several of the contributors have published in the anthology *Gudstjeneste på ny*,⁴⁶ edited by Hellemo. This anthology brings different perspectives to the order of worship from 2011,

⁴⁰ The liturgy under scrutiny was the baptismal liturgy from 1977. Kari Veiteberg, 'Kunsten å framføre gudstenester: Dåp i Den norske kyrkja' (PhD Dissertation Teologisk Fakultet, 2006).

⁴¹ Gunnfrid Ljones Øierud, 'Gudstjenesters kommunikasjon og modelldeltakere: Tilrettelagt meningsskaping og resepsjonsvilkår i ulike gudstjenester' (PhD Dissertation Universitetet i Oslo, 2013).

 ⁴² Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, 'Religiøs læring i sosiale praksiser: En etnografisk studie av mediering, identifisering og forhandlingsprosesser i Den norske kirkes trosopplæring' (PhD Dissertation Universitetet i Oslo, 2014).
 ⁴³ Margunn Sandal, 'Overskridande arkitektur: Ei undersøking av det sakrale i nyare kyrkjebygg' (PhD Dissertation Universitetet i Oslo, 2014).

⁴⁴ Although Lilleaasen's empirical material is from two congregations defining themselves at the margin of, or outside the Church of Norway, I find his thesis and findings relevant. Robert Lilleaasen, 'Old Paths and New Ways: A Case Study of the Negotiation between Tradition and the Quest for Relevance in Two Worship Practices' (PhD Dissertation MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2016). The thesis was later published in Robert Lilleaasen, *Old Paths and New Ways: Negotiating Tradition and Relevance in Liturgy*, vol. 362, American University Studies. Series VII Theology and Religion, (New York: Peter Lang, 2018).

⁴⁵ Linn Sæbø Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated- a Case Study of the Practice of Preaching for Children with an Emphasis on Children's Role as Listeners' (PhD Dissertation PhD, MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, 2020).

⁴⁶ Geir Hellemo, ed., *Gudstjeneste på ny* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

and the celebration of services, more generally. Here, I highlight the book chapters of Øierud,⁴⁷ Johnsen,⁴⁸ and Sandal.⁴⁹

Researchers from the MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society,⁵⁰ Ansgar University College,⁵¹ and the Norwegian Academy of Music⁵² cooperated on a project analyzing the choices made by the local congregations in the Church of Norway after the church service reform in 2011. Here, several of the chapters in their anthology *Gudstjeneste à la carte* are relevant.⁵³ Another anthology with several relevant contributions is *Gudstjeneste med konfirmanter: En praktisk-teologisk dybdestudie med teoretisk bredde.*⁵⁴ Moreover, I find Mogstad's contribution focusing on involvement in the Sunday service⁵⁵ to be a relevant discussion partner in the analysis.

There are also several Swedish and Danish contributions focusing on the Sunday service.⁵⁶ In particular, I find the contribution by Gustavsson⁵⁷ as well as the anthologies *Én gudstjeneste—mange perspektiver⁵⁸* and *Tradition og fornyelse: Teologiske perspektiver på gudstjeneste og liturgi⁵⁹* relevant as discussion partners in the analysis. Although not

⁴⁷ Gunnfrid Ljones Øierud, 'Inkluderende gudstjenestekommunikasjon', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

⁴⁸ Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, 'Gudstjenestelæring gjennom deltakelse', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

⁴⁹ Margunn Sandal, 'Rom for gudstjeneste', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014).

⁵⁰ In August 2018, MF changed their name from 'Det teologiske menighetsfakultet' ('The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology') to 'MF vitenskapelig høgskole for teologi, religion og samfunn' ('MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society'). In the following, I use the abbreviation 'MF'.

⁵¹ Ansgar Teologiske Høgskole

⁵² Norges musikkhøyskole

⁵³ For example: Jan Terje Christoffersen, 'Sammen for Guds ansikt: Gudstjenestereform mellom visjon og virkelighet', in *Gudstjeneste à la carte: Liturgireformen i Den norske kirke*, ed. Anne Haugland Balsnes et al. (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015). Hallvard Olavson Mosdøl, 'Presterollen i lys av gudstjenestereformen - et læringsteoretisk perspektiv', ibid.; Sigbjørn Apeland, 'Frå ekspertvelde til lokalt ordskifte?', ibid.

 ⁵⁴ Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, ed., Gudstjenester med konfirmanter: En praktisk-teologisk dybdestudie med teoretisk bredde, vol. 12, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2017).

⁵⁵ Sverre Dag Mogstad, 'Gudstjenesten ', in *Ansatte og frivillige: Endringer i Den norske kirke*, ed. Kjetil Fretheim, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2014).

⁵⁶ Besides the contributions mentioned in the following paragraph, it is also worth noticing these two contributions: Caroline Klintborg, Avstånd, delaktighet, längtan: Gudstjänst i en tid av religiös förändring, Svenska kyrkans forskningsserie, (Skellefteå: Artos Academic, 2021). Karin Rubenson, 'Karnevalesk gudstjänst: Barns plats i kyrkans liturgi' (Uppsala universitet, 2021).

⁵⁷ Caroline Gustavsson, *Delaktighetens kris: Gudstjänstens pedagogiska utmaning* (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2016).

⁵⁸ Kirstine Helboe Johansen and Jette Bendixen Rønkilde, eds., *En Gudstjeneste - mange perspektiver* (København: Forlaget Anis, 2013).

⁵⁹ Nete Helene Enggaard and Rasmus Nøjgaard, eds., *Tradition og fornyelse: Teologiske perspektiver på gudstjeneste og liturgi* (København: Eksistensen, 2018).

empirical, *Kristen gudstjänst—en introduction*,⁶⁰ provides applicable perspectives in describing services in different traditions. Being more in the popular science category, I also introduce the books by Modéus⁶¹ and Modéus.⁶² In particular, *Mänsklig gudstjänst: Om gudstjänst som relation och rit* was influential in the development of the service reform in the Church of Norway.⁶³

1.3.2. Towards an Empirical Pastoral Theology Focusing on Pastoral Leadership

In this sub-chapter, I focus on the field of pastoral theology and the development towards what can be named an empirical pastoral theology focusing on pastoral leadership. Both in biblical studies and systematic theology, studies on ministry and leadership have been published,⁶⁴ and the lines can be blurred between the different disciplines and fields of study. However, I attempt to delimit and make clear the focus in this literature review by putting up two criteria for selecting the contributions presented in the following: 1) To focus on research and researchers who place themselves in practical theology and pastoral theology, and not on systematic theological contributions contributing more to the academic debate between systematic theologians, and 2) On literature drawing on empirical material (either qualified or more anecdotical) in an explicit way, focusing more on the intersection between academia and church. Still, these criteria are open for several exceptions. There are, for example, researchers publishing both in practical theology and systematic theology.

⁶⁰ Stina Fallberg Sundmark, ed., Kristen gudstjänst - en introduktion (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma Bokförlag, 2018).

⁶¹ Fredrik Modéus, *Mod att vara kyrka* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2005); Fredrik Modéus, *Längta efter liv: Församlingsväxt i Svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm: Verbum Förlag, 2010).

⁶² Martin Modéus, *Menneskelig gudstjeneste: Om gudstjenesten som relation og ritual* (København: Forlaget ALFA, 2011); Martin Modéus, *Gudstjänstens kärnvärden - om relationer, värden och form i gudstjänsten* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2013).

⁶³ Jan Terje Christoffersen, 'Sammen for Guds ansikt: Gudstjenestereform mellom visjon og virkelighet ', in *Gudstjeneste à la carte: Liturgireformen i Den norske kirke*, ed. Anne Haugland Balsnes et al. (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015), 33.

⁶⁴ Examples: Bernard J. Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments: History and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976). Stephen K. Pickard, *Theological foundations for collaborative ministry*, First Edition.(Boca Raton, FL: Routledge, an imprint of Taylor and Francis, 2009). Andrew D. Clarke, *Serve the Community of the Church: Christians as Leaders and Ministers*, First-century Christians in the Graeco-Roman world, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000); Harald Hegstad, *The Real Church: An Ecclesiology of the Visible*, Church of Sweden Research Series, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2013).

Although there has been interest in the empirical in pastoral theology, the tradition has been strongly concerned with providing norms for pastoral ministry, rather than exploring it empirically. Some of the latest contributions in this tradition are books by Willimon,⁶⁵ Root,⁶⁶ Cormode,⁶⁷ Cocksworth and Brown,⁶⁸ and Lynch.⁶⁹ I agree with Saxegaard, who points out that, 'The normative ambition of most pastoral theological writings does not only imply a lack of methodological and theoretical clarification, but also that the claims set forth are not really *findings*, but rather come across as *programmes* the author has developed before he started writing'.⁷⁰

An exception is the *Pulpit & Pew* series, which was a major research project aimed at describing the pastoral leadership of clergy. In the book *God's Potters*, Carroll presents the project and some of the results.⁷¹

With its focus on how pastors prepare for services and how they perform liturgy, most of the existing literature thus has a prescriptive 'how-to approach'. The concise book *Strong, Loving and Wise* by the Catholic Hovda has become a classic.⁷² Another Catholic contribution is *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style* by Kavanagh.⁷³ In *The Pastor: A Spirituality*,⁷⁴ Lutheran Lathrop emphasizes the spiritual task of the pastor when leading Sunday services, and I draw on some of his perspectives in this thesis.⁷⁵ Additional examples of prescriptive

⁶⁵ William H.Willimon, *Pastor: The Theology and Practice of Ordained Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002); William H. Willimon, *Pastor: A Reader for Ordained Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002).

⁶⁶ Andrew Root, *The Relational Pastor: Sharing in Christ by Sharing Ourselves* (Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Books, 2013), Book.

https://ezproxy.vid.no/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e093mww&AN=637814&site=ehost-live.

⁶⁷ D. Scott Cormode, Making Spiritual Sense: Christian Leaders as Spiritual Interpreters (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

⁶⁸ Christopher J. Cocksworth and Rosalind Brown, *Being a Priest Today: Exploring Priestly Identity* (London: London: Hymns Ancient & Modern, 2006).

⁶⁹ Chloe Lynch, *Ecclesial Leadership as Friendship, Explorations in Practical, Pastoral and Empirical Theology,* (Taylor and Francis, 2019).

⁷⁰ Fredrik Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church: Parish Pastors as Contributors to Leadership in Congregations' (PhD MF, Norwegian School of Theology, 2017), 22-23.

⁷¹ Jackson W. Carroll, *God's Potters: Pastoral Leadership and the Shaping of Congregations*, ed. Jackson W. Carroll, Pulpit & Pew, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006).

⁷² Robert W. Hovda, *Strong, Loving and Wise: Presiding in Liturgy* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1976).

⁷³ Aidan Kavanagh, *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1982).

⁷⁴ Lathrop, The Pastor.

⁷⁵ I incorporate 'inviting to bread and forgiveness' in my theoretical framework. See 2.2.4.

literature include *The Pastor as Worship Leader* by Senn,⁷⁶ A *Guide to Preaching and Leading Worship* by Willimon,⁷⁷ Childers' *Performing the Word; Preaching as Theatre*,⁷⁸ and *The Life and Work of a Priest* by Pritchard.⁷⁹ In his *Worship as Meaning: A Liturgical Theology for Late Modernity*,⁸⁰ Hughes focuses on meaning-making in services. Although not empirical, among other things, he analyzes how various worshipping styles undertake meaning-making.

Pastoral Theological Contributions Focusing on the Pastor as Leader

The pastoral theological contributions focusing on the pastor as leader, have also been mostly prescriptive and normative. Still being normative, in the last decades, several contributors argue for and bring perspectives from organization and leadership studies into the field of pastoral theology. One of the earliest contributions in a Norwegian context, is Aarflot's article from 1991.⁸¹ Also Skjevesland, in his book on congregational development in 1993, attempts to introduce some perspectives from organizational theory while he discusses the role of the pastor as leader in the congregation.⁸² A conference held in Uppsala in 1996 resulted in a supplement to the journal *Tro & Tanke* where the four contributors discuss the religious leadership of pastors utilizing elements from organizational and leadership studies.⁸³

In his book from 1998, *Morgendagens menighet. Ledelse og livsform,* Skjevesland argues for the central role of the pastor as the congregational leader and emphasizes the pastor as the carrier of a symbolic leadership, a theological and ecclesiological leadership and as having a coordinating and normative pastoral leadership of the congregation.⁸⁴ Moreover, he argues that the pastor as preacher is in a central leadership position, although this perspective on

 ⁷⁶ Frank C. Senn, *The Pastor as Worship Leader* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977).
 ⁷⁷ William H. Willimon, *A Guide to Preaching and Leading Worship* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008).

⁷⁸ Jana Childers, *Performing the Word: Preaching as Theatre* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).

⁷⁹ John Pritchard, *The Life and Work of a Priest* (London: SPCK, 2007).

 ⁸⁰ Graham Hughes, Worship as Meaning: A Liturgical Theology for Late Modernity, eds. Colin Gunton and Daniel W. Hardy, Cambridge studies in Christian doctrine, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 ⁸¹ Helge Aarflot, 'Pastoralt lederskap mellom bevisste og ubevisste prosesser ', Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi 7, no. 2 (1990).

⁸² Olav Skjevesland, Huset av levende steiner: En teologi for menighetsoppbygging (Oslo: Verbum, 1993).

⁸³ Anders Bäckström et al., eds., Kyrkligt ledarskap inför 2000- talet: Om prästens yrkesroll och religiöst ledarskap (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd/Stiftelsen Fjellstedtska Skolan, 1996).

⁸⁴ Olav Skjevesland, Morgendagens menighet: Ledelse og livsform, Kirkeforum, (Oslo: Verbum, 1998).

the preaching seldom is emphasized.⁸⁵ He utilizes Weber and the Human Relation school to discuss the authority of the pastor.⁸⁶

In a Norwegian context, several of the contributors have given both pastoral theological contributions as well as contributions to the field of congregational and leadership studies. There have also been some joint projects between the different disciplines. In a Festschrift published by Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon (KA)⁸⁷ in 1999, four contributions focus on the identity and leadership of pastors.⁸⁸ First, bishop emeritus Larsen emphasizes the biblical ideal of leaders not being above those they lead, however walking in front of them, beside them, and behind them.⁸⁹ Second, Hougsnæs emphasizes the leadership role of the pastor as leading the service. In doing so, the pastor enters the role as project leader and thus leads the other staff members although they have another employer. She states that to preach, teach and administer the sacraments is to execute leadership in the congregation.⁹⁰ Third, Akerø presents and comments on Josuttis' pastoral theology. Josuttis names the pastor as one who leads to the holy. Akerø discusses whether coming pastors should understand themselves as someone who leads to the holy.⁹¹ Josuttis' model focuses on the service (as well as other ceremonies) as rituals filled with symbols, on liturgy, spirituality, and sacrality.⁹² Moreover, the pastor is a symbol with the task of guiding people to the holy.⁹³ I find elements from Josittis' model helpful in analyzing some of the empirical material in this

⁹⁰ Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs, 'Pastoral identitet og lederrolle i lys av ny kirkelov', in *Kirken, lekfolket og* presteskapet: Kirkeliv og kirkereformer i Den norske kirke ved tusenårsskiftet. Festskrift til Frank Grimstads 50årsdag 25. oktober 1999, ed. Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs (Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1999).

⁸⁵ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 99.

⁸⁶ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 113-18.

⁸⁷ KA is the Church of Norway's employers' organization.

⁸⁸ Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs, ed., *Kirken, lekfolket og presteskapet: Kirkeliv og kirkereformer i Den norske kirke ved tusenårsskiftet. Festskrift til Frank Grimstads 50-årsdag 25. oktober 1999* (Oslo: Kirkens arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1999).

⁸⁹ Øystein Larsen, 'Å være leder i Den norske kirke akkurat nå', in *Kirken, lekfolket og presteskapet: Kirkeliv og kirkereformer i Den norske kirke ved tusenårsskiftet. Festskrift til Frank Grimstads 50-årsdag 25. oktober 1999,* ed. Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs (Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1999), 101.

⁹¹ Hans Arne Akerø, 'Prest- en veileder inn i hellighetssonen? En presentasjon av, og kommentar til, Manfred Josuttis nye pastoralteologi', in *Kirken, lekfolket og presteskapet: kirkeliv og kirkereformer i Den norske kirke ved tusenårsskiftet: Festskrift til Frank Grimstads 50-årsdag 25. oktober 1999*, ed. Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs (Oslo: Kirkens arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1999).

⁹² Akerø, 'Prest- en veileder inn', 127.

⁹³ Akerø, 'Prest- en veileder inn', 125.

thesis. Fourth, Riise presents some of the findings in his quantitative research on pastors in the Church of Norway and the expectations they experience in the pastoral role.⁹⁴

Another contribution is the edited book *Prest og ledelse*,⁹⁵ which is a result of a joint project of KIFO and Presteforeningen (PF).⁹⁶ This project aims at letting contributors from several disciplines come together in the same arena.⁹⁷ Most of the contributions focus on the role of the area dean in leading the pastors. However, I highlight three of the sections in this book which I find relevant for this thesis, as they focus on the pastor as leader. None of them, however, are empirical. In his contribution, Hegstad emphasizes preaching, administration of the sacraments, teaching, counselling, and guidance as the most important media for pastoral leadership. He argues that the leader elements in the classical functions of pastors must be further emphasized.⁹⁸ Grevbo claims that pastors suffer from leader refusal,⁹⁹ and encourages pastors to become what they are, namely pastoral leaders.¹⁰⁰ He argues for a balanced pastoral leadership combining official and personal authority, and presents a leadership model emphasizing the pastor as an 'interpreting guide'.¹⁰¹ Skjevesland argues that both the theological and organizational aspects must be considered. The pastors' main task is to take care of the 'production of symbol' in the congregation, the administration of word, and sacraments. Skjevesland calls attention to where the fundamental leadership of being the administrator of the word takes place. One of the arenas he emphasizes, is the pulpit and other places where the pastors preach; it is the basis for what he calls 'ideologiskapende'¹⁰² congregational leadership which has been underestimated and under emphasized.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ 'veiledende fortolker'

⁹⁴ Kjell Y. Riise, 'Sokneprestrollen- noen intrykk og utfordringer', in *Kirken, lekfolket og presteskapet: Kirkeliv og kirkereformer i Den norske kirke ved tusenårsskiftet. Festskrift til Frank Grimstads 50-årsdag 25. oktober 1999,* ed. Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs (Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1999).

⁹⁵ Morten Huse, ed., *Prest og ledelse*, Kirkeforum (Oslo: Verbum, 2000).

⁹⁶ The union organizing pastors in the Church of Norway.

⁹⁷ Huse, *Prest og ledelse*, 7.

⁹⁸ Harald Hegstad, 'Presten og de andre: Ekklesiologiske perspektiver', in *Prest og ledelse*, ed. Morten Huse, Kirkeforum (Oslo: Verbum, 2000), 42-43.

^{99 &#}x27;ledervegring'

¹⁰⁰ Tor Johan S. Grevbo, 'Pastoralt lederskap- en teologisk og kirkelig nødvendighet: Noen pastoralteologiske perspektiver ', in *Prest og ledelse*, ed. Morten Huse (Oslo: Verbum, 2000).

¹⁰² Can be translated 'creation of ideologies'.

¹⁰³ Olav Skjevesland, 'Det pastorale lederskap', in *Prest og ledelse*, ed. Morten Huse (Oslo: Verbum, 2000).

Another contribution which brings together elements from both pastoral theology and organization and leadership studies is the anthology *Menighetsutvikling i folkekirken: Erfaringer og muligheter.*¹⁰⁴ The contributions focus on church development. With his two chapters, Askeland brings perspectives on both church and leadership from the field of organization and leadership studies. He calls attention to the importance for practical theologians to reflect on and discuss the underlying premises and models in organization and leadership studies when borrowing perspectives from that tradition. Askeland presents some fundamental premises from this tradition and identifies how diverging positions can influence how processes of church development are led.¹⁰⁵ The second article focuses on the possibilities and challenges in change management when leading a church in change.¹⁰⁶

In 2003 Norhaug argued for a pastoral theology focusing on moving the pastor from what he names first line to second line. Instead of executing all the first line tasks, the pastor should be in second line equipping members of the congregation to be in first line.¹⁰⁷ Saxegaard in 2009 published a contribution reflecting on the role of the pastor as symbolising, strategic, and interactive leader.¹⁰⁸

The review so far discloses the lack of empirical contributions in the section of pastoral theology focusing on leadership. However, there has been an empirical turn in both practical theology and pastoral theology in general, and in studies focusing on leadership. Saxegaard characterizes the PhD thesis by Kaufman in 2011,¹⁰⁹ which investigates the spirituality of pastors, as marking a definite departure from the traditional pastoral theological genre to practical theological research fully informed by the empirical turn.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Turid Skorpe Lannem, Harald Hegstad, and Erling Birkedal, *Menighetsutvikling i folkekirken: Erfaringer og muligheter*, vol. 5, Prismet bok, (Oslo: IKO-forl., 2012).

¹⁰⁵ Harald Askeland, 'Menigheten som organisasjon og trossamfunn. Organisasjonsteoretiske grunnperspektiver og forståelsen av menighet i endring', in *Menighetsutvikling i folkekirken: Erfaringer og muligheter*, eds. Erling Birkedal, Harald Hegstad, and Turid Skorpe Lannem, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Harald Askeland, 'Endringsledelse- muligheter og utfordringer for en kirke i endring. Lederroller, ledelse og kompetansebehov', in *Menighetsutvikling i folkekirken: Erfaringer og muligheter*, eds. Erling Birkedal, Harald Hegstad, and Turid Skorpe Lannem, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget AS, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Halvor Nordhaug, 'Menighetens prest: Bidrag til en pastoralteologi for menighetsbygging', *Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi* 20, no. 1 (2003).

¹⁰⁸ Fredrik Saxegaard, 'Presten som symboliserende, strategisk og samhandlende leder: En modell for sokneprestens lederskap i folkekirken', *Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi* 2 (2009).

¹⁰⁹ Kaufman, 'A new old Spirituality? A Qualitative Study of Clergy Spirituality in the Church of Norway'.

¹¹⁰ Saxegaard, 'Pastoralteologiens samtalepartnere', 41.

In his PhD thesis from 2017, Åkerlund investigated the meaning of Pentecostal leadership for pastors in the Norwegian Pentecostal movement, and detected a general structure of eight constituents in Pentecostal leadership.¹¹¹ However, I find it hard to transfer his findings to this project, and thus do not present them further.

Also from 2017, Saxegaard utilizes practice theory and socio-cultural theory in his PhD thesis¹¹² when he explores how parish pastors contribute to leadership in congregations. In describing Sunday worship as one of the sites of study, Saxegaard states that it is not clear how the leadership practice in Sunday services is understood. He asks how pastors 'negotiate between the settled and the unsettled in the liturgy', and 'between being responsible and cooperating with others'.¹¹³ I did not find that he thematized these questions further. Thus, these questions, will be undertaken in this thesis. In several ways, this thesis thus fills a lacuna and gives an empirical contribution to the field.

By narrowing the site of the study and thus focusing on only one of the sites in Saxegaard's study, this thesis gives another and more detailed empirical contribution to the field. Saxegaard does not draw on leadership theories in his analysis and discussion of the material. By utilizing well-established leadership theories, this thesis contributes to deepening the leadership aspect. Saxegaard moreover turns to and discusses his contribution with North American pastoral theologians. Although this thesis is written in English, and draws on international theories from organization and leadership studies and pastoral theology, thus aiming at a broader discussion than only the Scandinavian context, the dialogue partners are for the most part found within a Scandinavian setting.

There are still few other empirical contributions in the field of pastoral theology focusing on pastoral leadership. However, in one of her articles forming her PhD project, Timman-Mjaaland places her contribution into the field of pastoral theology. She presents empirical material from interviews with parish pastors and discusses parish pastors as carriers of authority.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Truls Akerlund, 'Experiences of Pentecostal Leadership: A Phenomenological Study Among Norwegian Pastors' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2017).

¹¹² Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church'.

¹¹³ Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church', 35.

¹¹⁴ Angela Timmann-Mjaaland, 'Kall og autoritet: En studie av soknepresters autoritet i endringsprosesser', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 36, no. 1 (2019). Her other contributions focus mainly on the leadership role of

The establishment of the journal *Scandinavian Journal for Leadership and Theology* in 2014 demonstrates an increased interest in the relationship between leadership and theology. However, most of the contributions are not empirical.¹¹⁵ The few contributions I find relevant in the journal, are mentioned elsewhere in the review.

Homiletical Contributions Focusing on the Pastor as Leader

Homiletics is an own academic discipline, and therefore empirical studies in homiletics are relevant for the topic of discussion. In this thesis, sermons are analyzed through the perspective of pastoral leadership theories. As we have already seen, several Norwegian contributors have pointed to the preaching of pastors as an arena for leadership. However, this has not been explored. Hull claims the term 'strategic preaching' is unknown in the literature of homiletics, and when he published his book in 2006, he argued that 'what we are calling strategic preaching has no place in the standard homiletical resources available to pastors'.¹¹⁶

Åkerlund states in his article from 2014, that leading through 'the sermon, is to a great extent unexplored territory'.¹¹⁷ His starting point is understanding leadership as communication-centred and relates to communication as narrative. Åkerlund suggests that 'preaching is leadership when it tells a coherent story, orients toward the future, and uses imaginative language to do so'.¹¹⁸ Hougsnæs utilizes other theoretical perspectives from organization theory when she argues that preaching should be further investigated as part of congregational development.¹¹⁹

area deans and bishops. Angela Timmann-Mjaaland, 'Endringsledelse i kirken krever nye teologiske modeller', Teologisk tidsskrift 10, no. 2 (2021), https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1893-0271-2021-02-03. Angela Timmann-Mjaaland, 'Kall og arbeidsgiveransvar i ledelsen av prester', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 38, no. 2 (2021), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.48626/tpt.v38i2.5449.

¹¹⁵ See <u>https://sjlt-journal.com/index.php/sjlt/issue/archive</u>

¹¹⁶ William E. Hull, *Strategic Preaching: The Role of the Pulpit in Pastoral Leadership* (St. Louis, Missouri: Chalice Press, 2006), 3.

¹¹⁷ Truls Åkerlund, 'Preaching as Christian Leadership: The Story, The Sermon, and The Prophetic Imagination ', *Journal of Religious Leadership* 13, no. 1 (2014), 84.

¹¹⁸ Åkerlund, 'Preaching as Christian Leadership ', 97.

¹¹⁹ Marit Halvorsen Hougsnæs, 'Det skapende ordet: Om menighetsutvikling og homiletikk', *Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi* 20, no. 1 (2003).

Willimon, who has published extensively on preaching and ministry, published *Leading with the Sermon. Preaching as Leadership* in 2020.¹²⁰ He argues that preaching is the most important leadership activity of pastors, and that preaching is leading. He draws on elements from adaptive leadership theory and biblical material in encouraging pastors to lead the congregation in and through preaching. He intersperses the book with examples from his own and other pastors' practice of preaching, however, he does not give an empirical contribution to the field.

In a Norwegian context, there is scant empirical work centring on analyzing sermons from a leadership perspective.¹²¹ One of the few empirical contributions is the master thesis by Nordal. ¹²² He analyzes five strategic sermons by pastors in the Church of Norway by utilizing strategic leadership theories. Nordheim and Haga have completed a research project titled *The Four Speeches Every Leader Has to Know*.¹²³ Through a rhetorical analysis of speeches by international public figures, they provide a 'rhetorical manual for political and business leaders to motivate followers even in times of hardship'.¹²⁴ In an article, they draw on the findings from this project and focus on how the youth leader can use the four typology speeches of Jesus to address young people in a credible way.¹²⁵ They have also analyzed the

¹²⁰ William H. Willimon, *Leading with the Sermon: Preaching as Leadership*, vol. 3, Working Preacher, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press, 2020).

¹²¹ Nevertheless, there are empirical contributions that analyze sermons in Sunday services. Grete Tengsareid Søvik, 'In the Middle of Sin is I': En analyse av forholdet mellom narsissistiske trekk i vår kultur og forkynnelse fra synd i åtte prekener holdt på NRK P1 kirkeåret 2007-2008' (PhD Dissertation School of Mission and Theology, 2014). Tone Stangeland Kaufman, Linn Sæbø Rystad, and Tron Fagermoen, 'Flyktningene i forkynnelsen: Homiletiske dilemmaer i et stykke norsk prekenpraksis', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 35, no. 1 (2018); Sivert Angel and Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, ' Preaching and Political Debate on Refugees: A 'Tyranny of Goodness'? *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology 73, no. 1 (2019).* Sivert Angel, 'Talerens troverdighet i prekener for konfirmanter', in *Gudstjenester med konfirmanter: En praktisk-teologisk dybdestudie med teoretisk bredde*, ed. Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2017); Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated'; Tone Stangeland Kaufman, ed., *Forkynnelse for barn og voksne*, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-Forlaget AS, 2021).

¹²² Torstein Eidem Nordal, 'Thi at prædike evangeliet er intet andet, end at Kristus kommer til os': Prekenen som verktøy i den strategiske ledelsen av menigheten' (Master's Thesis Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet, 2013), 10.

¹²³ Bård Eirik Hallesby Norheim and Joar Haga, *The Four Speeches Every Leader Has to Know*, Palgrave pivot, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

¹²⁴ Norheim and Haga, *The Four Speeches Every Leader Has to Know*, book blurb.

¹²⁵ Bård Norheim and Joar Haga, 'The Four Speeches Every Youth Leader Has to Know: The Preaching of Jesus as Model for a Public Rhetoric for Youth Ministry', *Journal of youth and theology* 18, no. 2 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1163/24055093-01802004.

farewell sermon of two bishops as an act of leadership.¹²⁶ This thesis thus gives an empirical contribution to the homiletical field.

1.3.3. Contributions from Church Organization and Leadership Studies

According to Askeland and Sirris, church organization and leadership is now established as a branch within the field of organization and leadership studies.¹²⁷ The starting point is an understanding and argumentation that the church should be understood and explored as an organization. An organization is thus understood as a social system constructed to solve tasks and to realize goals.¹²⁸

Church organization and leadership studies is the area where I have found most of the theoretical approaches drawn on in this study. In this review, I focus on how this field has developed. As we will see, most of the contributions focus on the church warden and the area deans as leaders, not on the pastor as leader. However, I concentrate mainly on contributions on the role of the pastor.

In 1991, Skjørshammer and Aadland reviewed a few contributions to transfer or include secular leadership theories in a church context.¹²⁹ They argued that attempts thus far were inadequate. Introducing secular leadership theories must start with a clarification of the distinctive character of the church as an organization. Theological and ecclesiological reflections must be considered.¹³⁰ The first research report thematizing leadership in congregations came in 1994.¹³¹ This was an action research project not only describing how the five research congregations were led, but also wanting to contribute to change and develop leadership and organization. The project thematized, amongst other things, the role of the pastors in congregations. After the new canon for the Church of Norway was passed in

¹²⁶ Bård Eirik Hallesby Norheim and Joar Haga, 'The Impotent Leader and The Legacy of the Church: The Farewell Sermon as a Bishop's Last(ing) Act of Leadership', *Scandinavian Journal for Leadership & Theology* 8 (2021).

¹²⁷ Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse. Et verdibasert og praksisorientert perspektiv', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021), 14.

¹²⁸ Dag Ingvar Jacobsen and Jan Thorsvik, *Hvordan organisasjoner fungerer*, 5. utgave. (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2019), 16-17.

¹²⁹ Morten Skjørshammer and Einar Aadland, 'Ledelse i kirken - hva kan moderne ledelsesteori bidra med?', *Tidsskrift for kirke, religion og samfunn* 4, no. 1 (1991).

¹³⁰ Skjørshammer and Aadland, 'Ledelse i kirken', 23.

¹³¹ Einar Aadland, *Ledelse i menigheten: Rapport fra et forsøks- og utviklingsprosjekt* (Oslo: Diakonhjemmets høgskolesenter, Etter- og videreutdanningsavdelingen, Diavett i samarbeid med Kirkerådet, 1994).

1996, KA published what they named a resource and guide to the new law.¹³² They wanted to discuss the question of leadership in the Church of Norway based on organizational theory, theology, and law. The main contribution of this book seems to be unfolding the different leadership roles in the local church, utilizing theories from the fields of leadership and management studies. They emphasize the new role of the church warden and parish warden.¹³³ Although not elaborated further, they present the role of the local pastors as spiritual and pastoral leaders with the responsibility of the constitutive elements of the church, namely the administration of word and sacraments. According to the new canon, however, pastors do not have employer's responsibility and are not leaders of staff.¹³⁴

In the years that followed, research interest increased. In 1997, the first 'International Conference on Church Leadership' was held in Sweden. This conference resulted in a publication where scholars from the Nordic countries, as well as England, the Netherlands and USA, contributed.¹³⁵ Worth mentioning is the contribution by Hansson, presenting results on legality and legitimacy of senior pastors in the Church of Sweden based on case studies and surveys.¹³⁶

In 1998, Askeland published the case study *Ledere og lederroller*¹³⁷ where he explored how the different local church leaders (leaders of the parish council, parish pastors, and church wardens) perceived their roles and the roles of the other local church leaders. Utilizing role theory, he analyzed the church leaders' expectations of the different roles, and how different church leaders perceived their own roles. The pastor emerged with a distinct and independent leader responsibility for the clerical services. She leads the services and religious ceremonies.¹³⁸

¹³² Harald Askeland and Frank Grimstad, *Kirkelig ledelse: En ressursbok om ledelse i den lokale kirke* (Oslo: Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 1996).

¹³³ Saxegaard introduced the English term parish warden for his thesis. 'It designates the management role on parish level'. Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church', 290.

¹³⁴ Askeland and Grimstad, *Kirkelig ledelse*, 43-47.

¹³⁵ Per H Hansson, ed., *Church Leadership*, Tro & Tanke (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1997).

¹³⁶ Per H Hansson, 'Legality and Legitimacy. Aspects of Church Leadership in the Church of Sweden', in *Church Leadership*, ed. Per H Hansson (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1997).

¹³⁷ Harald Askeland, *Ledere og lederroller: Om ledelse og lederroller i den lokale kirke*, KIFO Rapport. Rapportserie fra Stiftelsen Kirkeforskning, (Trondheim: Tapir, 1998).

¹³⁸ Askeland, *Ledere og lederroller*, 269.

In a Swedish context, Hansson published a study of the pastors in the diocese of Växjö.¹³⁹ Andersen published a study of vicars in the Church of Sweden focusing on their ability as managers to implement organizational change and presents 'a model of managerial strength to implement organizational change'.¹⁴⁰ Hansson and Andersson have published a quantitative study focusing on the leadership style, decision-making style, and motivation profile of vicars. These studies reveal that most of the vicars are relation-oriented in their leadership style.¹⁴¹ Andersen, moreover, compared studies of the leadership behaviour of managers and vicars.¹⁴²

In 2003, the book *Ledelse i kirken*, was published.¹⁴³ Askeland and Sirris point to this book as an important early contribution where general theories from organizational and leadership studies were utilized and contextualized into a churchly context.¹⁴⁴ The focus is not so much on the different leader positions, however, but more on contextualizing general theories.

From 2003 onwards, the field of church organization and leadership has been established as an own part of the field of organizational and leadership studies. In 2021, Sirris and Askeland published an edited anthology focusing on organization and leadership in the Church of Norway.¹⁴⁵ They describe this publication as a collection and further development of empirical and theoretical contributions in the field from 2003 onwards.¹⁴⁶ For a more complete overview of the development of the field, see their introduction chapter.¹⁴⁷

In the following, I highlight the contributions in the book I find particularly relevant for this project theoretically and empirically, starting by specifying that Askeland's integrated model

¹³⁹ Karl-Johan Hansson, *Att leva av tro: En undersökning av den prästerliga profilen i Växjö stift*, vol. 1, Publikationer från Väkjö stift, (Växjö: Växjö stift, 1996).

 ¹⁴⁰ Jon Andersen, 'The Weight of History: An Exploration of Resistance to Change in Vicars/Managers', *Creativity and innovation management* 9, no. 3 (2000), 147, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8691.00167.
 ¹⁴¹ Per Hansson and Jon Aarum Andersen, 'The Swedish Vicar and Change: A Problematic Mismatch', *Journal of Empirical Theology* 14, no. 1 (2001), https://doi.org/10.1163/157092501X00037; Per Hansson and Jon Aarum Andersen, 'Vicars As Managers Revisited: A Comparative Study', *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 21, no. 1 (2008). Per Hansson and Jon Aarum Andersen, 'Kyrkoherden som förandringsagent', in *Svenska kyrkans organisationskultur*, ed. Per Hansson (Stockholm: Verbum, 2001).

¹⁴² Jon Aarum Andersen, 'Vicars vs. Managers: Do Vicars Differ From Managers In Terms of Leadership Behaviour?', *Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion* 1, no. 2 (2004), https://doi.org/10.1080/14766080409518556.

¹⁴³ Harald Askeland et al., eds., *Ledelse i kirken* (KA Kirkens Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon, 2003).

¹⁴⁴ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse', 14.

¹⁴⁵ Sirris and Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse*.

¹⁴⁶ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse', 14.

¹⁴⁷ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse'.

of management and institutional leadership is presented in one of the chapters.¹⁴⁸ This model as well as other contributions presented have been framed by institutional theory, value-based leadership, and studies of the practice of church leaders. These will be briefly introduced here. However, as this thesis draws on some of these theoretical approaches, these will be further developed in the theory chapter.

This tradition understands the church as an institution. The institutional theories utilized are in the tradition of Selznick¹⁴⁹ and Scott.¹⁵⁰ The church and leadership studies are based on the understanding that 'values are fundamental to organizations',¹⁵¹ and that they are 'an inseparable part of organizational institutionalism and [are] at the core of the definition in many sub-streams of institutional theory'.¹⁵² This stance is visible in most of the contributions published in this field the last decades.¹⁵³ The tradition of value-based leadership has combined Selznick's understanding of institutional leadership with the understanding of leadership as practice. In their book *Verdibevisst Ledelse*, Aadland and Askeland have contributed to develop these perspectives further.¹⁵⁴ In the anthology *Understanding Values Work*, published in 2020, the understanding of values and their importance in organization and leadership studies are elaborated.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191. An earlier version of this model is presented in Harald Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 28, no. 1 (2015), 52.

¹⁴⁹ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*.

¹⁵⁰ W. Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interest, and Identities*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014).

¹⁵¹ Harald Askeland et al., 'Understanding Values Work in Organisations and Leadership',eds. Harald Askeland et al., *Understanding Values Work: Institutional Perspectives in Organizations and Leadership* (https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37748-9: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020). 1.

¹⁵² Harald Askeland, 'Values- Reviewing the Construct and Drawing Implications for Values Work in Organisation and Leadership', eds. Harald Askeland et al., *Understanding Values Work: Institutional Perspectives in Organizations and Leadership* (https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37748-9: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020). 15.

¹⁵³ Examples of contributions where the value perspective is taken to the forefront: Stephen Sirris, 'Å arbeide med verdier i kirken: Etisk refleksjonsveiledning og verdibevissthet i religiøse organisasjoner', *Scandinavian Journal for Leadership & Theology* 4 (2017); Stephen Sirris and Beate Jølstad Løvaas, 'Verdibasert ledelsesamspillet mellom motivasjon, verdier og ledelse ', in *Frivillighetens kraft: Organisering av frivillig innsats i eldreomsorgen*,eds. Eirin Hillestad and Julie Tessem (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2019); Harald Askeland, 'Leaders Should Be the Carriers of Institutional Values. An Account of How Leaders Contribute to the Value-Base of Diaconal Institutions', *Diaconia* 5 (2014).

¹⁵⁴ Einar Aadland and Harald Askeland, *Verdibevisst ledelse* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk, 2017).

¹⁵⁵ Harald Askeland et al., eds., *Understanding Values Work: Institutional Perspectives in Organizations and Leadership* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

The practice approach is closely related to the three concepts context, work, and interaction.¹⁵⁶ In the research, emphasis is placed on empirical descriptions of practice. Building on Mintzberg,¹⁵⁷ they understand management as action and practice, and thus place themselves in the tradition of 'managerial work behaviour'.¹⁵⁸ This tradition thematizes how leaders are woven into interaction with others, and that practice is patterns of interaction.¹⁵⁹ In the study of leadership practice, role theory has been utilized. Askeland has developed this perspective into a church context and suggested a framework for studying leadership behaviour in church and organizations.¹⁶⁰

Moving on to a review of the latest empirical contributions relevant for this study, several studies have been conducted utilizing and developing role theory in describing how leading and leadership practices are conducted through a set of integrated roles that leaders inhabit.¹⁶¹ However, reviewing the empirical contributions, it is striking that the focus has mainly been on the role of church wardens and on the area deans and how they lead the pastors.¹⁶² This emphasis probably reflects the ongoing debate for the future organization of the leader structure in the Church of Norway. However, this reveals that there is little

¹⁶¹ Harald Askeland, 'Reforming the Pastoral Managerial Structure in Church of Norway: Exploring Whether and How the Managerial Role of the Dean Has Been Strengthened', in Church Reform and Leadership of Change, eds. Harald Askeland and Ulla Schmidt, Church of Sweden Research Series (Pickwick Publications, 2015); Harald Askeland, 'Ledelse og lederes roller i Den norske kirke', Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi 33, no. 2 (2016), https://doi.org/doi.org/10.48626/tpt.v33i2.5197; Mildrid Fiske, 'Det er kirkelig leder jeg er. Hvordan og på hvilken måte har kirkevergens lederrolle i Den norske kirke utviklet seg gjennom de siste tjue årene?' (Master's Thesis VID vitenskapelige høgskole, 2017), http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2452812; Åslaug Styve Mjånes, 'Kvar er seg sjølv nærast. Eit kvantitativt studie av prostar og kyrkjeverjer sine leiarroller og legitimitet i Den norske kyrkja' (Master's Thesis VID vitenskapelige høgskole, 2017), http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2452752. ¹⁶² Hans Stifoss-Hanssen et al., Ny organisering av prestetjenesten ('Prostereformen') - evaluering, Diakonhjemmet Høgskole (2013). Askeland, 'Ledelse og lederes roller i Den norske kirke'; Stephen Sirris, 'Managers Negotiating Identities: Hybridizing Professionalism and Managerialism in Faith-Based Health Organizations and in Religious Organizations' (PhD Dissertation VID Specialized University, 2019) (14); Stephen Sirris, ""The Pastors' Dilemma" Revisited: Religious Leaders Connecting the Spiritual Work and Organizational Realms through Conceptual Work', Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion 16, no. 3 (05 Feb 2019 2019), https://doi.org/10.10.80/147660862019.1574599.

¹⁵⁶ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse', 21.

¹⁵⁷ Mintzberg, *Managing*.

¹⁵⁸ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse', 24.

¹⁵⁹ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse', 24. They do not elaborate on the understanding of practice, however briefly refer to Nicolini's understanding of situated interaction and on Kemmis' understanding of practice. Davide Nicolini, *Practice Theory, Work, and Organization: An introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice'.

¹⁶⁰ Harald Askeland, 'What Do Congregational Leaders Really Do? A Framework for Studying Leadership Behavior in Church and Congregations', in *The Second International Conference on Church Leadership*: Uppsala, Sweden, September 15-16 2005, eds. Harald Askeland and Per Hansson (Uppsala: Uppsala University Faculty of Theology, Diakonhjemmet University College, The Peter Fjellstedt Foundation, 2005).

empirical research on the pastor as leader, although a report from a study of the working conditions of pastors in the Church of Norway reveals that most of the pastors experience they have a leadership role.¹⁶³

Sirris has made an empirical study of the leadership practice of pastors. He looked at the relationship between the leadership practice of four vicars and how they understood their leadership role. He finds that the leadership role is integrated in the pastoral role, and that the pastors understand themselves as having an integrating leadership role. They contribute to the whole and a common direction in the congregation when emphasizing the church's identity and values. He points out that this is most evident in their role as liturgist and in their position within the council(s).¹⁶⁴ Sirris has moreover published an article utilizing and contextualizing Minzberg's categories for work activities and patterns,¹⁶⁵ another on how pastors connect spiritual work and organizational realms through conceptual work,¹⁶⁶ and one on how congregational leaders (pastors, parish council, and church wardens) understand and perform strategy in their work.¹⁶⁷

In the newly published *Profesjon og ledelse i Den norske kirke*,¹⁶⁸ Sirris does not present new empirical studies, but rather sums up, systematizes, and makes explicit different theoretical and empirical contributions to the field. One of the perspectives he includes is the suggestion to understand pastoral leadership as a kind of professional management,¹⁶⁹ in contrast to what he describes as generalist management or leadership.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Høeg and Gresaker, *Prest i Den norske kirke*.

¹⁶⁴ Stephen Sirris, 'Hva særpreger soknepresters ledelsesforståelse? Soknepresters lederroller mellom styring og ledelse', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 31, no. 1 (2014).

¹⁶⁵ Stephen Sirris, 'Arbeidsdager mellom profesjon, ledelse og organisasjon; soknepresters tidsbruk og aktivitetsmønstre', *Teologisk tidsskrift* 5, no. 1 (2016).

¹⁶⁶ Sirris, '"The Pastors' Dilemma" Revisited'.

¹⁶⁷ Stephen Sirris, 'Marionetter eller dirigenter? Strategiarbeid, utvikling og ledelse i og av religiøse organisasjoner', *Scandinavian Journal for Leadership & Theology* 5 (2018). http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2578794.

¹⁶⁸ Stephen Sirris, *Profesjon og ledelse i Den norske kirke: Organisering av arbeid i en kirke i endring* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk NOASP, 2022).

¹⁶⁹ 'fagledelse'

¹⁷⁰ Sirris, Profesjon og ledelse i Den norske kirke: Organisering av arbeid i en kirke i endring, 175-78.

1.3.4. Summary – Preparing the Way for an Empirical and Theoretical Contribution

I have performed the review of the academic literature from three perspectives. First, I reviewed research on clergy and Sunday services. While I did not find any of the contributions on clergy relevant for this study, I found several of the contributions focusing on Sunday services applicable as discussion partners in the analysis.

Second, I focused on the section of pastoral leadership studies within the field of pastoral theology. This review demonstrated the development from a solely normative discipline to a stance where empirical contributions are welcomed. However, there are still few empirical contributions within this part of the field. One of the existing contributions establishes the Sunday service as one of the sites for studying the leadership practice of the pastors. However, there is not a study focusing particularly on the leadership practice of conducting Sunday services from A to Z. This thesis thus gives an important empirical supplement to the field. On the one hand, this study narrows down the perspective, and thus gives a deeper understanding of what the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services look like. On the other hand, this study broadens perspectives, as it demonstrates there are patterns in this leadership practice running through the sub-practices of preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding. To the extent that pastoral leadership in these practices has been studied before, it has been studied separately, either in homiletics or liturgics.

The third part of this review described the development of the field of church organization and leadership studies and gave an overview of relevant contributions, both theoretically and empirically. However, this part of the review demonstrated that the empirical research focusing on the pastor as leader is scant. Thus, when I utilize theoretical perspectives from this field focusing on the pastor as leader, this thesis gives an empirical contribution to the field of church organization and leadership studies. Moreover, utilizing these theoretical perspectives in a new area of research prepares the way for making a theoretical contribution to the field.

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1.4. Research Design

In this sub-chapter, I give a brief account of the research design of the thesis.¹⁷¹ According to Yin, 'a research design is *a logical plan for getting from here to there*, where *here* may be defined as the set of questions to be addressed, and *there* is some set of conclusions about these questions. Between *here* and *there* may be found a number of major steps, including the collection and analysis of relevant data'.¹⁷² Before I present the research design of this thesis, I give a brief account of how the research design for this study has developed and changed along the way.

I got the motivation for conducting this study when I worked as a pastor in the Church of Norway. However, I wanted to focus on the pastor as leader of the Sunday service by exploring the practice of pastors. Both leadership theories and liturgical theology were within the field of interest. Having conducted the fieldwork and the analysis of the material, I received input that much of the analysis was a general analysis of the practice of the pastors in Sunday services, and was not focused on leadership. I decided to keep the analysis and take up a broad research design, naming it a case study, where I incorporated both practice theory, leadership theories, and liturgical theology as theoretical lenses for the study of the empirical material.

The response to this choice was, amongst others, that the thesis became too broad and did not give a satisfying contribution to a specific field. I have thus once more made considerable changes to the research design of the thesis. Focusing on leadership theories, the liturgical theological approach has been left out. Moreover, I have left out the empirical material focusing on the week before the Sunday service. However, in several ways, I am now closer to the starting point, as pastoral leadership in Sunday services is now the focus.

This journey demonstrates that a research design is not straightforward, and that although the methods undertaken and most of the empirical material is the same, a change in the research question and the object of study can alter a project substantially.

 ¹⁷¹ A more thorough account of the research design will be given in the methodology chapter.
 ¹⁷² Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, Sixth edition. ed. (Los Angeles, California: SAGE, 2018).

Figure 2 presents the overall research design of this study. The research design of this thesis can be described as a case study with multiple sites.¹⁷³ Yin states the importance of establishing the propositions guiding one's study.¹⁷⁴ One proposition guiding this thesis is the assumption that pastors carry out leadership in their practice of conducting Sunday services. Another proposition is that although there are resemblances between how pastors carry out this leadership practice, there are also differences.

This figure moreover demonstrates the close relationship between the research question and the object of the study. The research question has already been detailed above.¹⁷⁵ In line with Kaufman, I distinguish between three levels to describe the research *object* of the study.¹⁷⁶ The first level is the *phenomenon* that the study investigates, which, in this case, is pastoral leadership. The *unit of analysis* is the leadership practice of seven pastors in the Church of Norway conducting Sunday services.¹⁷⁷ As the figure demonstrates, the phenomenon exceeds the unit of analysis, as the leadership practice of these pastors in Sunday services was only one part of the phenomenon. Moreover, although I argue it is possible to generalize from the main findings in this thesis, I also argue that the *empirical material* in this study cannot provide exhaustive coverage of the unit of analysis on a detailed level. Moreover, in this project, some of the empirical material falls outside the unit of analysis, parts of the material documenting other aspects than the leadership practice of the pastors.

¹⁷³ The research design of this thesis has not been named a case study all the way. However, I see in retrospect that what I have done harmonizes well with conducting a case study. In an earlier version of this thesis, I argued that this study was a multiple-case study. Although I still think it is possible to argue for that choice as well, I have now changed and argue that it is a case study with multiple sites. However, the methods and empirical material have not been changed. See 3.1 for a presentation of the case study design.

¹⁷⁴ Yin, Case Study Research and Applications, 27-28.

¹⁷⁵ See 1.1.

 ¹⁷⁶ Kaufman, 'A new old Spirituality? A Qualitative Study of Clergy Spirituality in the Church of Norway', 16.
 ¹⁷⁷ As Nicolini states, the unit of analysis in a practice theory approach is the practice, not the practitioner.
 Nicolini, *Practice Theory*, 7.

Research design

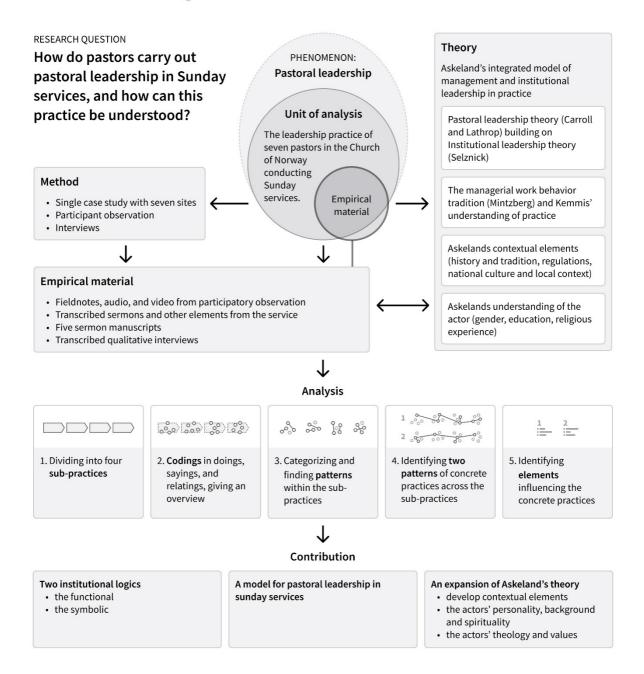


Figure 2: Research design

The choice of methods is in line with the design presented thus far. The managerial work behaviour approach utilizing Kemmis' understanding of practice requires an observational method: here, I chose to conduct participatory observation.¹⁷⁸ To be able to listen to and

¹⁷⁸ In the methodology chapter, I give account for my understanding of the participatory observation I have conducted.

observe the leadership practice several times, and to analyze elements in greater detail, I audio- and video-recorded the Sunday services. Building on both on Kemmis and Mintzberg, I was also interested in the discursive practice of the pastors.¹⁷⁹ The participatory observations were therefore followed by (audio-recorded) qualitative interviews with the same pastors. In addition, I collected some documents (the local order of worship, pamphlets/agendas from the services) for background information.

The empirical material thus consists of fieldnotes from participatory observations, and audio- and video-recordings of the pastors' practice in the services. Moreover, it consists of the transcribed qualitative interviews, five sermon manuscripts, transcribed sermons, and transcriptions from other selected elements from the services. In addition, some documents (the local order of worship and pamphlets/agendas from the services) functioned as background information.

The theoretical perspectives utilized have already been introduced,¹⁸⁰ and will be elaborated upon further.¹⁸¹ I have employed an abductive¹⁸² analytical strategy where I have moved back and forth between the theoretical framework and the empirical material. This abductive process has contributed to the theoretical contributions given in this thesis. The figure demonstrates both with words and graphics how the different steps of the analytical process have led to the empirical and theoretical contributions this study provides.

¹⁷⁹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25; Mintzberg, *Managing*, 52-62.

¹⁸⁰ See 1.2.

¹⁸¹ See chapter 2.

¹⁸² Mats Alvesson and Dan Kärreman, *Qualitative Research and Theory Development: Mystery as Method* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 58-59.

1.5. Outline of the Study

Part I of this thesis situates the study within the academic field, introduces the theoretical frameworks, offers methodological reflections, and presents the pastors and their local context (1–3). Part II consists of four chapters (4–7), presenting thick descriptions and analysis of the empirical material. I draw on different aspects of the theoretical framework and relevant literature presented in the literature review to analyze the findings. The overall practice is divided into four distinct, but overlapping, practices: first, the leadership practice of preparing; second, the leadership practice of presiding; third, the leadership practice of preaching, and fourth, the leadership practice of concluding. In Part III (8), I present the main findings of the thesis, discuss how these can be understood, and suggest how existing theory can be expanded based on the findings.

2. Theory

As stated earlier, the theoretical framework for this thesis is the overall and integrated model of church management and leadership developed by Askeland.¹⁸³ In this introduction to the theory chapter, I argue for the use of this model. I give a brief presentation of the model before I also point to some of the challenges in utilizing it. Finally, I give a brief introduction to the rest of the theory chapter.

There are several advantages and arguments for utilizing this theory: First, this framework builds on two well-established and accepted leadership traditions, namely the tradition of institutional leadership¹⁸⁴ and the understanding of leadership as practice, or the managerial work behaviour tradition (MWB).¹⁸⁵ Second, this overall model tries to capture, combine, and bridge integrating functional managerial leadership role models and institutional leadership.¹⁸⁶ The two traditions thus complement each other, and I argue that the integration of the two models makes it possible to emphasize different elements in the theory on different parts of the empirical material. A challenge in this project is that, although it is limited in terms of time and space, the character of the practices differs. The leadership practice of the pastors during the hour before, and the minutes after the service, differs substantial from the practice as presider and preacher of the Sunday service. To capture the difference in leadership practice between the three, I argue that emphasizing different elements in this comprehensive theory can contribute to an understanding of these diverging practices. Third, it is a theory developed within church and organization studies in a Norwegian folk church context. This common context makes the model accessible to this study. Fourth, most of the theory is also empirically grounded.¹⁸⁷ Fifth, the model includes both the actor and structural elements.

Figure 3 shows the general model of Askeland:¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet'. An earlier version is found in Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

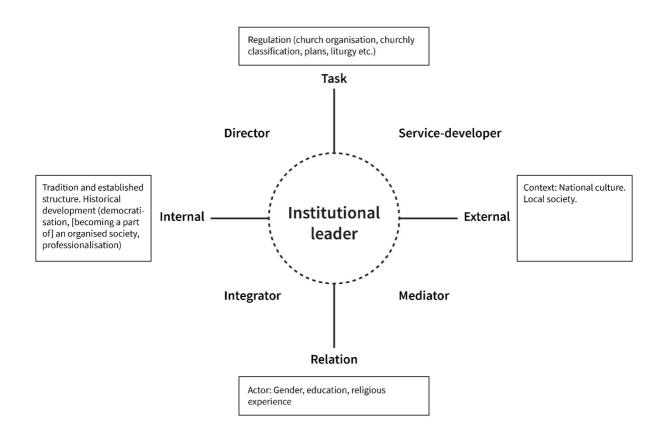
¹⁸⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*.

¹⁸⁵ Mintzberg, *Managing*.

¹⁸⁶ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 179.

¹⁸⁷ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 179.

¹⁸⁸ My translation of the model found in Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191.





In this integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice, the institutional leader is put in the middle of the circle. The institutional leader has an overall responsibility for performance and results, managing meaning and promoting values.¹⁸⁹ At the same time, she is supposed to be both task- and relation-oriented, and balance between communicating and relating to both internal and external 'affairs'. Put in other words, the institutional leader must be both *Director, Service-developer, Integrator and, Mediator.*

Askeland does not elaborate on the four boxes in the model. He only names them 'supposed important contextual dimensions',¹⁹⁰ indicating that these categories are not empirically grounded. However, I interpret three of them as representing structural elements, while the fourth represents the actor. The three structural elements are 1) tradition and established structure and historical development (democratization, a society of organizations, professionalization), 2) Regulation (church organization, churchly divisions, plans, liturgy

¹⁸⁹ Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

¹⁹⁰ My translation of 'antatt viktige kontekstuelle dimensjoner'. Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 190.

etc.), and 3) Context: national culture and the local community.¹⁹¹ In the 'actor-box' Askeland puts gender, education, and religious experience.

Although I have mentioned several advantages in utilizing this theory, there are also some challenges in applying this theory on the leadership practice of pastors carrying out Sunday services. The main challenge is that Askeland's model is an overall model adapted to general leadership of an organization or organizational unit. Although the pastor has the responsibility of 'contributing to strategic and spiritual leadership of the congregation',¹⁹² this leadership task does not include employer's responsibility or an economic responsibility. In this sense, the pastor does not have a formal position as leader of an organizational unit. Although the Sunday service is an area where the pastor has full responsibility, she is not the director of the other staff members contributing. Besides, the Sunday service is a limited practice in time and space. The two-three hours I observed the pastors represent only a small part of their work.

I have pointed to the advantage of this model's being comprehensive, and that it makes it possible to highlight different elements of the model on different parts of the empirical material. However, the comprehensiveness of this model is also a challenge. In order to do justice to the model, all the different elements must, in some way or another, be at play. Moreover, the model must be operationalized by elaborating upon the different elements. Followingly, I also find it pertinent to integrate pastoral theological approaches into the model. This elaboration makes the model even more comprehensive. Sirris' study found that the pastors understood themselves as having an integrating leadership role. Sirris points out that this is most evident in the pastors' role as liturgist and in the parish council.¹⁹³ Although I suppose that it is possible to find traces of all the roles in the material, I choose to make the use of the model more manageable by delimiting the use of the model to the integrator role.

Although Askeland's model is comprehensive, the element of power and authority is not found in the model. However, I find it pertinent to include questions of power and authority in this thesis. As Carroll emphasizes the question of authority, I include these questions

¹⁹¹ Since Askeland does not elaborate on these elements in the model, this list is a word-by-word translation. Askeland, Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191.

¹⁹² 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester'.

¹⁹³ See 1.3.3. Sirris, 'Hva særpreger soknepresters ledelsesforståelse? Soknepresters lederroller mellom styring og ledelse'.

when presenting his understanding of the tasks of the pastoral leader. However, I choose to give nuance to his approach with a more exact and detailed theoretical perspective, making it possible to analyze questions of power and authority in this thesis. Although other and newer approaches could have been chosen, I choose to use Weber's three types of legitimate authority.

In the following sub-chapters, I present and elaborate the main components in Askeland's model. I start by clarifying some central terms (2.1) before I present institutional theory (2.2). There I also introduce pastoral theological contributions from Carroll and Lathrop to the understanding of the pastor as an institutional leader, including theoretical perspectives on authority and power. Following this, I introduce and present the MWB-tradition focusing on the integrator role and how this can be further studied (2.3) before I present and argue for the contextual aspects utilized when studying pastoral leadership in Sunday services (2.4).

2.1. Clarification of terms

In the study of leaders, the most important terms have been administration, management, and leadership.¹⁹⁴ The term administration is not much utilized, however, it is commonly used in English when describing the task and practice of the pastor leading the sacraments. However, in this thesis, the term administration will not be further utilized or developed.

As previously stated, the theoretical perspectives applied in this thesis come from diverging traditions. In institutional theory and pastoral theology, the term leadership is utilized, while management is utilized in the perspective of researching managerial work.

The terms management and leadership are contested, and there is no consistent understanding or use of the two terms.¹⁹⁵ According to Arnulf, the distinction between the two terms evolved in the United States, and has more lately become a distinction in other milieus, like in Great Britain.¹⁹⁶ Northouse claims that while the study of leadership can be

¹⁹⁴ Harald Askeland, 'Ledelse- generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021). 163-64.

¹⁹⁵ Jan Ketil Arnulf, *Hva er ledelse*, Hva er - bøkene, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2012).

¹⁹⁶ Arnulf, *Hva er ledelse*.

tracked back to Aristotle, the field of management emerged with the industrialization of society around 1900.¹⁹⁷ However, the term leadership was not much in use before the 20th century.¹⁹⁸ Hunt points to three basic perspectives of the relationship between leadership and management: Some researchers say leadership = management, others that leadership ≠ management, while a third group claim that 'leadership and management are separate, but complementary processes'.¹⁹⁹ Among those claiming that leadership and management are separate, but complementary processes, there are also differences. Northouse separates the two terms by claiming that 'Management was created to reduce chaos in organizations, to make them run more effectively and efficiently'.²⁰⁰ He states the term management is utilized both about the persons leading, and the activities they perform as leaders.²⁰¹ Kotter argues that management produces order and consistency, while leadership produces change and movement. While management is about planning and budgeting, organizing, and staffing, controlling and problem solving, leadership is about establishing direction (creating a vision, clarifying big picture, setting strategies), aligning people (communicating goals, seeking commitment, building teams and coalitions), motivating and inspiring (inspiring and energizing, empowering followers, and satisfying unmet needs).²⁰² While leadership is strongly related to change, management is about coping with complexity.

Alvesson and Spicer, however, argue that 'it would seem to be more helpful to look at management and leadership as discreetly intertwined phenomena. By doing so, we can develop a more realistic account of how leadership is carried out'.²⁰³ When they emphasize leadership as management of meaning,²⁰⁴ they use leadership as the broad term and management as a way of describing it. By doing so, they demonstrate that the two concepts are closely interrelated. Others use management as the broad term, defining leadership as a part of management. As Mintzberg states: 'Managing is not one of these things but all of

 ¹⁹⁷ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, Seventh ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2016), 13.
 ¹⁹⁸ Arnulf, *Hva er ledelse*, 10.

¹⁹⁹ Arthur Bedeian and James G. Hunt, 'Theoretical and Practitioner Letters: Academic Amnesia and Vestigial Assumptions of our Forefathers', *The Leadership Quarterly* 17 (2006), 194.

²⁰⁰ Northouse, *Leadership*, 13.

²⁰¹ Torodd Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 2nd ed. (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2012), 17.

²⁰² Kotter, A Force for Change, 4-6; Northouse, Leadership, 14.

²⁰³ Mats Alvesson and André Spicer, eds., *Metaphors we Lead by: Understanding Leadership in the Real World* (London: Routledge, 2011), 12.

²⁰⁴ Alvesson and Spicer, *Metaphors we Lead by*. See 1.2.

them: it is controlling and doing and dealing and thinking and leading and deciding and more, not added up but blended together'.²⁰⁵

In this thesis, I do not draw a clear-cut line between the two terms. I rather follow Alvesson and Spicer when they see these terms as being intertwined. As Askeland points out, the different terms can be analytically separated as diverging processes or aspects of leading. However, all these elements will be present in the daily work of leaders.²⁰⁶ In line with Askeland, I argue that the two theoretical terms supplement each other and contribute to a pertinent theoretical framework for this study.²⁰⁷ In the following, I use the term leadership for the most part as an inclusive and broad term including both the managerial and administrative elements in the leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday services. However, when referring to theoretical terms within the managerial work tradition, I use management. The rest of this chapter demonstrates how leadership and management are understood and utilized in this study.

2.2. Institutional Leadership Theory

In this chapter, I elaborate on institutional leadership theory, one of the two main theoretical perspectives in Askeland's model. First, I present an understanding of institutions and institutionalization (2.2.1). Second, I clarify an important element in many contributions in this theoretical tradition, namely values. However, I expand the understanding by adding theology as an important element in addition to values (2.2.2). Selznick is a classic within this theoretical tradition. The pastoral theologian Carroll builds on Selznick when he elaborates on the leadership tasks of pastors. This connection between the two is an argument for presenting and using both Selznick and Carroll. Perspectives from Selznick can contribute to a deeper understanding of both Carroll and the leadership practice of the pastors. Thus, I present Selznick's understanding of the leadership tasks (2.2.3) before I present Carroll's

²⁰⁵ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 44.

²⁰⁶ Askeland, 'Ledelse- generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 165.

²⁰⁷ Askeland, 'Ledelse- generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 163-74.

understanding of the tasks of the pastoral leader supplemented with elements from Lathrop and theoretical perspectives on authority and power (2.2.4).

2.2.1. Institutions and Institutionalization

As Selznick states, 'a theory of leadership is dependent on a theory of social organization'.²⁰⁸ The point of departure for this study is to utilize an institutional understanding of the Church of Norway, and of congregations within this church. I follow Askeland, who argues local congregations can be understood and researched as organizations,²⁰⁹ and this understanding has been utilized in research conducted in church and leadership studies.²¹⁰

Institutionalism, or institutional theory, is only one of many approaches within the study of organizations,²¹¹ and Askeland points to four main paradigms in organization and leadership studies.²¹² These four traditions come with ontological and epistemological implications.

Dimension of the	Epistemological dimension	
theory of action	Positivistic Rational	Subjectivistic Interpretive
Structure <i>Collective</i>	System	Institution
Actor Individual	Instrument	Association

Table 1: Table of the four main paradigms in organization and leadership studies.

²⁰⁸ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 23.

²⁰⁹ Harald Askeland, 'Organisasjonsfaglig tilnærming til den lokale kirke', *Tidsskrift for Kirke, Religion, Samfunn* 7, no. 1 (1996).

²¹⁰ Examples: Harald Askeland, 'Drivkrefter i formingen av kirkelig organisering', *Tidsskrift for Kirke, Religion, Samfunn* 13, no. 1 (2000). Harald Askeland and Ulla Schmidt, eds., *Church Reform and Leadership of Change*, vol. 12, Church of Sweden Research Series (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2015). Sirris, '"The Pastors' Dilemma" Revisited'.

²¹¹ Sirris and Askeland, 'Introduksjon til kirkelig organisering og ledelse'. Harald Askeland,

^{&#}x27;Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet som organisasjon', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021).

²¹² The table presented is a translated version of the tables found in Askeland, 'Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet ', 86; Harald Askeland, 'Introduksjon til organisering og ledelse i diakonale organisasjoner ', in *Ledelse i diakonale virksomheter*, ed. Einar Aadland (Trondheim: Akademika forlag, 2012), 24.

The broad distinction is first made between an understanding of the world as an objective reality, and thus a positivistic epistemology, and a subjectivistic and interpreting understanding of reality. The second distinction is made between the diverging understandings of the relationship between actor and structure. ²¹³ A strong actor approach emphasizes the leader as a person. The leader is then the decisive factor in understanding the actions of a group or an organization. The other main position takes as a point of departure those factors outside the leader's control. In this latter approach, the context (the organization) forms the scope of action that a leader is given, and the leader must adapt to the surroundings.²¹⁴ Institutional theory builds on the premise that organizations are systems open to and strongly influenced by the surroundings. Values and culture are emphasized. At the same time, organizations are understood as being made by thinking and acting actors, and thus become a product of what the individuals in the organization say or do.²¹⁵

According to Scott, institutional theory has 'become the dominant frame guiding organization and management studies'.²¹⁶ In his review of institutional and organizational research, he finds mainly three distinct elements that different scholars have characterized as the most important ingredient in institutions. He does not choose between them, but rather says that regulative systems, normative systems, and cultural-cognitive systems are 'the three pillars of institutions'.²¹⁷ 'The regular pillar' is the regular aspect of institutions: institutions regulate and constrain behaviour. In 'the normative pillar', the emphasis is placed on 'normative rules that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into social life. Normative systems include both values and norms'.²¹⁸ 'Cultural-cognitive elements', the third pillar, are 'the shared conceptions that constitute the nature

²¹³ Besides the institutional approach, he classifies the approaches into a system approach, a instrumental approach and an understanding of organizations as associations. Askeland, 'Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet', 86-94.

²¹⁴ Askeland, *Ledere og lederroller*, 33.

²¹⁵ Askeland, 'Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet ', 93.

²¹⁶ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, xi.

²¹⁷ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, 59.

²¹⁸ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, 64.

of social reality and create the frames through which meaning is made'.²¹⁹ Scott includes all the pillars in what he calls an 'omnibus conception of institutions: Institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life'.²²⁰

The Church of Norway is regulated by Norwegian law,²²¹ and so is the Sunday service.²²² In addition, The Church of Norway is regulated by sets of both explicit²²³ and implicit norms and values. And last, but not least, the Church of Norway is loaded with both national and local cultural-cognitive elements; words, symbols, signs, and gestures are some of them. In other words, the Church of Norway concurs with Scott's definition of an institution.

The book *Leadership in Administration*, by Selznick, has become a classic within institutional leadership studies. In the following, I extract some of the central elements in his understanding of institutional leadership. According to Selznick, 'Institutionalization is a *process*. It is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organization's own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies, and the vested interest they have created, and the way it has adapted to the environment'.²²⁴ Selznick thus emphasizes the processual, historical, and contextual aspects of institutionalization, as well as the perspective of the people within it, as both active actors and adaptive to the context. 'Where institutionalization is well advanced, distinctive outlooks, habits, and other commitments are unified, coloring all aspects of organizational life and lending it a *social integration* that goes well beyond formal co-ordination and command'.²²⁵ Moreover, he describes 'to institutionalize' as to *infuse with value* beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand'.²²⁶ Later, Selznick has specified

²²¹ In 2012 the Church of Norway and the state moved towards greater separation. However, the Church of Norway is still mentioned in the Norwegian constitution (Grunnloven)

²¹⁹ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, 67.

²²⁰ Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, 56. The original definition is in italics.

<u>https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1814-05-17</u>. The Church of Norway is also regulated by law (Kirkeloven). <u>https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1996-06-07-31</u>.

²²² 'Ordning for hovedgudstjenesten' and 'Alminnelige bestemmelser'constitutes the basic regulatory material for the Principal Service in the Church of Norway. Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, chapters 2 and 5.

²²³ Example: Visjonsdokument for Den norske kyrkja, (2014).

²²⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 16.

²²⁵ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 40.

²²⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 17.

institutionalization as 'a socially integrating process by which we move from something that is diffuse, unstable, and unfixed into something more settled, stable, and integrated'.²²⁷

2.2.2. Values and Theology

The concept of 'values' is central to Selznick's theory, and moreover a central element in several studies in institutional theory and institutional research.²²⁸ I follow this working definition of values provided by Askeland et al: 'Individual and collective trans-situational conceptions of desirable behaviours, objectives and ideals that serve to guide or valuate practice'.²²⁹

The Church of Norway has defined values for the celebration of the Sunday services. The values, or core concepts, of the Sunday services in the Church of Norway should be flexibility, localism, and involvement of others. In studying the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services, it would have been possible to study which values the pastors infuse the congregation with. However, I do not find this approach sufficient. A Sunday service is a theological practice where both actions, time, words, gestures, artefacts, and symbols express theology.²³⁰ The pastors operate for the most with a theological language, and theological argumentation guide their practices. I find it thus pertinent to mainly use a theological language rather than using the concept of values. Rather than searching for how the pastors infuse the congregation with theologies. Therefore, without excluding the concept of values, the main focus in this thesis is thus how the pastors, in their practice,²³¹ contribute to institutionalize the congregation in the sense that they infuse it with theology.

²²⁷ Peter Selznick, 'On Sustaining Research Agendas: Their Moral and Scientific Basis', in *Institutions and Ideals: Philip Selznick Legacy for Organizational Studies*, ed. Matthew S. Kraatz, Research in Sociology of Organizations (Bingley: Emerald, 2015).

²²⁸ Ryan Raffaelli and Mary Ann Glynn, 'What's so Institutional about Leadership? Leadership Mechanisms of Value Infusion', in *Institutions and Ideals: Philip Selznick Legacy for Organizational Studies*, ed. Matthew S. Kraatz, Research in Sociology of Organizations (Bingley: Emerald, 2015). Askeland et al., *Understanding Values Work*.

²²⁹ Askeland et al., 'Understanding Values Work', 4.

²³⁰ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, chapter 6.

²³¹ The terms 'infuse with values' or 'infuse with theologies' can be interpreted as mainly cognitive implying an intentionality where action and materiality always come as a logical consequence of a conscious thought/intentionality. Although I argue that the pastors are reflective practitioners, I neither suppose that the infusion of values and/or theologies are only cognitive, nor that there is always intentionality.

2.2.3. The Leadership Tasks According to Selznick

According to Selznick, there are four key tasks a leader must perform. However, before introducing them, I present his three premises for leadership. First, he states that leadership is 'a kind of work done to meet the needs of a social situation'.²³² That Selznick states leadership is a kind of work, is an important assumption for Askeland' s combination of Selznick's theories and the managerial work approach.²³³ Selznick moreover states that the context in which the work is carried out, is of great importance. In order 'To know the nature of the work done by leaders, we must know something about the social situations they are called upon to handle'.²³⁴ This perspective thus complies with the contextual elements suggested in Askeland's model, and will be further developed in 2.4.

Second, Selznick states 'Leadership is not equivalent to office-holding or high prestige or authority or decision-making'.²³⁵ This statement implies that people without formal positions can carry out leadership, and that people in formal positions can fail to do so. It is thus not evident that a pastor carries out leadership, although she has the formal position as a leader of the Sunday service. Likewise, it is possible that a pastor performs more leadership than her formal position sets up for.

Third, 'Leadership is dispensable'.²³⁶ According to Selznick, leadership is not equally necessary in all organizations, and we should be able to distinguish between organizations and situations requiring leadership, and those not.²³⁷

Having presented the premises for leadership, I now introduce the four key tasks a leader must perform. These are 1) 'The definition of institutional mission and role'.²³⁸ The second task is closely related to the first, namely 2) 'The institutional embodiment of purpose'.²³⁹ The other tasks are 3) 'The defense of institutional integrity'²⁴⁰ and 4) 'The ordering of

²³² Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 22.

²³³ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet ', 181.

²³⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 22.

²³⁵ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 24.

²³⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 24.

²³⁷ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 31,37,56.

²³⁸ Selznick, *Leadership in Administr*ation, 62, 65-89.

²³⁹ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 90-119.

²⁴⁰ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63, 119-33.

internal conflict'.²⁴¹ Selznick focuses most on the first three. In the following, I present the four tasks. However, while the first, third, and fourth tasks are presented briefly, the second task will be emphasized. This is the task I find most relevant to the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services. Moreover, this is also the task Carroll develops and utilizes the most in his adjustment of Selznick's theory. I present task three and four under the same heading.

The Definition of Institutional Mission and Role

According to Selznick, the first leadership task is 'The definition of institutional mission and role'.²⁴² This is a difficult, however, indispensable task. The leader 'must specify and recast the general aims of his organization so as to adapt them, without serious corruption, to the requirements of institutional survival'.²⁴³ As Selznick specifies, this leadership task implies managing to adapt and specify often broad and vague institutional goals in a given situation.²⁴⁴

Relating this task to the Church of Norway immediately raises some questions. What are the mission and role of the Church of Norway, and who is defining its role and mission? Although one could argue this is implicit and does not need to be addressed, I argue there could be several answers to these questions. One alternative is to point to the words of Jesus in the Great Commandment of Love in Matthew 22:36-40, and the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18-20. Another alternative would be to turn to the vision of the Church of Norway passed by the Church of Norway General Synod. This vision states that the church of Norway should be confessing, open, servant, and missional.²⁴⁵ Another alternative could be to turn to the diocesan level, where they have developed a strategy plan for each diocese. Another alternative could be to turn to the local level, where some parish councils have passed their own visions for the local church.

As we see, it is not evident who is defining the role and mission of the local congregation. Hopefully, the four levels mentioned, comply with each other. However, whether the pastor

²⁴¹ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63-64.

²⁴² Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 62, 65-89.

²⁴³ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 66.

²⁴⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 66.

²⁴⁵ Visjonsdokument for Den norske kyrkja.

relates mostly to the first, second, third, or fourth alternatives or levels of institutional mission and role, it is thus the task of the pastor to adapt and specify either of the levels of the church's mission and role in the context of Sunday services.

Selznick describes several defaults in leadership. One of these is the failure to set goals or define the mission of the activity or organization. If goals are formulated, however not genuinely influencing the enterprise, this is another default. The organization must be infused with the accepted values. Here, the institutional leader has a prime function. The institutional leader 'is an agent of institutionalization'.²⁴⁶

The Institutional Embodiment of Purpose

The second key task a leader must perform, is thus closely related to the first, namely 'The institutional embodiment of purpose'.²⁴⁷

'Beyond the definition of mission and role lies the task of building purpose into the social structure of the enterprise, or, to repeat a phrase used earlier, of transforming a neutral body of men into a committed polity. In this way, policy attains depth'.²⁴⁸ In the following, I stop by the two elements in this statement. First, the task of 'building purpose'. Second, 'into the social structure of the enterprise...transforming a neutral body of men into a committed polity'.

Selznick points to the task of 'building purpose'. Another way of expressing this is leadership as contributing to meaning-making. Smircich and Morgan stated in 1982 that 'The actions and utterances of leaders guide the attention of those involved in a situation in ways that are consciously or unconsciously designed to shape the meaning of the situation'.²⁴⁹ In this study, I follow Danermark et al. when they elaborate their understanding of meaning:

Meaning is communicated daily, to a large extent also by means of traditions, rites, rules, gestures, specific actions, etc. Human language, however, is a distinct feature

²⁴⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 57.

²⁴⁷ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 90-119.

²⁴⁸ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 90.

²⁴⁹ Linda Smircich and Gareth Morgan, 'Leadership: The Management of Meaning', *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science* 18, no. 3 (1982), 261.

in human societies, and anyway it has a very important role for conveying and exchanging meaning in the social world.²⁵⁰

Although they emphasize the importance of language, they also include other aspects of meaning. When they mention traditions, rites, rules, gestures, and specific actions, all of this is of relevance to this study of the leadership practice of pastors in the Sunday service. It is, however, important to notice that they share the understanding of meaning-making as an interactive process.²⁵¹

The building of purpose should be done 'into the social structure of the enterprise...transforming a neutral body of men into a committed polity'.²⁵² Selznick points to six elements of the social structure that form 'a complex network of relations among persons and groups. This network acts as a filter through which policy²⁵³ is communicated; and it represents a system of accommodation among potentially conflicting parts'.²⁵⁴ These six elements, which the leader must deal with, are assigned roles, internal interest-groups, social stratification, beliefs, participation, and dependency. I find the assigned roles and participation the most relevant for this project.

Most of the roles in a Sunday service are assigned.²⁵⁵ The pastor, musician, other co-workers (employees and volunteers), mostly have assigned roles in the Sunday service where tasks, powers, and expectations of the roles are set. According to Selznick, leadership declines in importance when the roles are determined, and everyone knows what to do. However, although the main roles are set, does everyone know their tasks and roles in the Sunday service? Are all the tasks, powers and expectations set? Moreover, Selznick asserts that the leader in his role can experience tension between different expectations of the role.²⁵⁶ Although the institution is regulated, the participants, or actors, tend in practice 'to interact

²⁵⁰ Berth Danermark et al., *Explaining Society: Critical realism in the social sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002),
27.

²⁵¹ Danermark et al., *Explaining Society: Critical realism in the social sciences*, 28.

²⁵² Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*.

²⁵³ According to Mintzberg, the term 'policy' used by Selznick, equivalates to the now utilized word strategy. Mintzberg, *Managing*, 69.

²⁵⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 100.

²⁵⁵ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 92.

²⁵⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 93.

as many-faceted persons, adjusting to the daily round in ways that spill over the neat boundaries set by their assigned role'.²⁵⁷

The element of participation is central in this project. Selznick asserts that different people have different kinds of commitment to the enterprise: 'Membership' does not mean the same thing to all who belong to an organization. Thus individuals differ widely in terms of the importance they assign to their own membership and to the organization itself. It will often (but not always) be found that leaders place a higher value on the organization than to nonleaders'.²⁵⁸ This statement applies well to the situation in the Church of Norway. In 2015,²⁵⁹ 70% of the population were members of the Church of Norway, around 50% of the children born in Norway were baptised in the Church of Norway, and 62% of the 15-yearolds attended confirmation instruction and were confirmed in the Church of Norway.²⁶⁰ However, the total number of participants on Sunday services indicates that only a small percentage of the population attend Sunday services regularly.²⁶¹ The high number of baptisms and confirmands in the Church of Norway, however, indicates that many of the church members sometimes attend Sunday services. As Selznick points out, participation also affects communication. The ability of the participants to understand decisions differs, and I would say, not only decisions, but understanding what is going on, and being able to manage meaning. Sunday services is thus an arena where a leader must adapt communication to the varying situations and understandings of the participants.

The Defense of Institutional Integrity and The Ordering of Internal Conflict

The third task of institutional leaders is to defend institutional integrity. An institution cannot focus only on its survival. However, the area of maintaining the identity and values of the organization is crucial. As Selznick asserts, 'This is at once one of the most important and

²⁵⁷ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 8.

²⁵⁸ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 98.

²⁵⁹ I have chosen to use the numbers from the time of the fieldwork in this study.

²⁶⁰ 'Den norske kirke', Statistics Norway, updated 06/17/2020, 2020, <u>https://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/kirke_kostra</u>

²⁶¹ The numbers for 2020–2022 have been lower than normal because of the pandemic. <u>https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/religion-og-livssyn/statistikk/den-norske-kirke</u>

least understood functions of leadership'.²⁶² It is necessary to perpetuate the values, competence, and role of an organization.²⁶³

A challenge in organizations is what Selznick calls 'organizational rivalry'. He says that 'Such rivalry mobilizes individual egotism, while binding it to group goals. This may create a powerful force, threatening the unity of the larger enterprise'.²⁶⁴ Therefore, the fourth task follows.

The fourth task of the institutional leader is 'The ordering of internal conflict'.²⁶⁵ When ordering a conflict between different interest groups, the leader has a dual task. First, the leadership 'must win the consent of the constituent units' by involving them and letting them be fully represented. However, at the same time, the leader must keep the power balance to keep the fulfilment of key commitments.²⁶⁶

2.2.4. The Tasks of the Pastoral Leader

The theoretical perspectives presented thus far imply that the church can be studied as an institution. Turning to the pastoral theological contribution made by Carroll, the perspectives are expanded. Now, the church is understood both as an institution and as an organism. In this thesis, I presuppose and find both perspectives useful.²⁶⁷

Carroll has utilized Selznick's description of the leadership tasks and adapted them to pastoral leadership. However, he does not elaborate on how he utilizes Selznick. He rewrites Selznick's description of the leader's task as: 'defining the organization's mission and role, embodying that purpose in its organizational life, and helping the organization and its members give expression to their distinctive values in the face of threats from without and within'.²⁶⁸ He moreover asserts that he recasts Selznick's three²⁶⁹ leadership tasks, and thus

²⁶² Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63.

²⁶³ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 119.

²⁶⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 9.

²⁶⁵ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63.

²⁶⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administra*tion, 63-64.

²⁶⁷ This is in line with Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, 'Kirken som organisme og organisasjon.

Ekklesiologiske og organisasjonsteoretiske perspektiver på kirken som fellesskap', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021).

²⁶⁸ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 92.

²⁶⁹ Carroll claims it is only three tasks. Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 92.

construes the leadership tasks as 'meaning interpretation', 'community formation', and 'empowering public ministry'.

Carroll writes of pastoral leadership in general, not specifically of pastoral leadership related to conducting services. The American context, in addition to the aim of this study, makes it necessary to adjust these theoretical approaches to the context of services in the Church of Norway. In the following, I present adapted versions of these three facets of the leadership task of pastors in the light of Selznick's theory. Doing so, I include 'inviting to bread and forgiveness' as a perspective from the Lutheran liturgical theologian Lathrop.

Before moving on to the three core tasks, I find it important to make clear two premises of Carroll's and how they guide his understanding and interpretation of Selznick's leadership tasks. The first normative premise is his understanding of the functions of the church, and the second his understanding of the primary task of pastors. First, Carroll understands the calling of the church as Christ's body as 'to function as a *community of meaning, belonging, and empowerment*'.²⁷⁰ As we see, these three functions resemble with his understanding of Selznick's three leadership tasks. The second premise is that he understands the primary pastoral task as preserving the Church's Christian identity.²⁷¹

I find Carroll's understanding of the church and the pastoral task influenced by the context in which he finds himself. Carroll is Methodist, and Professor Emeritus of Religion and Society at Duke University Divinity School in Durham, North Carolina. His background is thus far from a Scandinavian folk church context. Although the community aspect is emphasized in the Scandinavian folk church context as well, the ecclesiological debates demonstrate the diverging understandings of what and how this community should be.²⁷² These diverging understandings are also reflected in the empirical material in this thesis.

Carroll argues the primary task of pastors is preserving the congregation's Christian identity.²⁷³ The area of maintaining the identity and values of the organization, is crucial. As

²⁷⁰ Carroll, As one with Authority, 76-80.

²⁷¹ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 91-93.

²⁷² Harald Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap: Trenger vi en ny folkekirketeologi?', *Ung Teologi*, no. 1 (2012);
Sturla K.Stålsett, 'Folkekirke i et livssynsåpent samfunn: kirke for alle? Økende tros- og livssynsmangfold som utfordring til Den norke kirkes selvforståelse', in *Folkekirke nå*, eds. Stephanie Dietrich et al. (Oslo: Verbum, 2015); Tron Fagermoen, 'Etter folkekirken? En kritisk diskusjon av neo-anabaptismen som veileder for de nordiske folkekirkene', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 31, no. 2 (2014).

²⁷³ Carroll, As one with Authority, 92-93.

we have seen, Selznick asserts that 'This is at once one of the most important and least understood functions of leadership'.²⁷⁴ It is necessary to preserve the values, expertice, and role of an organization.²⁷⁵ Carroll thus finds the three core tasks of pastoral leadership as interrelated ways of fulfilling the primary task.

Meaning Interpretation

Carroll puts meaning interpretation up as the first leadership task. I interpret Carroll's elaboration of this task as a combination of elements from Selznick's first and second leadership tasks. As Carroll understands the mission and role of the church as fixed, his emphasis is put on how the pastor adapts this and thus embodies the purpose of the church. Carroll calls this task *meaning interpretation* and clarifies this by saying:

Much of what a pastor does in specific practices—preaching, designing and leading the liturgy, teaching, counseling, even organizational leadership—is aimed at assisting the congregation and its members reflect on and interpret their life, individually and corporately, in light of God's purposes in Jesus Christ. It aims at equipping and forming them as disciples of Christ.²⁷⁶

As we see, Carroll includes several specific practices related to the Sunday service as meaning interpretation. Both preaching and leading the liturgy are core practices in this project.

Carroll refers to parish surveys himself and colleagues has conducted. There 'members say that their greatest hope (and dissatisfaction from unfulfilled hopes) is that their church will assist them in 'deepening their spiritual life'.²⁷⁷ As also Carroll points out, this statement can mean several things. Still, he interprets it as an expectation that the pastor will help them in relating their daily lives 'to the stories and symbols of the Christian faith in a way that gives meaning and direction to their lives'.²⁷⁸ In other words, Carroll interprets this statement as a longing for meaning. It is also worth noticing that the approach of Carroll resembles well with Danermark et al. when he states that meaning interpretation is far more than a cognitive enterprise. He argues that through the liturgy, in music, in the sacraments, in

²⁷⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63.

²⁷⁵ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 119.

²⁷⁶ Carroll, As one with Authority, 93.

²⁷⁷ Carroll, As one with Authority, 97.

²⁷⁸ Carroll, As one with Authority, 97.

symbols of the worship space and in priorities, pastors communicate meaning although it is not easy to put them into words.²⁷⁹

The understanding of leadership as meaning interpretation resembles with Selznick and the further developed approach within leadership studies emphasizing leadership as the management of meaning. Alvesson and Spicer use the term 'management of meaning',²⁸⁰ building on Smircich and Morgan,²⁸¹ who stated three decades ago that '[t]he actions and utterances of leaders guide the attention of those involved in a situation in ways that are consciously or unconsciously designed to shape the meaning of the situation'.²⁸²

Community Formation and Inviting to Bread and Forgiveness

Carroll calls the second leadership task community formation. In this section, I present his understanding of this leadership task, and complement this understanding with Lathrop's perspective of inviting to bread and forgiveness.

Carroll argues there is a close connection between meaning interpretation and community formation.²⁸³ This task implies 'helping to shape the congregation as a community of belonging'²⁸⁴, or more specifically 'shape the congregation in ways that embody its identity as the body of Christ'.²⁸⁵ One element in this community formation is the pastor's role as a celebrant of the sacraments. In baptism, God incorporates individuals in the family of God, and in the Eucharist, the people of God are brought together.²⁸⁶ Besides being sacraments important in themselves, both baptism and Eucharist are important also in the perspective of forming the community.

Carroll moreover highlights the symbolic role of the pastor in celebration of the sacraments.²⁸⁷ In the broad sense of the term, symbols can be defined as 'something used for or regarded as representing something else; a material object representing something,

²⁷⁹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 98.

²⁸⁰ Alvesson and Spicer, *Metaphors we Lead by*, 12.

²⁸¹ Smircich and Morgan, 'Leadership'.

²⁸² Smircich and Morgan, 'Leadership', 261.

²⁸³ Carroll, As one with Authority, 100.

²⁸⁴ Carroll, As one with Authority, 100.

²⁸⁵ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 100.

²⁸⁶ Carroll, As one with Authority, 102.

²⁸⁷ Carroll, As one with Authority, 101.

often something immaterial; emblem, token, or sign'.²⁸⁸ As previously stated, these elements resemble the third pillar in Scott's definition of institution, namely the 'cultural-cognitive elements'. These are 'the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and create the frames through which meaning is made'.²⁸⁹ This understanding implies that phenomena are infused with meanings that must be translated to be understood. Or, as Afdal points out, if people do not master the artefacts, rituals and language, they become spectators and not participants.²⁹⁰

Leaders can thus be symbols and carriers of symbols.²⁹¹ Leaders are interwoven in symbolic phenomena and use symbols actively. Strand asserts that a prominent physical position, the privilege, and duty to conduct rituals, privileges of transport and significant clothing seems to be universal ways for leaders to display their symbolic role.²⁹² Except the privileges of transport, all the other symbolic elements are present in the practice of the pastor conducting Sunday services. In Sunday services, pastors have a prominent position in front of the church. They have the duty and privilege of leading the Sunday service and administrating the sacraments. Moreover, their clothing separates them from ordinary life, and demonstrates their privileges as only those ordained can carry the stole and the chasuble.

Carroll's emphasis on community formation builds on one of the dominant aspects of Selznick's second leadership task, namely focusing on building social structure and transform 'neutral body of men' into a committed polity.²⁹³ Read in the light of the ecclesiological debate in the Scandinavian folk churches the last decades, this perspective however, raises some fundamental questions: Who belongs to the fellowship? Should the congregation be a committed fellowship? Has the pastor a responsibility for building a committed fellowship? What kind of fellowship should that be?

In the Church of Norway, there has long been a tension between being a folk church and a community of believers.²⁹⁴ Hegstad claims that there have been two prominent positions in

²⁸⁸ 'Symbol', in *dictionary.com* (2023). https://www.dictionary.com/browse/symbol.

²⁸⁹ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, 67.

²⁹⁰ Geir Afdal, *Religion som bevegelse: Læring, kunnskap og mediering* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2013), 159.

²⁹¹ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 150.

²⁹² Strand, *Ledelse*, organisasjon og kultur, 152.

²⁹³ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 90.

²⁹⁴ The Norwegian terms often used are 'folkekirke' and 'trosfellesskap'.

the Church of Norway.²⁹⁵ One of these positions emphasized the community of believers as a smaller unit than the folk church; in this point of view, the folk church was understood as a mission field.²⁹⁶ The other position emphasized the folk church itself as an expression of Christian fellowship; people become members of the church through baptism, and all who are baptised are equal members in the church.²⁹⁷ These two positions have had implications for the strategies of the church: those aimed at building strong Christian fellowships within the church and those aimed at strengthening the position of the church in the local community.²⁹⁸

According to Hegstad, these two strong positions have softened in recent years, and he strives for a new kind of folk church theology that emphasizes a dynamic understanding of the church as strongly 'communio'. Hegstad emphasizes that the church's core identity should be that of fellowship between people and claims that this aspect of the church is being overshadowed by other aspects.²⁹⁹ He emphasizes, '[e]cclesia is both *the act of coming together* (to fellowship/to commune) and the *group that comes together* (the fellowship/the community)'.³⁰⁰ This understanding of church presupposes that people *gather*. However, the church continues to be the church beyond the worship service; it is not only present there.³⁰¹ Hegstad thus argues for a missional ecclesiology focusing on movement and challenge for all members of the church.³⁰²

Being aware of these questions and debates, I still comply with Carroll's understanding of community formation as one of the pastors' leadership tasks. This position is moreover based on Selznick's understanding of community formation as part of the leadership task of institutional embodiment of purpose.

As part of community formation, Carroll moreover includes administrative and managerial tasks. Relevant for this thesis, is his emphasis on the importance of pastors having the skills

²⁹⁵ Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap', 13.

²⁹⁶ Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap', 12.

²⁹⁷ Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap', 12.

²⁹⁸ Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap', 13.

²⁹⁹ Hegstad, *The Real Church*, 15.

³⁰⁰ Hegstad, *The Real Church*, 16.

³⁰¹ Hegstad, *The Real Church*, 16.

³⁰² Hegstad, 'Folkekirken som fellesskap', 16-17.

to manage conflict.³⁰³ This aspect corresponds with Selznick's fourth task; The ordering of internal conflict.

As a further concretization and operationalization of community formation, I bring in a perspective from Lathrop, who draws a line back to Justin Martyr when he says that the presider's tasks 'come down to bread and forgiveness'.³⁰⁴ Although Lathrop himself does not write this explicitly, I extrapolate from his writings that he believes the pastor's task in presiding can be formulated as 'inviting to bread and forgiveness'.³⁰⁵ Here, the term *inviting* does not refer to someone outside being invited in. Rather, I utilize it in the more general sense of inviting someone to come closer and to participate.

By 'bread and forgiveness', Lahrop includes: '[b]read' in the holy meal, in the read and preached and sung Word that leads to the holy meal, in the sending of signs of communion and of help to the absent and the wretched; 'forgiveness' in the bath, in the absolution, in the sermon, in the peace, in communion, in the sending'.³⁰⁶ These practices are what the pastor does in presiding. Leading the liturgy is, in that sense, an inviting practice. Furthermore, according to Lathrop, there is a close relationship between the liturgy and the sermon:

The sermon should say in words from the texts the same thing the bread and cup say in sign: 'The body and blood of Christ, given and shed for you. Take. Eat. Drink. Believe. Live'. More: The sermon should bring to expression what 'church' is at all— an open assembly, with the word of forgiveness and the bread of Christ's presence at the center, available for the world, turned toward the outsiders, and the poor.³⁰⁷

The inviting element from Lathrop deepens and expands the understanding of Carroll, and I will utilize Lathrop's perspective as its own category and aspect when I analyze and discuss if and how the pastors perform leadership in the Sunday service.

Empowering

Carroll argues that both 'meaning interpretation' and 'community formation' contribute to this third pastoral task: 'empowering congregational members individually and collectively

³⁰³ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 102.

³⁰⁴ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 33.

³⁰⁵ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 23-40.

³⁰⁶ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 33.

³⁰⁷ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 47.

to live as people of God in the world'.³⁰⁸ Empowerment is not at term utilized by Selznick. However, as I interpret Carroll, this third task is a combination and expansion of Selznick's third and fourth tasks. Selznick's third task is the defence of institutional integrity. This task focuses thus on protection of the organization from threats from outside. The fourth task is focusing more on threats from inside, as internal conflicts can be a threat to the organization. When Carroll adjusts these two tasks to empowering public ministry, his understanding of church is open to view. The church should be an empowering community.

According to Carroll, empowerment implies that the pastor is supposed to help the congregation to reflect on the implications of their faith in their daily lives. It is the pastor's task to equip people for ministry in 'their everyday roles in family life, work, civic affairs, and leisure activities'.³⁰⁹ How can their faith, its words, and symbols, be resources for acting? Moreover, how can they and the congregation best act in a concrete setting? Or, as Selznick puts it, can they contribute to the defence of the institutional integrity?

Carroll's understanding seems to express what Schattauer refers to as a conventional understanding of the relationship between worship and mission.³¹⁰ In this approach, 'liturgy is understood and practiced as the quintessential activity for those inside the church community'.³¹¹ I do not follow Carroll's understanding of the Sunday service at this point. Instead, I expand my understanding of the service to the approach Schattauer and other liturgical scholars define as 'inside out'.³¹² This understanding 'locates the liturgical assembly itself within the arena of the Missio Dei'³¹³ and '[f]rom this perspective, there is no separation between liturgy and mission',³¹⁴ '[t]he assembly for worship *is* mission'³¹⁵; and '[t]he seemingly most internal of all activities, the church's worship, is ultimately directed outward to the world'.³¹⁶

³⁰⁸ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 104.

³⁰⁹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 105.

³¹⁰ Thomas H. Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly as Locus of Mission', in *Inside Out: Worship in an Age of Mission*, ed. Thomas H. Schattauer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 2.

³¹¹ Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly', 2.

³¹² Thomas H. Schattauer, ed., Inside Out: Worship in an Age of Mission (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999).

³¹³ Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly', 3.

³¹⁴ Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly', 3.

³¹⁵ Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly', 3.

³¹⁶ Schattauer, 'Liturgical Assembly', 3.

Furthermore, the Church of Norway is a folk church. Many of those attending services, e.g., for baptisms and confirmations, do not attend church regularly, and have divergent relationships with the Christian faith (despite most likely having been baptised). When Carroll speaks of empowering public ministry, I argue for widening the scope and drawing attention to the service itself as part of the practice of *empowering congregational members individually and collectively to live as the people of God in the world*. Empowering people to live and to serve in the worship service itself can be seen as living as people of God and participating in Missio Dei.

As pointed out, both Carroll and Lathrop are positioned within an American context. This context is, in many ways, different from the context in which Norwegian pastors are situated.³¹⁷ However, I argue that the foundation in Selznick's institutional leadership theory and the adjusted combination of Carroll and Lathrop make the theory applicable. This approach moreover resonates well with what Skjevesland names as the key tasks of pastoral leadership.³¹⁸ I will therefore utilize this combination as one of the approaches when analyzing how the pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how this practice can be understood.

The Question of Authority and Power

Carroll's understanding of pastoral leadership builds on an understanding of the pastor's having the authority to lead. He defines the authority to lead as 'the right to do so in a particular group or institution, based upon a combination of qualities, characteristics, or expertise that the leader has or that the followers believe their leader has'.³¹⁹ Moreover, he presumes that 'In the Christian tradition, clergy authority, granted in ordination, includes proclaiming the word of God through preaching and teaching, administering the sacraments, exercising pastoral care and oversight of the congregation, and, in general, equipping the laity for ministry'.³²⁰ However, the authority of a pastor can be both questioned and challenged.³²¹

³¹⁷ For an introduction to the context in which the pastors find themselves, see chapter 3.8.

³¹⁸ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 110-11.

³¹⁹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 1.

³²⁰ Carroll, As one with Authority, 2.

³²¹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 2-3.

I find it pertinent to add nuance to Carroll's understanding of authority with a more exact and detailed theoretical perspective by drawing on the classic contribution by Weber. Weber's distinction between power and authority is still relevant. While he defines power as the ability to achieve one's will, even against the resistance of others, authority is legitimate power.³²² He distinguishes between three types of legitimate authority: legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. Legal authority is built on law, and the law legitimizes the decisions of the person who is in charge. It is thus the law that decides who to obey, and to what extent people should be obeyed.³²³ Traditional authority builds on the understanding that old arrangements and authority are holy. When someone obeys the master, this is because the tradition makes him a worthy and holy person. If the master violates the tradition, his authority will be questioned, as this resides in the tradition.³²⁴ Charismatic authority is authority a person receives because of his or her personality or charismatic gifts; their charisma. This person shows that he/she possesses the right to lead by virtue of his/her special qualities. It is the person who is given authority, and not the law or tradition. The charismatic authority is dependent upon and must be recognized by other people.325

Repstad states that we live in a society where we are sceptical toward authority and that the time of religious chiefs is gone.³²⁶ It is thus questioned to what extent the pastor still has legal and traditional authority.³²⁷ However, as Skjeveland points out, the church of Norway builds on a bureaucratic legal logic and the pastor has a legal element in her authority built on education and ordination. She is moreover the theological expert and text interpreter in the congregation.³²⁸ In Sunday services, the pastor has legal authority, as she is responsible for leading and preparing the services.³²⁹

³²² Weber wrote in German, and the translation of his definition has been widely discussed. Isidor Wallimann, Nicholas Ch. Tatsis, and George V. Zito, 'On Max Weber's Definition of Power', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 13, no. 3 (1977).

 ³²³ Max Weber, Makt og byråkrati: Essays om politikk og klasse, samfunnsforskning og verdier. Utvalg og innledning ved Egil Fivelstad, trans. Dag Østerberg (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, 2000), 83-85.
 ³²⁴ Weber, Makt og byråkrati, 85.

³²⁵ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

³²⁶ Pål Repstad, 'Innledning: Fra ordet alene til sanselig populærkultur?', in *Fra forsakelse til feelgood: Musikk, sang og dans i religiøst liv*, eds. Pål Repstad and Irene Trysnes (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2013), 27.
³²⁷ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 112-13, 17.

³²⁸ Skjevesland, Morgendagens menighet, 113-15.

³²⁹ §7 in 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester'.

Moreover, as Skjevesland points out, the church clearly shows signs of traditional authority. The church represents the old, sacred, and stable. Thus, the pastor is a carrier of tradition, represents the holy, and has a symbolic function. Skjevesland moreover refers to Josuttis when he refers to the pastor as a cross-border commuter³³⁰ between daily life and the holy.³³¹ As a specification or elaboration of traditional authority, I follow Kilde, who argues that '[r]eligious space is powerful space'.³³² In addition to the leader's power, there is personal power, which she characterizes as 'the various feelings of spiritual empowerment that individuals derive from an experience of the divine'.³³³ She concretizes this by saying: 'Church buildings indicate social power, then, as a means of articulating and lending legitimacy to the organizational structures of the religious group. The isolated chancel or sanctuary indicates the special knowledge and power of the priest. The elevated pulpit indicates the special knowledge and power of the priest. The special chancel or sanctuary indicates the special knowledge and power of the priest. The special volutions and artefacts are important elements when considering the traditional authority of the pastor in Sunday services.

Last, the pastor can receive charismatic authority through her authenticity and capability.³³⁵ The understanding of the term authenticity will be elaborated later in the theory chapter.³³⁶

There are thus elements of legal, traditional, and possibly also charismatic authority when pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services. Using these three categories in the analysis can contribute to a deeper understanding of how the pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

2.3. A Study of Leaders in Practice

The other main theoretical perspective Askeland draws on in his model is the understanding of leadership as work and practice, or managerial work behaviour (MWB). This tradition of

³³⁰ Translation of the German word *grenzgänger*.

³³¹ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 115.

³³² Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

³³³ Kilde, Sacred Power, Sacred Space, 4.

³³⁴ Kilde, Sacred Power, Sacred Space, 9.

³³⁵ Skjevesland, Morgendagens menighet, 115-16.

³³⁶ See 2.4.4.

studying leaders in practice has, for more than sixty years, given insights into the understanding of leadership that differs from more universal and normative approaches.³³⁷ These behaviour studies include several themes and approaches. All of them question what leaders do, however, what they emphasize differs from actions, activities, and tasks to functions.³³⁸

Although the starting point has been empirical investigations,³³⁹ this research tradition also assumes an understanding of what management is. According to Askeland,³⁴⁰ these are the responsibility of results,³⁴¹ influencing members of a group or organization to realize common tasks or goals aiming for long term survival.³⁴² It moreover emphasizes the managerial task of facilitating individual and collective meaning and action³⁴³ through the conscious work of maintaining and developing the values of the organization.³⁴⁴ The organizational foundation of authority and responsibility is emphasized.³⁴⁵ Moreover, as Askeland asserts, when the study of and understanding of management start with everyday practices, the context thus becomes more central.³⁴⁶

MWB thematizes what leaders do, and how leaders are interwoven in their interaction with others. This research conducted on leaders in practice can be called analysis on a micro level, as it studies individual leaders and their behaviour.³⁴⁷

In this thesis, I utilize Kemmis' understanding of practice combined with managerial role theory when analyzing the leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday services. I argue that

³³⁷ For an overview and review of the contributions in this field, see Maja Korica, Davide Nicolini, and Bart Johnson, 'In Search of "Managerial Work": Past, Present and Future of an Analytical Category', *International Journal of Management Reviews* 19, no. 2 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12090; Askeland, 'Ledelsegenerelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 159. Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 131-34. Stefan Tengblad and Ola Edvin Vie, 'Management in Practice: Overview of Classic Studies on Managerial Work ', in *The Work of Managers: Towards a Practice Theory of Management*, ed. Stefan Tengblad (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³³⁸ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 132.

³³⁹ Henry Mintzberg, 'Rounding out the Manager's Job', *Sloan management review* 36, no. 1 (1994). Korica, Nicolini, and Johnson, 'In Search of 'Managerial Work'.

³⁴⁰ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 182.

³⁴¹ For an elaboration, see Colin Hales, 'Why do Managers Do What They Do? Reconciling Evidence and Theory in Accounts of Managerial Work', *British journal of management* 10, no. 4 (1999), https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.00143.

³⁴² For an elaboration, see Mintzberg, *Managing*.

³⁴³ Coo Vield Londonchin in Opponiestions

³⁴³ See Yukl, *Leadership in Organiz*ations.

³⁴⁴ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*.

³⁴⁵ Askeland refers to Hales, 'Why do Managers Do'; Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 183.

³⁴⁶ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 183.

³⁴⁷ Askeland, 'Diakoniledelse i praksis', 168.

Kemmis' understanding of practice supplements the managerial role theory, and that it contributes to an overall framework and structure of the analysis. I first present Kemmis' understanding of practice before I turn to managerial role theory.

2.3.1. Kemmis' Understanding of Practice

Kemmis understands practice as 'an evolving social form which is reflexively restructured and transformed over time¹³⁴⁸ and 'as socially and historically constituted, and as reconstituted by human agency and social action'.³⁴⁹ He further states that practice is constituted in 'sayings, doings, and relatings'.³⁵⁰ *Doings*, or what actors do, is a central element in practice. As Kemmis argues, 'Practice is always dramaturgical in character—it unfolds in human and social action'.³⁵¹ *Doings* points moreover to practices being 'materially and economically formed'.³⁵² They are then not merely understood as behaviour or activity, but as taking place within a material context. The practice of a pastor presiding during a Sunday service is indeed dramaturgical. The pastor performs a liturgy in a particular room, using her voice and body language, moving around and in the room, and relating to and using different artefacts.

Sayings are both 'what people say the practice is, as well as what they say while they are doing it and what they say about what they do'.³⁵³ Practices are 'discursively formed'³⁵⁴ in the sense that they are 'constituted and represented in forms of thought (what we think we are doing, our intentions) and language or specialist discourse that makes practice comprehensible, understandable and interpretable as this or that particular kind of practice'.³⁵⁵ During a Sunday service, pastors say a great deal, and not just the prescribed words in the liturgy and the words they've written for the sermon.³⁵⁶Moreover, their sayings also include the pastors' sayings about their practice.

³⁴⁸ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 20.

³⁴⁹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 21.

³⁵⁰ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25-26.

³⁵¹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 23.

³⁵² Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25.

³⁵³ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25.

³⁵⁴ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25.

³⁵⁵ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25.

³⁵⁶ See 5.2.

When Kemmis uses the term *relatings*, he argues that practices are socially formed: '... practices are also constituted in "relatings"—current and anticipated social connections made and invoked in and through the practice'.³⁵⁷ Moreover, Kemmis states,

Practice is always materially and economically formed and structured—it is shaped by physical and material circumstances, by 'set-ups' of physical objects including tools, resources, 'raw materials', and in more or less regular patterns of activity ('activity systems') that involve different people and object and people at different stages in the unfolding of the practice.³⁵⁸

He links the set-ups to the *doings* and says that they are materially and economically formed. However, the set-ups are not only connected to the *doings*; they can also relate to the *sayings* and *relatings*. Examples of set-ups in this project are the buildings and artefacts in which services were conducted, and regulations and guidelines for Sunday services and pastors in the Church of Norway. Kemmis also states that practices are historically formed.³⁵⁹

I find Kemmis' inclusion of *relatings* in addition to *doings* and *sayings* in the constitution of practice, and his focus on sites and the historical and contextual elements pertinent to the analysis of how the pastors in this study carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

2.3.2. A Study of the Managerial Roles – Focusing on the Integrator

Askeland's model emphasizes that leaders, like other social actors, carry out roles. I follow the general definition of the term 'role' as: The expectations, norms, and rules associated with a social position or task.³⁶⁰ Leaders are instructed by, take, and create roles in organizations. There is a distinction between constitutive and strategic expectations in the role. Constitutive expectations are formal expectations constituting and identifying the role, while strategic expectations are informal expectations of the role coming from the surroundings.³⁶¹ Leaders thus balance their behaviour between the formal demands of the organization, the expectations of others, and their own choices and interpretations.³⁶² A

³⁵⁷ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 25.

³⁵⁸ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 23

³⁵⁹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 21, 23.

³⁶⁰ Thomas Brante, 'Rolleteori', in *Sosiologisk leksikon*, ed. Olav Korsnes (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2008), 258.

³⁶¹ Askeland, *Ledere og lederroller*, 36.

³⁶² Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 387.

central question is whether leaders are actors who have latitude and freedom in their role, or if they are bound by given structures.³⁶³

In 1979, Adizes asserted that management must perform four roles. These are the role of the producer (P), the administrator (A), the entrepreneur (E), and the integrator (I).³⁶⁴ However, Adizes moreover states that complementary staffing is necessary to fulfil roles. No individual can do so on her own.³⁶⁵ Askeland's model builds on modifications and adjustments of Adizes' model made by Strand,³⁶⁶ the further developed typology within The Competing Values Framework,³⁶⁷ and two central dimensions found in studies within MWB.³⁶⁸ All agree on the external-internal dimension, emphasizing that two of the managerial roles (the integrator and administrator) are internally oriented, while the other two are externally oriented. However, the other dimension differs slightly. While Strand and Cameron, Quinn and DeGraff focus on stability and control versus individuality and flexibility,³⁶⁹ Askeland builds on empirical studies of leaders emphasizing task and structure on the one hand, and relationships on the other.

As previously argued, I delimit this study to the integrator role. The word 'integer' means 'a complete entity',³⁷⁰ and to integrate can mean to do what is necessary to the entirety.³⁷¹ The integrator finds herself in the relation-oriented internal sphere, and is 'focusing on functions necessary to bind the system together as a functioning whole. Such functions are related to motivating employees, developing and empowering them as competent actors, consulting

³⁶³ Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, 'Roller, identitet og ledelse i praksis', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021). 203.

³⁶⁴ Ichak Adizes, *How to Solve the Mismanagement Crisis: Diagnosis and Treatment of Management Problems* (San Diego: Adizes Institute, 1979).

³⁶⁵ Adizes, *How to Solve*, 5.

³⁶⁶ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*; Sirris and Askeland, 'Roller, identitet og ledelse ', 204.

³⁶⁷ K. S. Cameron, R. E. Quinn, and J. DeGraff, *Competing Values Leadership: Creating Value in Organizations* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006), https://doi.org/10.4337/9781847201560.

³⁶⁸ Sirris and Askeland, 'Roller, identitet og ledelse', 204; Mintzberg, *Managing*; Rosemary Stewart, 'Studies of Managerial Jobs and Behaviour: The Ways Forward', *Journal of management studies* 26, no. 1 (1989), https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.1989.tb00713.x.

³⁶⁹ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur,* 250-51. Cameron, Quinn, and DeGraff, *Competing Values Leadership: Creating Value in Organizations,* 7.

³⁷⁰ Dictionary.com

³⁷¹ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 483.

with them and guiding them into an integrated team'.³⁷² The role as integrator includes the role of helper and adviser.³⁷³

Mintzberg asserts that 'managing takes place on three *planes*, from the conceptual to the concrete: *with information, through people*, and *to action* directly'.³⁷⁴ 'On the information plane, managers *communicate* (all around) and *control* (inside). On the people plane, they *lead* (inside) and *link* (to the outside). And on the action plane, they *do* (inside) and *deal* (outside)'.³⁷⁵ Mintzberg moreover presents roles of managing on the three planes.³⁷⁶ As I have chosen to focus on the integrator, who is in the internal sphere, I concentrate on the inside aspects of the three planes. Mintzberg's theory is aimed at managers having an overall responsibility for an organization or organizational unit. It is thus evident that not all the managerial roles in the three planes presented by Mintzberg are in play in this practice limited in time and space. Therefore, I focus on presenting and adapting the managerial roles I find relevant in the study of the pastors conducting Sunday services. Figure 4 illustrates how I adapt Mintzberg's approach to the study of the integrator role of the pastors in Sunday services.

³⁷² Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

³⁷³ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 502-03.

³⁷⁴ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 49.

³⁷⁵ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 49.

³⁷⁶ For a summarized presentation, see Table 3.1 in Mintzberg, *Managing*, 90.

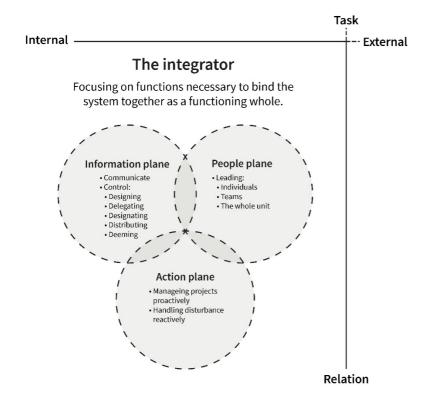


Figure 4: The theoretical apparatus for the study of the Integrator role of pastors in Sunday services

Mintzberg asserts that 'To manage through information means to sit two steps removed from the ultimate purpose of managing: information is processed by the manager to encourage other people to take the necessary actions'.³⁷⁷ The focus is thus directly not on the people (relations) or actions (tasks), however on information 'as an indirect way to make things happen'.³⁷⁸ On the information plane, managers communicate and control. When communicating internally, managers are monitoring in the sense that they reach out and are bombarded with information. Mintzberg claims that 'the manager becomes the *nerve center* of the unit—its best-informed member, at least if he or she is doing the job well'.³⁷⁹ Moreover, Mintzberg describes everyone reporting to a manager as a specialist and the manager herself as the generalist.³⁸⁰ In the sense that other professions contribute to the

³⁷⁷ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 52.

³⁷⁸ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 52.

 ³⁷⁹ Mintzberg quotes Cester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), 218. Mintzberg, *Managing*, 54.
 ³⁸⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*.

service and are specialists in their field, this description is apt. However, the pastor is the person with most theological competence and thus more than a generalist.

Mintzberg expresses an ambivalence towards the aspect of 'control', as this term in an earlier period was synonymous with managing. He emphasizes that controlling as directing the behaviour of 'subordinates' and as control of 'the unit through the exercise of formal authority¹³⁸¹ is only one aspect of the job. Moreover, 'decision making can be seen as encompassing the various aspects of controlling'.³⁸² Mintzberg further categorized different aspects of controlling as 'designing' (strategies, structures, and systems), 'delegating' (assigns tasks to someone else on an ad hoc basis), 'designating' (making of specific choices), 'distributing' (allocating resources because of other decisions), and 'deeming' (imposing targets on people and expecting them to perform accordingly).³⁸³

Mintzberg's second plane is managing people. According to him, this is to 'step closer to action but still [to] remain removed from it. On this plane, the manager helps other people make things happen; *they* are the doers'.³⁸⁴ The inside aspect of managing with people, Mintzberg labels leading. Managers exercise leadership on three levels; individual, team, and the whole unit or organization. In managing individuals, the task is to energize and develop them, teams should be built and maintained, and the whole unit or organization's culture should be established and strengthened.³⁸⁵

Mintzberg's third plane is managing action directly. According to Mintzberg, this aspect of managing is neglected, as many managers 'hardly "do" anything'.³⁸⁶ However, 'the manager as "doer" is really the person who "gets it done".³⁸⁷ Mintzberg asserts 'there are two aspects of the doing role: managing projects proactively and handling disturbances reactively'.³⁸⁸ While managing projects largely is 'about initiating and designing proactive change in the unit,... handling disturbances is about reacting to changes forced on the unit'.³⁸⁹

³⁸¹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 57.

³⁸² Mintzberg, *Managing*, 58.

³⁸³ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 59-62.

³⁸⁴ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 62.

³⁸⁵ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 65-72.

³⁸⁶ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 81.

³⁸⁷ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 81.

³⁸⁸ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 82.

³⁸⁹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 84.

There is a huge difference between analyzing a manager of an organization or organizational unit and studying the managerial role of the pastor. It can thus be argued whether the action plane is suitable for discerning the practice of the pastors. However, it is a pastor's job to lead the Sunday service, and that implies concrete doings such as leading the liturgy and preaching. Although it is possible to argue each service is a project, it can be questioned whether the services are about initiating and designing proactive change or not.

The manager must respond to disturbances. Some of these disturbances require the formal authority of managers, and some require her nerve centre information.³⁹⁰ When I choose to utilize the action plane as an analytical lens, I use it focusing on the concrete and detailed doings of the pastors in preparing the services. Thus, the action plane becomes something else than the information plane and people plane. However, I argue that the action plane includes doings necessary to the entirety.³⁹¹

In his presentation of Mintzberg's three planes, Askeland moreover introduces a fourth plane, namely the symbolic dimension represented by the institutional leader.³⁹² This plane has been thoroughly presented earlier.³⁹³

2.4. The Actor and Context in Leadership

Askeland has compared different contributions to contextualization.³⁹⁴ In his integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice, he has included contextual aspects, but has not developed them.³⁹⁵ He has put up an 'actor-box' in addition to the three structural elements: 1) tradition and established structure and historical development, 2) regulation, and 3) what Askeland calls context, namely national culture and the local community.

³⁹⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 85.

³⁹¹ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 483.

³⁹² Askeland, 'Ledelse- generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 172.

³⁹³ See 2.2.

³⁹⁴ Askeland compares the perspectives of Porter & McLaughlin, Johns, Jepson, Mintzberg and Meier. Harald Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse: Diakoni, verdier og ledelse i praksis' (VID vitenskapelige høgskole/ Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet, 2016), 66.

³⁹⁵ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191.

According to Grimstad, institutional theory has traditionally focused mostly on adaption to institutional patterns in context, and not so much on the actor perspective.³⁹⁶ Contributions that understand leadership as practice have, to a large degree, included the contextual.³⁹⁷ However, newer contributions in institutional theory have tried to reintegrate the perspectives of the actor and actorship.³⁹⁸ Askeland argues for leadership having both a collective/contextual and an individual/intentional dimension.³⁹⁹ The starting point is that leaders are anchored in the organization and take care of central duties. At the same time, however, leaders have responsibility of interpretation and the latitude to initiate different kinds of measures.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, leadership studies must thematize how leaders as actors act intentionally and, at the same time, within the frames of institutional order.⁴⁰¹ Askeland moreover argues that context cannot only be seen as an objective reality outside the actor having a leader role. There is a subjective element in this emphasizing the actors' interpretation of the context.⁴⁰² and thus the actors' possibility to change the context.⁴⁰³

In this chapter, I follow Askeland's structure in his integrated model of church leadership when presenting elements I find necessary in order to understand the empirical material in this thesis. I thus focus first on the 'actor-box' (2.4.1) before I move on to the three structural elements: 1) tradition and established structure and historical development (2.4.2), 2) regulation (2.4.3), and 3) what Askeland calls context, namely national culture and the local community (2.4.4).

2.4.1. The Actor: Gender, Education, Religious Experience

Askeland mentions gender, education, and religious experience⁴⁰⁴ as the elements in his actor-category. In chapter 3, Methodology, I expound on the sampling and recruiting of the

³⁹⁶ Frank Grimstad, 'Institusjonelle rammer for kirkelig ledelse', eds. Stephen Sirris and Harald Askeland, *Kirkelig organisering og ledelse* (Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP Nordic Open Access Scholarly Publishing, 2021). 137.

³⁹⁷ Grimstad, 'Institusjonelle rammer', 135.

³⁹⁸ Grimstad, 'Institusjonelle rammer', 137.

³⁹⁹ Askeland, 'Ledelse - generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 158. Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse ', 68.

⁴⁰⁰ Askeland, 'Ledelse - generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 163.

⁴⁰¹ Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse', 21-22.

⁴⁰² Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse', 22.

⁴⁰³ Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse', 66-67.

⁴⁰⁴ Askeland, 'Ledelse - generelle og kirkelige perspektiver', 158.

pastors in this study.⁴⁰⁵ Moreover, I present the seven pastors and some of their backgrounds.⁴⁰⁶ This information contains information about gender, and some information about their religious background. In the following, however, I comment briefly on how I have treated the three categories in this thesis.

In 1961, the first woman was ordained as a pastor in the Church of Norway.⁴⁰⁷ In 2015, when most of the fieldwork for this thesis was conducted, 31% of the pastors in the Church of Norway were women.⁴⁰⁸ Three out of seven pastors in this study are women. Do male and female pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services differently? It is relevant and pertinent to ask this question. Therefore, I have looked for what I interpret to be gendered practices or patterns in the material. However, I have not utilized gender theory to analyze the empirical material in this thesis.

The education for pastors in the Church of Norway has, until recently,⁴⁰⁹ been relatively homogenous as the church has demanded that candidates for ordination should have the theological degree candidate/candidatus theologiae in addition to practical theological training.⁴¹⁰ All the pastors in this study have this degree, and are educated at one of the traditional theological faculties in Norway, either at the Theological Faculty at the University of Oslo, at MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, or at VID Stavanger, the former MHS School of Mission and Theology. However, although the education has fulfilled the same criteria, there have been differences between the faculties both regarding emphasis and theology.⁴¹¹ It would have been interesting to look further into how their training influenced how the pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

⁴⁰⁵ See 3.3.

⁴⁰⁶ See 3.9.

⁴⁰⁷ Kristin Molland Norderval, 'Ingrid Bjerkås', in *Store norske leksikon* (https://snl.no/Ingrid_Bjerk%C3%A5s: snl.no, 2022).

⁴⁰⁸ 'Luthersk likestilling', Den norske kirke, 2017, accessed 03.03.2023.

⁴⁰⁹ New qualification requirement now opens for a shorter education. Kirkerådet Den norske kirke,

^{&#}x27;Tjenesteordning med kvalifikasjonskrav for menighetsprester', ed. Kirkemøtet

⁽https://www.kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/lover-og-

regler/tjenesteordning%20med%20kvalifikasjonskrav%20for%20menighetsprester%202022.pdf: Kirkerådet, 2022), §3.

⁴¹⁰ Kulturdepartementet, 'Forskrift om kvalifikasjonskrav for tilsetting som prest i Den norske kirke', ed. Kirkemøtet (2016). The qualification requirement opened to alternative paths to ordination also before 2022, however the main and traditional path to ordination has been the full theological degree.

⁴¹¹ For the history of education of pastors in Norway, see Vidar L. Haanes, '*Hvad skal da dette blive for prester?*' *Presteutdannelsen i spenningsfeltet mellom universitet og kirke, med vekt på modernitetens gjennombrudd i Norge,* ed. Stiftelsen Kirkeforskning, vol. 5, KIFO Perspektiv, (Trondheim: Tapir, 1998).

However, as I elaborate on in the methodology chapter, because of confidentiality requirements, I have decided to omit information about where the different pastors were trained.⁴¹²

As the presentation of the pastors demonstrates, they have diverging religious backgrounds.⁴¹³ All the pastors in this study grew up with the Church of Norway as the state church and majority church.⁴¹⁴ However, as the presentation of the pastors shows, the closeness of their relationship to the Church of Norway when they grew up varied. Some of the pastors also tell of a background from lay organizations and free churches. In the next sub-chapter, I give a brief introduction to the lay movement and the relationship to the Church of Norway.

However, within the limits of this presentation, it is not possible to introduce all the lay organizations and their culture and theological understanding. When I present the pastors, I give references to the organizations the pastors have referred to.

2.4.2. Tradition and Established Structure, Historical Development

Askeland names tradition and established structure, and historical development as one of his structural boxes. These are all broad categories. I introduce most of the traditional and historical elements when I find it relevant to the analysis of the material. However, in this section, I find it pertinent to give a brief introduction to some of the diverging traditions influencing the Church of Norway. I thus give a brief presentation of the liturgical movement, the lay organizations, and the charismatic movement.

The liturgical movement is a global trend influencing all branches of Christianity.⁴¹⁵ This movement emphasizes the community and the church as the body of Christ, and protests individualism: Here, '[t]he intention has not been to *repeat*, but to rediscover certain principles of worship that had been forgotten or overlaid'.⁴¹⁶ Fenwick and Spinks point to the

⁴¹² See 3.6 Ethical considerations.

⁴¹³ See 3.9 Presentation of the Seven Pastors

⁴¹⁴ In 1970, 94% of the population were members of the Church of Norway. In 2000, around 86%. Development from 1979-2012: 'Utvikling av medlemstall i Den norske kirke. 1970-2012. Absolutte tall og andel', Statistisk sentralbyrå, accessed 03.03.2023. In 2015, 73% were members: 'Færre medlemmer i Den norske kirke', Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2019, accessed 03.03.2023.

⁴¹⁵ John Fenwick and Bryan Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995).

⁴¹⁶ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 7.

following characteristics of the movement: the 'struggle for community'; community participation; a rediscovery of the Bible, the Eucharist, other Christian traditions, and the Early Church as a model, as well as an emphasis on the vernacular and on proclamation and social involvement.⁴¹⁷ The liturgical movement has also led to a general awareness of and willingness to learn from other Christian traditions. As Fenwick and Spinks point out, '[t]he result is a remarkable degree of similarity between once widely-different traditions, and the pleasant discovery of the familiar in each other's worship'.⁴¹⁸ It is evident that the liturgical movement has influenced the latest church service reforms in the church of Norway, and especially the 2011 reform.⁴¹⁹

The charismatic movement and lay organizations are two different and, to some extent, concurrent traditions and movements. From its beginning in the middle of the 19th century, the lay movement grew massively; around 3000 prayer houses were built, almost twice the number of churches. The lay movement and organizations have largely remained within the Church of Norway and laid the foundation for a folk church comprising strong and independent organizations.⁴²⁰ However, the relationship between the prayer houses and the church have varied locally,⁴²¹ and has ranged between one of harmony and cooperation to one of tension and conflict. There have also been differences among the organizations. While some have had a close relationship with the church, others have kept a marked distance.⁴²² Some of the tensions relate to diverging ecclesiologies.⁴²³ The 1960s and 1970s

⁴¹⁷ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 5-11.

⁴¹⁸ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 10.

⁴¹⁹ Christoffersen, 'Sammen for Guds ansikt', 24-32.

⁴²⁰ Olaf Aagedal, Elisabet Haakedal, and Frode Kinserdal, *Profesjonalisering og frivillighet:*

Trosopplæringsreformen og samarbeid mellom Den norske kirke og de kristne organisasjonene, KIFO. Stiftelsen Kirkeforskning (Oslo, 2014).

⁴²¹ Andreas Ropeid, 'Church, Prayer-house and Local Christian Organisation', *Temenos - Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion* 9 (1973).

⁴²² Pål Repstad, 'Lekmannsrørsla og kulturen', eds. Pål Repstad, Jostein Soland, and Hild Sørby, vol. 2, *Kunst og pietisme: Noen trekk ved den religiøse kulturen i Rogaland; Forprosjektrapport for prosjektet 'Religøs kultur i Rogaland'*. (Stavanger: Rogalandsforskning, 1977), https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-

nb_digibok_2013071908068?page=1. 14-15. Aagedal, Haakedal, and Kinserdal, *Profesjonalisering og frivillighet*, 33-34.

⁴²³ For an understanding of diverging ecclesiologies in the history of the Church of Norway, see Bjørn Sandvik, ed., *Folkekirken: Status og strategier*, vol. 29, Presteforeningens studiebibliotek (Oslo: Den norske kirkes presteforening, 1988). Knut Lundby, 'Troskollektivet: En studie i folkekirkens oppløsning i Norge' (Universitetsforlaget, 1987). Harald Hegstad, *Folkekirke og trosfellesskap: Et kirkesosiologisk og ekklesiologisk grunnproblem belyst gjennom en undersøkelse av tre norske lokalmenigheter*, vol. 1, KIFO Perspektiv. Forskning i kirke, samfunn, (Oslo: Tapir, 1996). Stephanie Dietrich et al., eds., *Folkekirke nå* (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015).

saw the relationship between church and prayer house begin to shift; in the 1990s, both began experiencing their own changes. Many prayer houses were closed down, while others were modernized, especially in towns.⁴²⁴ In the Church of Norway, many congregations, which earlier had relied only on the lay organizations, began developing programmes and activities for children and youth.⁴²⁵

Halldorf asserts that there is 'some kind of Pentecostal revolution¹⁴²⁶ affecting Christianity and the way of worship worldwide.⁴²⁷ The charismatic movement, with its national movement Oase⁴²⁸ has been influential in the Church of Norway. Its lay character is an essential characteristic of the charismatic movement.⁴²⁹ This element coincides not only with the lay movement, however, but also with the influence of the liturgical strain. It is expressed differently in charismatic settings, however, where the services can be characterized as more personal, with some spontaneous elements, and most of the prayers are formulated freely. Usually, many people contribute to the service, and the leadership functions to secure both freedom and structure.⁴³⁰

2.4.3. Regulative Elements

The regulative box in Askeland's model is in line with Grimstad, who argues that the importance of studying how the legal framework, and not only the normative and cultural-cognitive framework of institutions,⁴³¹ affects the leadership practice.⁴³² Institutions regulate and affect the latitude of leaders.⁴³³ The site of this study is Sunday services. Sunday services are regulated by law, and so is the work of pastors. In this study, the regulative elements are thus both general provisions, liturgies and rubrics, ⁴³⁴ and the official regulations for pastors

⁴²⁴ Aagedal, Haakedal, and Kinserdal, *Profesjonalisering og frivillighet*, 16.

⁴²⁵ Aagedal, Haakedal, and Kinserdal, *Profesjonalisering og frivillighet*, 17.

 ⁴²⁶ 'Ett slags pentekostal revolution'. Joel Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', in *Kristen gudstjänst - en introduktion*, ed. Stina Fallberg Sundmark (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma Bokförlag, 2018), 169.
 ⁴²⁷ Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', 169.

⁴²⁸ This movement has influenced pastors and congregations in the Church of Norway. https://www.oase.no/english/

⁴²⁹ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 110.

⁴³⁰ Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', 182.

⁴³¹ Cf. Scott's understanding of institutions. Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*.

⁴³² Grimstad, 'Institusjonelle rammer', 136.

⁴³³ Dag Ingvar Jacobsen, *Ledelse og den offentlige dimensjon: En sammenligning av ledere i offentlige og private organisasjoner* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2019), 67-68.

⁴³⁴ For an overview, see 'A Regelverk og definisjoner' in Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 5.3.

in the Church of Norway. ⁴³⁵ The different regulative elements are introduced and referred to in the analysis when relevant.

2.4.4. Context: National Culture and Local Community

According to Askeland, the term context is utilized in leadership studies both comprising the close job context within the organization as well as of factors outside the organization.⁴³⁶ In his model, he puts up national culture and local community as the two contextual elements. As I interpret 'local community', this term refers to the local community the church is part of, geography, demography, and socioeconomic conditions. These factors are neither prominent nor highlighted in this study. However, given a broader interpretation of Askeland's category and including perspectives from Kemmis' understanding of practice research, it is expedient to include characteristics of the congregation as well as the physical surroundings and artefacts in the church buildings. According to Kemmis, '[p]ractice is always materially and economically formed and structured—it is shaped by physical and material circumstances...⁴³⁷ I find it thus important to take the physical and material elements into consideration. Moreover, the Church of Norway is loaded with both national and local cultural-cognitive elements,⁴³⁸ among them symbols and signs. In this project, both the architecture of the churches as well as artefacts within the churches are important contexts for understanding the leadership practice of the pastors. These buildings and artefacts represent elements in the cultural-cognitive pillar of the institution.⁴³⁹ In this thesis, I thus present the local congregations and churches in chapter 3.

The term national culture must be defined. However, the term and concept of culture is disputed, and there are a range of definitions.⁴⁴⁰ Here, I follow Brislin's understanding of culture as consisting of 'ideals, values, and assumptions about life that are widely shared among people and that guide specific behaviors (...) Assumptions and ideals are not immediately obvious. Rather they are stored in people's minds and consequently are hard

⁴³⁵ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester'.

⁴³⁶ Askeland, 'Hverdagsledelse', 21-22.

⁴³⁷ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 23.

⁴³⁸ For an introduction to the cultural-cognitive elements, see Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, 66-70.

⁴³⁹ Grimstad, 'Institusjonelle rammer', 141.

⁴⁴⁰ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *What is Anthropology?*, 2nd ed. (Pluto Press, 2017), 26.

for outsiders to see'.⁴⁴¹ Moreover, culture is created by people and transmitted from generation to generation.⁴⁴² It is also questionable whether it is possible to talk of a culture marking an entire country. However, in the following I present some trends that researchers would say are cultural national trends in society and church. I have found the trends I present to be particularly relevant in order to understand the pastoral leadership of the pastors. The abductive process, moving back and forth between the empirical material and literature, made me focus on three cultural trends, namely individualism, low power distance and the desire for authenticity.

In postmodernity, the independence of individuals is fundamental in terms of responsibility, autonomy, and individual human rights.⁴⁴³ 'Collectivism' versus 'individualism' is one of the dimensions of cultural differences Hofstede and Hofstede have identified in their cross-cultural quantitative surveys.⁴⁴⁴ Although it is crucial to keep in mind that individualism and collectivism are 'the end values of a continuum along which cultures can be situated',⁴⁴⁵ and that there are individual differences within a culture,⁴⁴⁶ marked differences between cultures can be found. In Hofstede and Hofstede's study, Norway is characterized by a strong focus on individualism. In an individualistic culture, everyone is meant to have their own opinion, autonomy is an ideal, and ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality. In this worldview, independence and individuality are supported from childhood.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴¹ Richard Brislin, *Understanding Culture's Influence on Behavior* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1993), 4.

⁴⁴² Brislin, Understanding Culture's Influence, 4.

⁴⁴³ Brislin, Understanding Culture's Influence, 30.

⁴⁴⁴ Hofstede and Hofstede define 'collectivism' and 'individualism': 'Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetimes continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty'. Geert Hofstede and Gert Jan Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, Revised and Expanded 2nd Edition.(New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005), 76. I find it relevant to refer to their quantitative approach, although it has been criticized for generalizations and simplifications, e.g., in Sunil Venaik and Paul Brewer, 'Critical Issues in the Hofstede and GLOBE National Culture Models ', *International Marketing Review* 30, no. 5 (2013).

⁴⁴⁵ Larry A. Samovar et al., eds., *Communication Between Cultures*, Ninth ed. (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2017),88.

⁴⁴⁶ Brislin, Understanding Culture's Influence, 50.

⁴⁴⁷ Marianne Skytte, *Etniske minoritetsfamilier og sosialt arbeid*, trans. Henrik Kjærum, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk, 2008).

The freedom of the individual can be used both to pursue old and established traditions and to relate to a multifaceted reality by assembling a new identity tradition.⁴⁴⁸

According to Hofstede and Hofstede, another cultural characteristic of Norway is low power distance.⁴⁴⁹ They define 'power distance' as 'the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally'.⁴⁵⁰ In cultures with low power distance, people strive to minimize inequalities between people; in high power-distance cultures, by contrast, inequalities between people are expected and desired.⁴⁵¹ According to the Power Distance Index, Norway is ranked among the ten most egalitarian countries.⁴⁵² When Andreasson, on behalf of Nordiska Ministerrådet, summarizes characteristics of a Nordic leadership style, he emphasizes the distribution of power and responsibility and a quest for consensus, where the voices of all the employees are essential. The Nordic leaders also tone down their authority, to be a kind of coach for their fellow workers.⁴⁵³ The main sources of power in cultures with low power distance are 'one's formal position, one's assumed expertise, and one's ability to give rewards'.⁴⁵⁴

Among other scholars, Fine, Vannini, and Williams presuppose the desire for *authenticity* as one of the characteristics of contemporary culture.⁴⁵⁵ We may also further understand authenticity as an ideal in leadership.⁴⁵⁶ Carroll and Wheaton recognize the two classical symbolic interpretations of authenticity: 'type authenticity' and 'moral authenticity'. The question in 'type authenticity' is 'whether an entity is true to its associated type (or category or genre)',⁴⁵⁷ while the question for 'moral authenticity' is 'whether the decisions behind the

⁴⁴⁸ Kjetil Fretheim, 'Kirke i Norge', in *Ansatte og frivillige: Endringer i Den norske kirke*, ed. Kjetil Fretheim, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2014), 30-31.

⁴⁴⁹ Hofstede and Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations*, 44.

⁴⁵⁰ Hofstede and Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations*, 46.

⁴⁵¹ Hofstede and Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations*, 57.

⁴⁵² Hofstede and Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations*, 57.

⁴⁵³ Ulf Andreasson, *Nordiskt ledarskap*, Nordiska ministerrådet (Köpenhamn: Nordiska ministerrådet, 2018), https://www.norden.org/no/node/33688.

⁴⁵⁴ Hofstede and Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations*, 61.

⁴⁵⁵ Gary Fine, 'Crafting Authenticity: The Validation of Identity in Self-Taught Art', *Theory and Society* 32 (01/04 2003), https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023943503531; Phillip Vannini and J. Patrick Williams, 'Authenticity in Culture, Self and Society, eds. Phillip Vannini and J. Patrick Williams (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

⁴⁵⁶ Alice H. Eagly, 'Achieving Relational Authenticity in Leadership: Does Gender Matter?', *The Leadership Quarterly* 16 (2005).

⁴⁵⁷ Glenn R. Carroll and Dennis Ray Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', *Research in Organizational Behavior* 29 (2009), 257.

enactment and operation of an entity reflect sincere choices (i.e., choices true to one's self) rather than socially scripted responses'.⁴⁵⁸ Rather than accepting pre-programmed values and actions, the person makes specific value-based choices concerning his/her actions and appearance.⁴⁵⁹

In liturgical studies, the term authenticity is often used in the meaning of 'type authenticity' as 'being faithful to our common Judeo-Christian roots'.⁴⁶⁰ The value of authenticity is thus in conflict with the value of relevance.⁴⁶¹ However, as Lilleaasen points out, authenticity understood as moral authenticity is also applicable for the study of officiant and others assisting in the liturgy.⁴⁶² In homiletical studies, authenticity is regarded as part of the ethos of the preacher⁴⁶³ and thus as moral authenticity. Gaarden claims that a pastor is authentic if churchgoers experience her as present, being herself, being personally engaged, and faithful to her own faith.⁴⁶⁴

2.5. The Theoretical Framework for the Study of Pastoral Leadership in Sunday Services

In this sub-chapter, I sum up and give an account of how the theories presented are utilized in this thesis. The theoretical framework is Askeland's integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice and the theoretical assumptions following the model. Askeland's model builds on and integrates both institutional theory and managerial work behaviour theory as well as contextual elements.

⁴⁵⁸ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction', 257.

⁴⁵⁹ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction, 257,61.

⁴⁶⁰ S. Anita Stauffer, 'Christian Worship: Toward Localization and Globalization', in *Worship and Culture: Foreign Country or Homeland?*, ed. Gláucia Vasconcelos Wilkey (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), 39.

⁴⁶¹ Stauffer, 'Christian Worship', 38-40.

⁴⁶² Lilleaasen, *Old Paths*, 362, 176.

⁴⁶³ Marianne Gaarden, *Prædikenen som det tredje rum* (Frederiksberg: Anis, 2015), 69-79; Tone Stangeland Kaufman, Kirsten Donskov Felter, and Marianne Gaarden, 'Person og prestetjeneste: Persondimensjonens betydning for prestens profesjonsutøvelse', *Tidsskrift for praktisk teologi* 33, no. 2 (2016), 46-47, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.48626/tpt.v33i2.5200.

⁴⁶⁴ Gaarden, *Prædikenen som det tredje rum*, 71.

This study builds on the understanding of institutions comprising a regular-, a normativeand a cultural-cognitive pillar,⁴⁶⁵ and that the Church of Norway can be studied as an institution. I operationalize the concept of the institutional leader on two levels. At a fundamental level, I utilize Selznick's understanding of the leadership tasks as 'the definition of institutional mission and role', 'the institutional embodiment of purpose', 'the defense of institutional integrity' and 'the ordering of internal conflict'. Selznick thus gives a fundament to and a deeper understanding of Carroll's understanding of pastoral leadership. Carroll recasts Selznick's leadership tasks, and thus construes the leadership tasks as 'meaning interpretation', 'community formation', and 'empowering public ministry'. I also include Lathrop's understanding of inviting to bread and forgiveness as an element in the leadership tasks of pastors in Sunday services. This perspective gives a theoretical contribution particularly relevant for the context of Sunday services. The use of Carroll and Lathrop underscores also that the church is understood and studied as a spiritual fellowship of believers: an organism.⁴⁶⁶ Carroll presupposes pastors' having authority. Weber's distinction between three types of legitimate authority is useful when analyzing how pastors carry out leadership in Sunday services.

The MWB-tradition studies leaders in practice. As a supplement to Minzberg, I utilize Kemmis' understanding of practice as constituted in 'sayings, doings, and relatings'.⁴⁶⁷ This approach contributes to an overall framework and structure of the analysis. When focusing on the managerial role of the integrator, I utilize Minzberg's understanding of managing taking place 'on three *planes*, from the conceptual to the concrete: *with information*, *through people*, and *to action* directly'.⁴⁶⁸ As I focus on the insider role of the integrator, the focus is on the information plane, where managers communicate and control, on the people plane, where they lead, and on the action plane, where they do.⁴⁶⁹

I moreover utilize Askeland's approach to the actor and the context/structure. For reasons mentioned above and in the methodology chapter, I focus on the leaders' gender and religious experience. Moreover, I utilize the structural or contextual elements put forward by

⁴⁶⁵ Scott, Institutions and Organizations, 56.

⁴⁶⁶ Sirris and Askeland, 'Kirken som organisme og organisasjon'.

⁴⁶⁷ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice ', 25-26.

⁴⁶⁸ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 49.

⁴⁶⁹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 49.

Askeland. I analyze how the pastors relate to the regulative elements guiding the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services. Moreover, I consider both tradition and established structure as well as historical development. I operationalize the broad category of national culture by introducing individualism, low power distance, and a search for authenticity as national cultural trends.

The theoretical framework presented is comprehensive and complex. Handling all the perspectives at the same time has thus been challenging. Moreover, it has become evident throughout the analytical process that different aspects and elements in the theoretical apparatus have been more applicable than others in the different sub-practices. While the integrator role and the use of Mintzberg is pertinent in analyzing the leadership practice of preparing, mostly Selznick, Carroll, and Lathrop are in play when analyzing the leadership practice of presiding. In the leadership practice of preaching, the theoretical approaches utilized are mostly Carroll's and Lathrop's. In the leadership practice of concluding, the focus is on the perspectives from Carroll.

A central element in the discussion, is how this thesis can contribute to an expansion of the theoretical framework.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I give a more thorough description of the research design of the thesis.⁴⁷⁰ First, I argue for the overarching approach of a qualitative case study (3.1). Second, I argue for the sampling and recruiting methods utilized in the project (3.2). Then, I reflect upon my role as a researcher (3.3) before I present and reflect upon the methods undertaken (3.4). I then provide a description of the analytical process (3.5) before I account for ethical considerations (3.6) and reflect upon the quality of the research (3.7). At the end of this chapter, I present the congregations and churches, (3.8) and the seven pastors (3.9).

3.1. A Qualitative Case Study

In this section, I first argue for the qualitative methods undertaken and elaborate on questions and conundrums in doing a qualitative study in practical theology (3.1.1). Second, I argue that this study is an instrumental multi-site case study (3.1.2).

3.1.1. A Qualitative Study in Practical Theology

In practical theology, there is a robust qualitative tradition; though quantitative research is also carried out, it is often met with criticism.⁴⁷¹ In leadership studies, by contrast, there is a strong quantitative tradition.⁴⁷² However, qualitative approaches have gained traction, and in the tradition of Mintzberg, several studies on organization and leadership have been conducted in which participatory observation or shadowing have been performed.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ In 1.4, I accounted for the main changes in the research design throughout in addition to presenting the research design. Here, I give a more thorough presentation of how the research design ended up.
⁴⁷¹ Hans Schilderman, 'Quantitative Method', in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, ed. Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, Wiley-Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 127.
⁴⁷² As an example of the focus in leadership studies, I have investigated the way Northouse reviews and analyzes many leadership theories. In relation to most of the approaches, he also presents a questionnaire, which can give what is called a 'leadership profile'. There are, e.g., questionnaires related to traits, behaviours, situations, path-goals, and other perspectives. Northouse, *Leadership*, 38, 88, 109, 33.

⁴⁷³ Mintzberg, *Managing*. Mats Alvesson, Martin Blom, and Stefan Sveningsson, *Reflexive Leadership: Organising in an Imperfect World* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2017). Examples in a Norwegian context: Sirris,
'Managers Negotiating Identities'; Sirris, 'Arbeidsdager mellom'; Askeland, 'What Do Congregational Leaders Do'.

The research question at the core of this project informed the choice of a qualitative approach.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, having as a starting point that I study leadership in practice and place myself partly in the tradition of MWB, a qualitative research strategy with some kind of observation is inevitable. Kemmis moreover highlights the discursive element as part of the practice; this approach makes qualitative interviews an appropriate method.⁴⁷⁵ I thus argue that combining participatory observation and interviews gives a thick description of the practice of the pastors. Moreover, as Alvesson and Spicer assert, there is 'a frequent tension between how leaders act, how they see themselves, and the contexts in which they operate. This tension is often denied in much of the mainstream literature on leadership'.⁴⁷⁶ Observing the pastor is thus essential. In this study, when I combine participatory observation with qualitative interviews, the different sources can, as Hammersley and Atkinson point out, shed light on each other.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to arguing for observing what leaders do, Alvesson and Spicer recommend interviewing a broader set of those involved in the practice. They see it as a shortcoming of many leadership studies that they only rely on interviews with the managers.⁴⁷⁸ Here, the authors' position points to a weakness in this study. I am not able to answer whether the participants in the service experienced the pastors as performing pastoral leadership. When I started this project, I considered including this perspective. However, such an approach would have demanded a different research design with fewer pastors in order to avoid being overwhelmed by the empirical material.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, such a design also raises several methodological questions with ethical implications; Who among the congregation should be selected as participants in such a study, and who should select the participants? If the study is to be credible, the pastor cannot perform the selection. However, giving another staff member the responsibility and authority to make the selection could also be problematic. Transparent and explicit criteria for sampling thus had to be put forward.

⁴⁷⁴ As Swinton and Mowat point out, the research question and the context in which the study is undertaken guide the choice of a qualitative or quantitative approach. John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* (London: SCM press, 2006), 55.

⁴⁷⁵ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice'.

⁴⁷⁶ Alvesson and Spicer, *Metaphors we Lead by*, 27.

⁴⁷⁷ Martin Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Feltmetodikk: Grunnlaget for feltarbeid og feltforskning* (Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk, 2004), 158. Pål Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse: Kvalitative metoder i samfunnsfag,* Second ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2007), 30-31.

⁴⁷⁸ Alvesson and Spicer, *Metaphors we Lead by*.

⁴⁷⁹ For a discussion on the number of participants in this study, see 3.2.

One of the conundrums within practical theology is the question of the relationship between the empirical and the descriptive on the one hand, and the theological tradition of systematic theology on the other. Different branches or approaches within the discipline of practical theology view this relationship differently.⁴⁸⁰ As an oversimplification, some give experience and empirical research authority equal weight as scripture, tradition, and reason. Others make it clear that scripture and tradition should always be prioritized over experience.⁴⁸¹ Here, I acknowledge the contribution of Kaufman, who does not seek to solve this conundrum by giving prior authority to either the empirical material or the theology/tradition, instead, she encourages researchers to be more explicit about their normative deliberations. Reflexivity, and my role as a researcher, will be elaborated upon in a following sub-chapter.⁴⁸²

The relationship between theory and practice is another conundrum in practical theology.⁴⁸³ In this thesis, I do not follow any of the established models in the discipline. However, I emphasize what practical theologians agree on today, namely that the relationship between theory and practice is complex, and that theory and practice shape each other.⁴⁸⁴ In the work carried out for this thesis, there has thus been a continuous dialogue between the empirical material and the diverging theories.

3.1.2. An Instrumental Multi-Site Case Study

I have named this study an instrumental multi-site case study. The term 'case study' can mean a number of things: While Bryman refers to it as primarily a study design,⁴⁸⁵ Yin

⁴⁸⁰ Tone Stangeland Kaufman, 'From the Outside, Within, or In Between? Normativity at Work in Empirical Practical Theological Research', in *Conundrums in Practical Theology*, eds. Joyce Ann Mercer and Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, Theology in Practice (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 137-40.

⁴⁸¹ Kaufman uses a grid with one vertical axis and one horizontal axis to present some of the different positions within the field. The vertical axis runs between privileging 'theological tradition and divine action' and 'human experience and practice'; and '[t]he horizontal line runs from an understanding of correlation where empirical data and the normative theological tradition are correlated as two separate entities to a position where normativity cannot be cut out like a piece of the pie to be correlated with human experience or empirical data'. Kaufman, 'From the Outside', 139.

⁴⁸² See 3.3.

 ⁴⁸³ Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, 'The Theory-Practice Binary and the Politics of Practical Knowledge', in *Conundrums in Practical Theology*, eds. Joyce Ann Mercer and Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
 ⁴⁸⁴ Kathleen A. Cahalan and Gordon S. Mikoski, 'Introduction', in *Opening the Field of Practical Theology: An introduction*, eds. Kathleen A. Cahalan and Gordon S. Mikoski (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 2.
 ⁴⁸⁵ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 60-70.

presents it both as a design and a method.⁴⁸⁶ In this context, I use the term when referring to the study design and adhere to Crowe et al.'s definition of a case study: 'A case study is a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context'.⁴⁸⁷

A 'case' in a case study can be, for example, an organization, a community, or an individual.⁴⁸⁸ In this study, the case is the leadership practice of pastors conducting Sunday services. Crowe et al. distinguish between three main types of case study, namely intrinsic, instrumental, and collective.⁴⁸⁹ An intrinsic case study is undertaken to learn about a unique phenomenon and focuses on the uniqueness of the phenomenon, while an instrumental case study uses a particular case to gain knowledge of an issue or phenomenon. If broader knowledge is preferred, a collective study with multiple cases can be studied simultaneously or sequentially.⁴⁹⁰

Although I have studied the leadership practice of seven pastors, I argue that this is an instrumental case study. The case is not a unique phenomenon in one or few congregations, but rather pastoral leadership in Sunday services. The aim of the study is not to learn more about each congregation or pastor, but to explore the phenomenon of pastoral leadership. However, as Bryman points out, a traditional case study analyzes one case.⁴⁹¹ There are, however, examples in practical theology of research conducted where the study is defined as a single case study although the fieldwork is conducted in several congregations.⁴⁹²

According to Bryman, single-case studies have been characterized by what he calls 'an intensive examination of the setting'.⁴⁹³ Thus, by choosing one case on multiple sites, 'an intensive examination' of each local setting has not been possible to the same degree it would have if I had had fewer sites. However, all together, I argue that the sites chosen

⁴⁸⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, ed. Leonard Bickman and Debra J. Rog, 4th ed., vol.
5, Applied Social Research Methods Series, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009), 18.

⁴⁸⁷ Sarah Crowe et al., 'The Case Study Approach', *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 11, no. 1 (2011), 1, https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-11-100.

⁴⁸⁸ Yin, Case Study Research, 5, 29-30. However, as Bryman states, 'almost any kind of research can be construed as a case study'. Bryman, *Social Research Methods, 61.*

⁴⁸⁹ Crowe et al., 'The Case Study Approach', 1.

⁴⁹⁰ Crowe et al., 'The Case Study Approach'.

⁴⁹¹ Bryman, Social Research Methods, 60.

⁴⁹² Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church'. Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated'.

⁴⁹³ Bryman, Social Research Methods, 60.

contribute to an intensive examination of the setting in which pastors carry out Sunday services.

3.2.Sampling and Recruiting

Saxegaard makes a useful distinction between sampling and recruiting. 'Sampling' refers to the establishment of criteria for guiding the selection of participants in the study. 'Recruitment', on the other hand, refers to the process of identifying and contacting the prospective participants who fit the criteria.⁴⁹⁴

According to Flyvbjerg, sampling is closely related to the question of generalizability.⁴⁹⁵ The purpose of the research and the type of selection and sample of data relate to each other. I argue that I have performed a stratified information-oriented selection of sites in this thesis. Information-oriented selection is consistent with the purpose of maximizing 'the utility of information from small samples and single cases. Cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content'.⁴⁹⁶ The sites in this study are selected on the basis of an expectation of what information the different sites and pastors could give.

The point of departure and one of the propositions for this thesis was my experience that pastors conduct services in different ways. To be able to answer how pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how can this practice be understood, I wanted to explore the diverging practices. I asked for and chose pastors I knew performed Sunday services differently. The sampling, in this sense, is what Bryman characterizes as purposive.⁴⁹⁷ Sampling occurred on two levels:⁴⁹⁸ the sampling of dioceses and the sampling of pastors. Regarding the first, as I wanted to gather data from different dioceses, I

⁴⁹⁶ Flyvbjerg, 'Case Study', 307.

⁴⁹⁴ Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church', 84. Although Yin refuses to use the word 'sampling' in case studies and instead asks for replication of cases, I choose to use the term. Yin, *Case Study Research*, 5, 53-59. As Bryman emphasizes, the term 'sampling' is common, even in case studies. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 9-10, 408-21.

⁴⁹⁵ Bent Flyvbjerg, 'Case Study', in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011), 306-08.

⁴⁹⁷ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 408.

⁴⁹⁸ As Bryman states, almost every study has sampling on two or more levels. As examples, he mentions the sampling of context, and sampling of participants. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 408-09.

contacted four different dioceses and chose pastors from two of these: one in the western part of Norway, and one in the eastern part.

The sampling of the pastors was carried out in cooperation with the bishop's office in the two dioceses. I had developed a list of criteria for selecting pastors.⁴⁹⁹ Besides the criteria concerning how they conducted Sunday services, I sought men and women of different ages, pastors with a 'high church' approach, and pastors from a 'low church' tradition. If possible, I wanted to include pastors working in rural areas and others in more populated areas. With one exception (Gunnar in Indrevik), I ended up with churches in more or less populated areas. This perspective thus did not become that significant in the analysis. However, the diverging local cultures and traditions in the congregations became more important.

Using the information I received from the Bishop's office, I began recruiting participants. I asked nine pastors. One pastor did not want to participate, and another was hesitant. As I found I had enough with seven participants, I ended with that number. A potential pitfall in the process of recruiting, as Repstad points out, is that the researcher may know the participants prior to the study.⁵⁰⁰ Although none of the participants were my friends, I knew some of them before the study started. It was thus essential to reflect on how this could influence both the fieldwork and the analytical process. At times, I have felt it challenging to maintain necessary distance from these pastors and not become an evaluator. An example of where I met this challenge, was when I should describe the presiding of the pastors. I like the pastors. However, what words should I use to describe a way of presiding that I did not 'like'? I tried to be as descriptive as possible while not evaluating the presiding.

An essential question in the sampling also concerned the number of sites to include in the study (i.e., the sample size). I sought distinctiveness, and ultimately recruited seven participants. In qualitative research, many refer to the idea of 'data saturation', where the researcher stops fieldwork when nothing new emerges from the material.⁵⁰¹ I believe I would have needed a substantial number of participants to fulfil that criteria, as all the pastors in this study bring something new or special to the material, either to the leadership

⁴⁹⁹ For the complete list of criteria, see Appendix A

⁵⁰⁰ Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*, 39.

⁵⁰¹ Bryman emphasizes that there is an essential distinction between theoretical saturation and saturation in the data. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 416-18.

practice itself, or to the way the backgrounds of the pastors or the local culture or context influence the leadership practice.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that I have too many sites, and that this study would have been better conducted with only two or three sites, allowing me, for instance, to observe each pastor several times. However, the fieldwork demonstrated that each site provided unique input, and illuminated questions and problems for discussion that the others did not. If I had carried out this study with only three sites, the focus of the study would have been different. As such, while acknowledging the potential advantages of choosing a different approach to sampling, I argue that the choices I have made have provided rich empirical material suitable for this study.

What I did not realize until after completing the fieldwork was that the criteria I had decided on had affected the findings in a way I had not thought through in advance. My purposive selection process, in which I had specifically looked for distinctiveness, may have led to a selection bias where I recruited pastors who, in general, were more reflexive than the average pastor. Indeed, several of these pastors had explicitly worked with several questions related to the Sunday service. However, I argue that the distinctiveness between the pastors and their ability to reflect upon their practice made it possible for me to develop the two logics of pastoral leadership. Although none of the pastors can be directly put into one or the other logic, their distinctive sayings and doings made it possible to make the patterns.⁵⁰²

3.3.Reflexivity—The Role of the Researcher

According to Osmer, 'it is widely acknowledged that empirical research is influenced by the standpoint the researcher brings to empirical investigation'.⁵⁰³ Presuppositions and

⁵⁰² See 8.1.

⁵⁰³ Richard R. Osmer, 'Empirical Practical Theology', in *Opening the Field of Practical Theology: An introduction*, eds. Kathleen A. Cahalan and Gordon S. Mikoski (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 64.

underlying normativity⁵⁰⁴ are both implicit and explicit in any project.⁵⁰⁵ In line with Kaufman's quest for reflexivity, Henriksen points out that the researcher must ask *explicitly*:

- What kind of understanding of theology/anthropology/the world is explicit and/or implicit in the material I am researching?
- What kind of understanding of Christianity is implicitly present as part of my own pre-conceptions of the material and of my own understanding of what Christianity is like? ⁵⁰⁶

Henriksen's first question corresponds with the second half of the research question in this thesis. When I ask how the leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday services can be understood, I ask for both explicit and implicit values and theologies in the empirical material. Moreover, several regulations and guidelines as well as history and tradition contribute to an understanding of the material.⁵⁰⁷

In this section, I reflect on Henriksen's second question, namely my pre-understanding and pre-conceptions. I have worked as a pastor in the Church of Norway for 13 years, and I have my own understanding of how to conduct a Sunday service properly.⁵⁰⁸ Working as a pastor, I have long had a great interest in liturgics and preaching, and I place considerable emphasis

⁵⁰⁴ Schmidt defines normativity as 'a property by virtue of which a proposition or set of propositions recommend or demand that something is being done or abstained from, praised or blamed, believed or denied, pursued or rejected. In this sense normativity entails guidance of human action, character and beliefs'. Ulla Schmidt, 'Empirical Research and Theological Normativity', in *Difficult Normativity: Normative Dimensions in Research on Religion and Theology*, ed. Jan-Olav Henriksen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 37. Afdal has a model of what he calls the four different types of theories based on the issue of normativity. Geir Afdal, *Researching Religious Education as Social Practice*, vol. 20, Religious Diversity and Education in Europe, (Münster: Waxmann, 2010), 72-75. Kaufman slightly revises Afdal's model and calls them *four dimensions of normativity*. The four dimensions are descriptive, rescriptive, prescriptive. Kaufman, 'From the Outside', 148-49.

⁵⁰⁵ Henriksen defines implicit and explicit normativity: 'Implicit normativity is that which functions tacitly, it is not verbalized or thematized, and serves as 'taken-for-granted' assumptions about the matters in question. Explicit normativity expresses itself in the normative elements that are used as formative, disciplinary, and evaluative. It is taken as part of the easily accessible reservoir of articulated assumptions of what the human being and/or the world is/should be'. Jan-Olav Henriksen, 'Normative Dimensions in Empirical Research on Religion, Values and Society', in *Difficult Normativity: Normative Dimensions in Research on Religion and Theology*, ed. Jan-Olav Henriksen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 25.

 ⁵⁰⁶ Henriksen, 'Normative Dimensions in Empirical Research on Religion, Values and Society', 29.
 ⁵⁰⁷ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*. Olav Tveito, *Gudstjenestens historie*. Liturgi, kirkeår og kirkehus gjennom 2000 år (Oslo: Themelios forlag, 2013); Stig Wernø Holter, *Kom, tilbe med fryd*: Innføring i liturgikk og hymnologi (Oslo: Solum forlag, 2008).

⁵⁰⁸ As Kaufman points out, practical theologians often find themselves as practitioners of the field and, at the same time, researchers belonging to the academy. Kaufman, 'From the Outside', 158.

on improving the Sunday service. In many services, people would likely characterize me as 'firm and formal'.⁵⁰⁹ Over the course of my work as a pastor, I have reflected a great deal on how I, as a pastor, am able to lead the congregation in and through the Sunday services. This focus on pastoral leadership in the service is an example of how my normativity has guided this project and the choice to utilize Carrol's pastoral leadership theory.

In 2011, I was one of three pastors in the diocese of Stavanger selected by the Bishop of Stavanger to be responsible for equipping pastors and other staff members in the implementation of the liturgy reform in the Church of Norway. This task involved both developing courses and teaching about both the order itself and the theology shaping it. Moreover, after the congregations had submitted their local orders of worship, one other pastor and I worked at the bishop's office, reading and evaluating these orders and writing the bishop's responses to the different congregations.

Working so closely with the liturgy reform influenced me in many ways when conducting Sunday services. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the reform itself, it gave me a new insight into liturgical theology. However, perhaps the most concrete result in my daily work was that I (inspired by Modéus⁵¹⁰) initiated 'Sunday service teams'⁵¹¹ in the congregation in which I worked.⁵¹²

In my position as a research fellow at VID, and later as a lecturer in a regular position, I have instructed students in liturgics. This teaching entails a theoretical aspect (focusing on the theological foundation of the order of worship in the Church of Norway) and a supervisorial aspect (supervising the students when they practice the skill of presiding). In other words, I am trained to have a critical and evaluative approach when I observe pastors presiding.

My background has shaped both my field of research and how I have conducted the project. Throughout the research project, although I strived for the necessary distance as a researcher, I made both methodological and theoretical choices shaped by my

⁵⁰⁹ This is a categorization of myself in accordance with the category scheme used to capture how the pastors in this study presided. See 5.1.1.

⁵¹⁰ Modéus, *Mod att vara kyrka*.

⁵¹¹ In Norwegian, *Gudstjenestegrupper*.

⁵¹² We had five groups, which consisted of four-to-five volunteers working as a team with the pastor and the organist. In rotation, the different groups were involved in both the planning and the conducting of the Sunday services.

normativity.⁵¹³ As Campbell-Reed specifies, as a researcher, it is impossible to put aside other roles (such as the role of a pastor) and claim only to have *one* role.⁵¹⁴ Doing research among 'one's own' moreover brings its own challenges,⁵¹⁵ as I agree with Osmer, who states that researchers must strive for reflexivity rather than objectivity.⁵¹⁶ However, as Campbell-Reed points out, there is a fine line between being transparent in writing, and being so preoccupied with one's role that it becomes a distraction for the reader.⁵¹⁷ In the following, as I present and argue for how I have conducted the study, I therefore endeavour to be reflexive around select challenges in the different stages of the process. In the analysis and discussion, I occasionally include self-reflective elements.

3.4. Presentation of and Reflections on the Methods Utilized

I have already given some arguments for the choice of methods.⁵¹⁸ Initially, I intended to include documents in the analysis; I therefore collected worship agendas and local orders of worship, which I used as background information. While they have provided valuable input about the parishes, I have not found it needed to regard these documents as part of the primary empirical material, and they have not been systematically coded and analyzed. As such, I do not include the collection of these documents in the presentation of the methods. In this section, I present and argue for how participatory observation and qualitative

interviews were utilized to gather empirical material.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹³ As examples of how different normative dimensions can mark a research project, Kaufman presents an interesting analysis of two empirical cases. Kaufman, 'From the Outside', 150-58.

 ⁵¹⁴ Eileen R. Campbell-Reed, 'Reflexivity - A Relational and Prophetic Practice', in *What Really Matters: Scandinavian Perspectives on Ecclesiology and Ethnography*, eds. Jonas Ideström and Tone Stangeland
 Kaufman, Church of Sweden Research Series (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2018).
 ⁵¹⁵ Birte Simonsen, 'Er det ikke egentlig det du mener? Farer som truer den etnografiske forskeren', in Å forske

blant sine egne: Universitet og region - nærhet og uavhengighet, eds. Hans Chr. Garmann Johnsen and Pål Repstad (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget, 2009).

⁵¹⁶ Osmer, 'Empirical Practical Theology', 64.

⁵¹⁷ Campbell-Reed, 'Reflexivity', 80-81.

⁵¹⁸ See 3.1.

⁵¹⁹ Aase and Fossåskaret problematize researchers' saying they are collecting data, as the use of the word 'collect' assumes that the data exist out there, ready to be picked by a researcher. This is not the case empirical data are always interpretations. Tor Halfdan Aase and Erik Fossåskaret, *Skapte virkeligheter: Om produksjon og tolkning av kvalitative data*, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 35-36.

3.4.1. Participatory Observation of the Sunday Service

In this section, I argue why participatory observation is an essential method in this project, and I present how I utilized it.

It is essential to see the pastors in practice. Participatory observation is a method used in managerial work behaviour studies,⁵²⁰ and according to Kelleher, '[o]ne who ventures 'into the field' to study liturgy usually engages in participatory observation, an experience which has been described by anthropologists in various ways'.⁵²¹

I did not utilize or develop a particular method for the participatory observation of the services, as Øierud did when she studied the multimodality in Sunday services.⁵²² Although it can be argued that I should have developed an apparatus, I argue Øierud's method would have been too comprehensive and time consuming. While Øierud analyzed three services in detail, focusing particularly on one, I have analyzed the pastoral leadership in ten services. I chose a more pragmatic approach searching for different approaches, practices that stood out, and tensions in the material.

The anthropologist Wadel separates participatory observation into four different roles. He distinguishes between a participatory and an observational role; then, he separates these two roles into participation in activities and conversations on the one hand, and observation of conversations and activities on the other.⁵²³

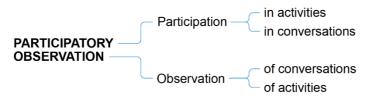


Figure 5: Participatory observation

⁵²⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 4-6. Korica, Nicolini, and Johnson, 'In Search of "Managerial Work".

⁵²¹ Margaret Mary Kelleher, 'Hermeneutics in the Study of Liturgical Performance', *Worship* 67, no. 4 (July 1993), 295.

⁵²² Øierud, 'Gudstjenesters kommunikasjon', 80-93.

⁵²³ I have adapted and translated the illustration from figure 2.1 in Cato Wadel, Carl Cato Wadel, and Otto Laurits Fuglestad, *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*, Rev. utg. av Carl Cato Wadel og Otto Laurits Fuglestad. ed. (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk, 2014), 52.

These categories are useful, as they enable classification of the observations and identification of nuances. Most fieldwork, according to Wadel, will have a balanced relationship between the four roles.⁵²⁴ In the following, I will use this classification when I present the way I utilized participatory observation in this project.

I observed the pastors' practice on Sundays. I observed them before, during, and after the services. Although participatory observation in ethnographic studies is characterized by the researcher spending considerable time in the field,⁵²⁵ I was unable to spend much time with each pastor. Of the seven pastors, I observed four once, and the other three, I observed twice. The reason that I chose to observe some of them once more was that, after I had already begun performing fieldwork, I realized that the pastors' practice in officiating the sacraments was vital. To be able to observe all the pastors conducting both baptisms and the Eucharist, I had to observe three of them once more.⁵²⁶ It could then be argued that I ought to have observed all the pastors twice. While the material may have been more nuanced if I had been able to do this, I decided to set a limit on the amount of data I gathered.

The observations before the Sunday service were limited to approximately one hour before the services started Sunday morning. This part of the participatory observation consisted largely of observed conversations and activities. Moreover, I participated in conversations: I had small conversations with the pastors, and with both staff and other co-workers involved in preparing the service. Although these conversations were limited in duration, I consider them important for the study, as they provide valuable background information.⁵²⁷ These conversations complement both the observations and the interviews. I also participated in activities at times,⁵²⁸ for example during the participatory observation after the services. Thus, I sometimes participated in conversations and activities, and sometimes observed them.

⁵²⁴ Wadel, Wadel, and Fuglestad, *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*, 53.

⁵²⁵ John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, Practical Theology and Qualitative Research, 2nd ed. (scm press, 2016), 130-31.

⁵²⁶ Nevertheless, it turned out that I was unable to observe Elsa conducting a baptism.

 ⁵²⁷ Conversations in the field can be an important source of information. Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*,
 33. Aase and Fossåskaret, *Skapte virkeligheter*, 31-33.

⁵²⁸ One example of such an activity is the prayer meeting with the pastor, other staff members and co-workers before the service starts. Another example is when I helped a pastor to remove some boxes and other items from the altar area in the church before the service started.

The participatory observation of the Sunday service was more complex, as it can be challenging to differentiate between observation of and participation in a Sunday service. Kelleher encapsulates this complexity when she states the following: 'A participant observer in a liturgical assembly will experience all of this ambiguity as he or she attempts to be both worshiper and scholar and to move back and forth between the worlds of worshiping community and university'.⁵²⁹

I felt this ambiguity between listening and participating while at the same time taking notes. Sometimes, I chose to sing along with the hymns. At other times, I used the hymns as a time during which to write notes. In all the services, I chose to take part in the Eucharist.

Linked to this complexity is also the possibility that I, when participating in the service, affected the pastor in one way or another.⁵³⁰ As a researcher, and as an ordained pastor, I likely influenced the environment in which I conducted my research.⁵³¹ In some of the services, the pastors informed everyone there of my presence. In other services, people saw me taking notes, or they observed the video camera. However, since it was the pastors' practice that was under scrutiny, the most crucial question centred on how I may have influenced the pastors and the way they conducted the service.

To conduct services is a public ministry. Pastors, generally, are used to being observed and evaluated. Still, participating in a research project like this was different. In this project, the pastors were observed and filmed by a colleague—a colleague who, besides being a researcher, was also a lecturer in liturgics. However, it is impossible to say whether, and to what extent, this affected the practice of the pastors.

Traditionally, ethnographers have used fieldnotes to register observations.⁵³² I chose to bring a notebook with me, in which I tried to write down as much as possible both before and during the services. However, it was challenging to find time to write, especially when I was participating in conversations. There were times when I was unable to write my fieldnotes until later that day, or the day after. During the service, I wrote my observations on the left-hand pages and the questions I had in connection with the observation on the

⁵²⁹ Kelleher, 'Hermeneutics', 295-96.

⁵³⁰ This is a common challenge when conducting participatory observation. Wadel, Wadel, and Fuglestad, *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*, 29.

⁵³¹ Hammersley and Atkinson, *Feltmetodikk*, 51-52, 149-50.

⁵³² Hammersley and Atkinson, *Feltmetodikk*, 203.

right-hand pages. When interviewing the pastors, it was therefore easy to see where I had questions related to my observations.⁵³³

In this fieldwork, as in all fieldwork, all observation is selective and, as Wadel, Wadel, and Fuglestad state, it is impossible to observe everything.⁵³⁴ My initial plan was to only audiorecord the services, however, in order to be able to study the practice of the pastors more thoroughly, I decided to video-record the practice of the pastors in the services.⁵³⁵ In the churches with a gallery, I placed the video camera there, to film the pastor and others in the chancel. I regard the video-recordings as an additional source of information and an important part of the empirical material. However, I do not regard them as a separate empirical method. I used the recordings to remember what happened, and to enable me to notice other aspects of the performance that I may have missed during the service. Ethical considerations and precautions related to the filming are reflected on later in this chapter.⁵³⁶

My familiarity with the practice represented a continuous challenge. I was researching my own field, among colleagues. Repstad, among others, points to explicit challenges in conducting fieldwork in one's own field.⁵³⁷ I faced the risk of potentially taking a great deal for granted and not being able to see and state the obvious.⁵³⁸ Moreover, in observing the pastors, I tried to be more open and curious than evaluative and critical.⁵³⁹ Nevertheless, despite the challenges, I emphasize that my background has been a valuable resource: for example, a researcher without a trained eye in this context would likely have missed some of my observations and questions.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³³ Besides guiding the interviews, the interview guide included questions guiding the participatory observation of the services. See Appendix A.

⁵³⁴ Wadel, Wadel, and Fuglestad, *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*, 84.

⁵³⁵ All the services were video-recorded. However, by mistake, I deleted the video-recording from the first service (the family service in Lia).

⁵³⁶ See 3.6.

⁵³⁷ Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*, 38-39.

⁵³⁸ This is also one of the pitfalls Repstad points to in Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*, 39.

⁵³⁹ Being an expert in one own's field can make it tempting to evaluate and give 'grades' instead of giving precise descriptions. Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*, 39.

⁵⁴⁰ Repstad asks whether some of those being critical toward research conducted in one's one field sometimes also underestimate the advantages in doing so. Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*, 39.

3.4.2. Qualitative Interviews

Due to my understanding of the pastor as a competent actor,⁵⁴¹ it was important that the pastors could make themselves heard. Thus, after having observed the pastor's practice in a Sunday service, I conducted qualitative interviews with the same pastor.⁵⁴² I had developed an interview guide,⁵⁴³ which can be characterized as relatively structured, and with numerous questions. These interviews lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours; in some of the interviews, our time ran out before I was able to ask the pastors all the questions. All the qualitative interviews were recorded.

I conducted a follow-up interview with those pastors I observed twice. These interviews were conducted via telephone, and lasted approximately half an hour. In these interviews, I asked questions regarding the extra service I had observed. This order of observing first and interviewing afterward enabled me to ask questions related to the observation, moreover, it enabled me to compare the participatory observation with what the pastors said about their practice.

I understood the interview setting as a conversation in which I, as a researcher, influenced the situation and the result, and in which the knowledge gained was produced;⁵⁴⁴ nevertheless, the interview guide could lead to an understanding of knowledge as revealing the truth.⁵⁴⁵ As I preferred to see the interview guide as a list of topics rather than a manual to follow, none of the interviews were conducted strictly following the guide. Instead, the participatory observation also shaped all the interviews. Moreover, I sometimes changed the order of the different topics, and I followed up with interesting topics that arose along the way, endeavouring to be an interviewer managing the craft of interviewing.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴¹ See chapter 1.1.

⁵⁴² The order is in line with Wadel, Wadel, and Fuglestad, *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*, 30.

⁵⁴³ See Appendix B.

⁵⁴⁴ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, trans. Tone M. Andersen and Johan Rygge, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2009), 72-73.

⁵⁴⁵ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 67-68.

⁵⁴⁶ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 101. Although I did not have much experience with conducting qualitative interviews before this project, I assert that my experience as a pastor (e.g., listening to hundreds of life stories in order to write memorial speeches for the deceased) has given me skills transferable to the interview setting.

3.5. The Analytical Process

Following Hammersley and Atkinson, the analysis had already commenced when I began formulating the problem for this thesis.⁵⁴⁷ It then continued throughout the process of conducting participatory observation, interviewing, and transcribing the interviews, as I made many analytic choices along the way.⁵⁴⁸

I hired an assistant who transcribed all the interviews. Although she found some of the content unintelligible, I proofread all the transcribed material afterward and, as I had been present in the services and interviews, it was easier for me to discern the words and expressions. The assistant also transcribed some of the sermons, and I transcribed the rest. Finally, I transcribed the welcoming words of the pastors, as well as other content the pastors added.⁵⁴⁹ When utilizing the transcribed material in the thesis, I have focused on interpreting and presenting the meaning in their sayings. Although I stay close to the transcribed material, I have sometimes left out repetition of words, words expressing hesitation (such as eh) and other words disturbing the flow. I argue that this choice is justifiable because of the analytical strategy chosen.⁵⁵⁰

I chose to take a thematic analysis approach⁵⁵¹ to analyzing the empirical material.⁵⁵² A thematic analysis can be conducted in several ways, but it is characterized by coding and grouping the material.⁵⁵³ To make the material more manageable, I used the computer programme NVivo when coding. In the initial process of analyzing the material, I utilized the categories of 'doings', 'sayings', and 'relatings' as an analytical framework. This is in line with the abductive approach, which Kramer distinguishes from analytical induction,⁵⁵⁴ in that the analysis is performed within an analytical framework that functions to make meaningful

⁵⁴⁷ Hammersley and Atkinson, *Feltmetodikk*, 233.

⁵⁴⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2011), 139.

⁵⁴⁹ See 5.2.1 for other added content.

⁵⁵⁰ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 192-96.

⁵⁵¹ Carol Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2013), 61.

⁵⁵² Although Grbich states this approach is 'one of the major data analytic options in qualitative research', it is not often detailed in textbooks. Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 61.

⁵⁵³ Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 61-66.

⁵⁵⁴ Erik-Hans Kramer, *Organizing Doubt - Grounded Theory, Army Units and Dealing with Dynamic Complexity*, ed. Stuart R. Clegg and Ralph Stablein, Advances in Organization Studies, (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2007), 52.

structures visible. At that time in the process, I also used the category 'set-ups', as Kemmis uses this as a term I interpret to mean the context or site of the study.⁵⁵⁵

Within these broad categories, I coded the material into several nodes,⁵⁵⁶ focusing on different themes or aspects in the empirical material. A vast number of nodes were informed by the interview guide and/or an operationalization of the broad categories of 'doings', 'sayings', and 'relatings'. As example, the broad category of 'relatings' had nodes like 'relating to the congregation', 'relating to the family having baptism', 'relating to the organist', and 'relating to other co-workers'. A node related to traces of leadership was theoretically informed. Other nodes, such as the node hinting at personality, emerged from the material. In other words, the nodes were informed both theoretically and empirically.⁵⁵⁷ All of the fieldnotes and the transcribed interviews were coded.

In the further analysis, I did not use NVivo. I printed out the content of all the diverging nodes, and then commented, underlined, and drew using different coloured pens to organize and bring order, meaning, and structure to the empirical material⁵⁵⁸ and identify patterns.⁵⁵⁹ To make the material more manageable, an early structuring of the material involved dividing the practice of the pastors into five sub-practices: preparing, presiding, preaching, involving, and concluding. As I later realized that the empirical material was too extensive for this thesis, I decided to exclude the material focusing on the preparation of the service the week(s) before Sunday, and the material focusing on how the Sunday services were evaluated afterwards. Following this, it became manageable to include the sub-practice of involving into the practice of presiding. I thus ended up with four sub-practices following a timeline from the hour before the service.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁵ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 27-37.

⁵⁵⁶ At the time I used NVivo, the programme used 'nodes' as a term for codes. Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 262. In total, I ended up with 78 different nodes.

⁵⁵⁷ Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 61-62, 261-62.

⁵⁵⁸ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology*, 57. Grbich, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 61.

⁵⁵⁹ Repstad, *Mellom nærhet og distanse*.

⁵⁶⁰ See the introduction to Part II: Analysis, for a further introduction to and argumentation for this division into four sub-practices.

For the analysis that followed, I made use of what Miles and Huberman term 'ad hoc techniques of interview analysis',⁵⁶¹ in that I treated the different themes or nodes slightly differently. Sometimes I made contrasts and comparisons, at other times, I analyzed more specific words and sayings. When analyzing the presiding of the pastors, the video-recordings proved useful, as I could look at one part at a time, making notes, and thematically grouping the findings.

According to Alvesson and Sköldberg, abduction is likely the primary method used in casebased research projects.⁵⁶² Although my approach was abductive throughout the process, I noticed that it varied in different parts of the analysis. In some parts of the analysis, such as the analysis of how the pastors related to the liturgy, I leaned towards an inductive approach. In analyzing other sub-practices, the analysis leaned more toward a theory driven approach. This approach was evident when analyzing the sermon. Here, I primarily used the combined, adapted theory of Carroll and Lathrop as a theoretical lens through which to look for pastoral leadership.⁵⁶³ However, the above notwithstanding, I argue that the analysis conducted in this project can be termed abductive.

When I had analyzed the different sub-chapters, I found that, in many sections, I had categorized the leadership practice of the pastors into two or more distinctive practices. As an example, one category of pastors performed loose and informal, while another were firm and formal. The material from the interviews displayed that some of the pastors had foundational diverging understandings of liturgy. While some expressed a fundamental joy in liturgy (one of them named himself 'having a kind of Catholic background'), other pastors expressed a functional understanding of liturgy. Not surprising, I found the pastors in the firm and formal category stuck to the liturgy without adding elements. Although some of these pastors changed, moved, and removed some elements, the pastors with a functional approach did considerably more of that. It is thus possible to say that the practice of some of the pastors easily followed their fundamental understanding of liturgy. However, there were exceptions, and there were pastors not easily put into one category or the other.

⁵⁶¹ Reported in Svend Brinkmann and Steinar Kvale, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Third ed. (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2015), 268.

⁵⁶² Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg, *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, Second ed. (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 4.

⁵⁶³ See 2.2.4.

Having categorized and beginning to see two patterns in presiding, I decided to try to see if the two patterns could be utilized on the rest of the material as well. As a starting point, I looked at the pastors I found to be easily put in either the functional or liturgical category, and I started to see patterns also in the practice of preparing, preaching, and concluding. As an example, it became clear that the pastors with the most functional approach to liturgy were the pastors who did not use the pulpit, and who used personal elements and humour in their sermons. This major finding, however, does not mean that any of the pastors fit the same pattern all the time. However, the findings on the dimensions listed were so clear that I argue that the patterns are apt. Thus, when the main categorizations were done, I could put forward two patterns of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

I encountered several challenges in the analytical process. For instance, as noted earlier, it was challenging at times to achieve the necessary distance from the pastors and to question and criticize some of their practices. A part of this challenge has been to develop the patterns. I have felt that if I should make such patterns, I would not have given justice to the complexity in the empirical material, or to the choices each of the pastors made. For me, time has thus been vital in making it easier to have this necessary distance and develop the patterns. The personal relationships I established during fieldwork have blurred and, some years later, it has become easier to categorize, question, and criticize some of their practices without the feeling of being unjust to the pastors. I have, moreover, developed awareness around placing too much emphasis on a relatively small observation or statement simply because it is something that I applaud or that provokes me. This awareness has helped me to see the bigger picture.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

The Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities state that '[r]esearchers should respect the participants' human dignity and consider their personal integrity, safety, and well-being'.⁵⁶⁴ This emphasis has been vital for me in conducting

⁵⁶⁴ 'Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', ed. The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees (5th, https://www.forskningsetikk.no/en/guidelines/social-sciences-humanities-law-and-theology/guidelines-for-research-ethics-in-the-social-sciences-humanities-law-and-theology/: NESH. The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities, 2022), 8.

fieldwork, in interpreting the material, and in writing. In this section, I thematize some ethical considerations that arose during the project period.

The project was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Service (NSD), from whom I later received approval to use the video-recordings from the services.⁵⁶⁵ Throughout the project period, the focus on confidentiality and data protection increased, as the new legislation of General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) came into force in 2016.⁵⁶⁶ I endeavoured to follow the regulations once I was made aware of the consequences of the new legislation.

As the ethical guidelines state, I was obliged to inform the participants about the study and to obtain their consent.⁵⁶⁷ I spoke with all the pastors before they consented to participate in the project. The pastors moreover received a letter informing them about the project and the aim of the study.⁵⁶⁸ When I decided to video-record the services, the pastors had to give their consent for that, as well. Although only one camera was used, and was focused on the pastor, others were visible on the video-recording: i.e., the staff, people assisting, families having a baptism, and confirmands. All received a letter informing them of the project, and were asked to give their consent.⁵⁶⁹ Some gave their consent through the pastors, and I met and received consent from others before the service started. Any people from whom I did not receive explicit consent were censored in the video-recording. Moreover, when the Holy Communion took place, I either stopped recording or deleted that part of the footage afterward. As such, only those who gave their explicit consent were visible on the video-recording or deleted that part of the footage afterward. As such, only those who gave their explicit consent were visible on the video-recordings.

As pointed out earlier,⁵⁷⁰ pastors are public figures, and conducting a Sunday service is a public act. Although it is possible to argue that the pastors were used to being observed and evaluated, my research still had the potential of placing the pastors in a vulnerable position. In the beginning, I could sense that some of the pastors were somewhat troubled by the situation; as such, I found it essential to try to create a friendly atmosphere before and after

⁵⁶⁵ For the approval letters from NSD, see appendix C.

⁵⁶⁶ 'L 119', *Official Journal of the European Union* 59 (4 May 2016). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L:2016:119:FULL.

⁵⁶⁷ 'Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', 18-19.

⁵⁶⁸ See appendix D.

 ⁵⁶⁹ See appendix E. There was one exception: I did not want to try to obtain consent from all the children involved in the service at Elvebakken. I therefore censored all the children visible on the video-recording.
 ⁵⁷⁰ See 3.4.1.

the participatory observations, as well as during the interview. For me, it was important to clarify my role to the participants before the interview started. I was not there to evaluate or control the work of the pastors, however, as a researcher, I needed to ask critical questions.

According to Brinkmann and Kvale, ethical issues can be found throughout the entire process of a qualitative interview investigation.⁵⁷¹ In the following, I discuss the question of confidentiality, also highlighted by the ethical guidelines.⁵⁷²

Although some of the pastors explicitly expressed that I could use their full names, confidentiality has remained important. The assistant who transcribed the interviews and some sermons signed a declaration of confidentiality; except for the assistant and my supervisor, I have not told anyone else the identity of the pastors. The pastors were given fictive names, and some descriptions of their context and background information amongst others, where they were educated—have been left out of the thesis in order to maintain confidentiality. It would have been interesting to investigate if and how their place of education has marked their practice, however, I argue that this information had to be kept anonymous to preserve confidentiality. Moreover, I do not include their exact ages, nor how long they had worked as pastors. Although this information is left out, as well as a more thorough description of the different sites, I argue that the information given is sufficient to answer the research question in this thesis. Still, the Church of Norway is relatively transparent, and it was impossible to promise total anonymity to the pastors. For one, in some of the congregations, I was recognized by people who knew me, for another, the participants were not concerned with their own anonymity and could therefore speak to others about their participation in the project.

An ethical challenge I experienced in the analysis and discussion was what to do with some of the information I received concerning other staff members and volunteers. These people had not been given a chance to have their voices heard. Therefore, when I did not find it appropriate or necessary to give details of other staff members, I opted not to.

⁵⁷¹ Brinkmann and Kvale, *Interviews*, 85.

⁵⁷² 'Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', 24.

3.7. Quality of the Research

In quantitative research, validity, generalization, and reliability are key to the quality of the research. While some qualitative researchers have transferred these terms from quantitative research⁵⁷³ and applied them to qualitative studies, others have proposed alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research.⁵⁷⁴ Yardley, for instance, suggests alternative criteria.⁵⁷⁵ I chose to combine elements from the two diverging approaches by first reflecting on the generalization of the findings before I utilize Yardley's approach when reflecting further on the quality of the research.

Flyvbjerg argues that it is a misunderstanding that one cannot generalize from an individual case study, and therefore, 'the case study cannot contribute to scientific development'.⁵⁷⁶ He claims it is important to distinguish between different levels or categories of generalization. According to him, formal generalization is generally overvalued. Moreover, he argues that 'transferability is underestimated'⁵⁷⁷ as 'knowledge may be transferable even where it is not formally generalizable'.⁵⁷⁸ Yin distinguishes between analytical generalization and statistical generalization. A case study can contribute to analytical generalization when expanding and generalizing theories, while it cannot contribute to statistical generalization by extrapolating probabilities.⁵⁷⁹ Although this study cannot be generalized in a formal and statistical sense, I argue that it contributes to scientific knowledge. The findings can be transferable to other contexts, and they contribute to expand existing theory.

Swinton and Mowat use the words identification and resonance when describing generalizability.⁵⁸⁰ They claim that although qualitative research is unique and unrepeatable, there is a kind of generalization when people in similar circumstances can identify with or feel that the findings resonate their experiences. When I have presented some of my

⁵⁷³ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 41, 156-63. Yin emphasizes transferring these terms to case studies. Yin, Case Study Research, 5. I do not follow Yin in this matter.

⁵⁷⁴ Bryman, Social Research Methods, 384-91.

⁵⁷⁵ Lucy Yardley, 'Dilemmas in Qualitative Health Research', *Psychology and Health* 15, no. 2 (2000), 219. https://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=badf4962-bb10-40b0-bd60-ec4c71ed6507%40sessionmgr4007.

⁵⁷⁶ Flyvbjerg, 'Case Study', 304.

⁵⁷⁷ Flyvbjerg, 'Case Study', 305.

⁵⁷⁸ Flyvbjerg, 'Case Study', 305.

⁵⁷⁹ Yin, Case Study Research and Applications, 21.

⁵⁸⁰ Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology*, 44-46.

findings in varied contexts, I have gotten feedback that they resonate with the experiences of both pastors and others.

Yardley presents 'sensitivity to the context', 'commitment and rigour', 'transparency and coherence', and 'impact and importance' as alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research.⁵⁸¹ Throughout this study, I have pursued 'sensitivity to the context'. In line with Yardley's understanding, this sensitivity included sensitivity to the social context in which the practice of the pastors took place, as well as a sensitivity to theoretical and ethical issues.⁵⁸² While I have argued that the theoretical perspectives were suitable for this study, I have not claimed they are the only possible perspectives.⁵⁸³ Moreover, I have pursued reflexivity as a researcher,⁵⁸⁴ and ethical considerations have been made and have indeed been accounted for in this thesis.⁵⁸⁵

By 'commitment and rigour', Yardley emphasizes engagement in the topic and 'the development of competence in the methods used, and immersion in the relevant data'.⁵⁸⁶ Here, my goal is that the way in which the study has been presented, including my reflections on my role as researcher, has illustrated my personal commitment to this study. Moreover, through my description of the fieldwork and the analytical process, as well as the analysis, I have endeavoured to illustrate my accountability as a researcher. Although personally engaged in the topic, I have strived for the necessary 'transparency and reflexivity', enabling me to be critical, while also questioning my normative pre-understandings. In this chapter, the methods used have been clarified and the analytical process accounted for; moreover, I have argued that there is a correlation between the research question and the theoretical and methodological choices made.⁵⁸⁷

According to Bryman, Yardley's final criteria for evaluating qualitative research, 'impact and importance', reflect her background as a health researcher.⁵⁸⁸ Still, I find this last criteria relevant for evaluating a practical theological project. First of all, I claim that this study gives

⁵⁸¹ Yardley, 'Dilemmas', 219.

⁵⁸² Yardley, 'Dilemmas', 219-21.

⁵⁸³ See chapter 2.

⁵⁸⁴ See 3.2.

⁵⁸⁵ See 3.6.

⁵⁸⁶ Yardley, 'Dilemmas', 221.

⁵⁸⁷ See 3.4 and 3.5.

⁵⁸⁸ Bryman, Social Research Methods, 388.

an academic contribution to both pastoral leadership within the field of pastoral theology, and to church and organization studies. Moreover, I also hope that this study has significance for practitioners in the field. Indeed, my aim is that both the analysis of the empirical material and the discussions using the theoretical perspectives outlined above will give a contribution to the practice field as it can help pastors obtain a deeper understanding of their practice and develop a more reflexive practice when conducting Sunday services. Moreover, my aim is that this thesis proves a useful contribution to those teaching the next generation of pastors at theological seminaries.

3.8. The Congregations and Churches

According to Kemmis, '[p]ractice is always materially and economically formed and structured—it is shaped by physical and material circumstances...'.⁵⁸⁹ In the following, I thus sketch a brief introduction to the congregations and the churches in which the observed services took place.

Jon is part of a large staff responsible for several congregations. I observed Jon conducting two services in Nordbø. This church was placed in the countryside few kilometres away from the centre of the municipality. The church in Nordbø was relatively large and built in the late nineteenth century. The pulpit was placed on a pillar on the left-hand side of the room, ⁵⁹⁰ and there was a staircase leading from the chancel to the pulpit. They had newly installed monitors in the church for showing PowerPoint presentations, however, they were not in use at any of the services I attended. As Jon described it, there was a positive synergy between the Christian education reform and the worship services, and it was easier to involve children and families than the older generation.

Lars worked in a church centre⁵⁹¹ in Hagneset built in the second half of the twentieth century. The congregation had many human resources, both employed and volunteers, and

⁵⁸⁹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 23.

⁵⁹⁰ In all my observations, including of the church architecture, I chose to write the descriptions from my perspective, sitting in the church. When I write 'left' here, this refers to what was on my 'left' as I conducted the observation.

⁵⁹¹ In Norwegian, *arbeidskirke*. These churches are multifunctional buildings with offices, a kitchen, and smaller rooms for meetings and group activities in addition to the sanctuary.

the laity could be described as robust. The room where the service was conducted felt long and narrow, but it could be characterized as a cruciform church because of the adjoining rooms at the sides. These rooms were included in the main room during the service. There was one step leading up to the choir. On the left side of the choir area there was a lectern, and on the right a massive pulpit,⁵⁹² standing on the floor just in front of the chancel. (According to Lars, the congregation wanted to remove the pulpit.) A screen had been placed on the wall above the chancel, upon which they showed parts of the liturgy and the lyrics for the hymns. Downstairs, in the basement, there was a spacious room where they served coffee after church.

Astrid served as pastor in two sanctuaries. The church in which I observed Astrid was built in the first half of the twentieth century, in Hole. It was mid-sized and had a relatively small choir area. The pulpit was placed on a pillar in the nave at the left side of the room. Stairs led from the chancel through a wall, and the pulpit's entrance was through a doorway behind the pulpit. There was an adjoining room where they sat down and drank coffee after the service. The congregation in Hole appeared traditional, and Astrid described them as preferring the recognizable.

Olaug worked in several congregations and churches. She described the congregation in Øyra as traditional, and that it was hard to get people involved. They liked that the pastor did most of the work, and this differed from other congregations she served. When I observed her, Olaug was conducting the Sunday service in the centre of the town of Øyra, in a cruciform church built in the seventeenth century, restored in the eighteenth century, and then extended with transepts.⁵⁹³ There were many corners in the church. The chancel was small, the pulpit was placed on the wall in the cross at the left side of the aisle, and there were stairs leading from the choir to the pulpit. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the pastor would have led most of the service from the pulpit. Later, once the altar was

⁵⁹² Arne Sæther has photographed many of the churches built in that period and has shown that, despite the technological development with the use of microphones and loudspeakers, churches continued to be built with massive pulpits that were lifted up off the floor. Arne E. Sæther, *På vei til det hellige fjell - landskap, rom og liturgi* (Asker: Sæthers forlag, 2010), 238.

⁵⁹³ Such extensions were, according to Ola Storsletten, usual at that time. Ola Storsletten, 'Korskirke ', (2009). https://snl.no/korskirke.

placed in a more central position, the pastor moved to the altar and the two transepts became blind spots.⁵⁹⁴

Although Gunnar was part of a staff with other pastors and occupations, he was responsible for two churches with limited resources. The day I observed him, Gunnar was conducting the service in a traditional 'long church' from the first part of the twentieth century situated in the countryside in Indrevik. This church is not in use every week; the day I was there, however, there were 40 to 50 participants in the service, including a family having a baptism. Inside, it was one step up to the chancel, and the area of the chancel was relatively small. On the right-hand side, there was a lectern. On the left-hand side, there was a pulpit on a pillar in the chancel.

Sigmund worked in a modern church in Lia, built after 2000. There were several adjoining rooms, and the staff had their offices in the building. In the regular service, there were around 150 to 170 attendants, including the family having a baptism. This number was not particularly high for them. A robust laity marked the congregation in Lia. The sanctuary was open and wide, and had the shape of a fan.⁵⁹⁵ In front, three steps led up to a spacious chancel. One additional step led up to the altar, with communion rails at the left and the right-hand side of the altar. Further to the left, there was space for a band and or/precentors. On the right-hand side stood a combined lectern and pulpit, smaller than a traditional pulpit in churches in Norway but bigger than most lecterns.⁵⁹⁶ There were three screens in the room: two in the front and one on the wall at the back.

I observed Elsa in two different contexts. The modern church building in Fagereng where she conducted one of the services can be characterized as a church centre. Most of the staff had offices in this church; Elsa, however, did not. The church was built in the latter part of the twentieth century, and the sanctuary was fan-shaped. It was open and wide. Although it narrowed, its ceiling was highest in the choir. Three steps led up to the choir. There was no traditional pulpit in the room; it had been removed, and a lectern stood at the left side of the altar. The hymns and liturgy were displayed on two walls in front.

 ⁵⁹⁴ Sæther, På vei til, 235; Nigel Yates, Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000, ed. Dave Leal et al., Liturgy, Worship and Society, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 34.
 ⁵⁹⁵ Tveito, Gudstjenestens historie, 378-80.

⁵⁹⁶ Sæther has gathered pictures of many pulpits in church buildings in Norway. There, one may find examples of pulpits from new church buildings. See Sæther, *På vei til*, 232-43.

Elsa's main job was in Elvebakken, a congregation for which services were held in a local community centre. Here, the room was shaped like an amphitheatre, and the congregation looked down at the area where the 'performance' took place. (This latter area was all on the same level.) The room was used for different activities during the week, and the congregation prepared the room before the service. A big table functioned as an altar, and there was no pulpit or lectern placed in the room. A screen was placed behind the altar, and texts and pictures were displayed there during the service.

The four churches built before 1930 were oriented toward the east, and they had altars placed in connection with an altarpiece. Toward the east, *ad orientem*, marks the traditional direction of the prayers in the churches in Norway. The pastor stands in front of the altar and alternates between turning toward the altar, praying, and toward the congregation, talking on behalf of God.⁵⁹⁷ The churches built between 1970 and 2005 had detached altars where the natural way of presiding is *versus populum* (toward the people): A more expansive room and a detached altar is meant to emphasize the incarnation and Christ among us.⁵⁹⁸

In the oldest churches, as was common in Norway, the pulpit was placed on a pillar, enabling good eye contact with those sitting in the gallery.⁵⁹⁹ In a time without microphones and speakers, it was important that the preacher was only a short distance from the listeners and that the architecture functioned well, acoustically.⁶⁰⁰ The same considerations have not been necessary in recent decades and, as we have seen, not all the modern churches have pulpits.

3.9. Presentation of the Seven Pastors

As Kemmis states, practices are always embodied and situated and always shaped by ideas, meanings, and intentions.⁶⁰¹ Askeland specifically states that the actor's gender, education,

⁵⁹⁷ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 6.17.

⁵⁹⁸ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 6.18-6.19.

 ⁵⁹⁹ Jens Christian Eldal, *Med historiske forbilder: 1800-tallet,* vol. 3, Kirker i Norge, (Oslo: ARFO, 2002), 58.
 ⁶⁰⁰ Sæther, *På vei til*, 235.

⁶⁰¹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice'.

and religious experience is essential.⁶⁰² Thus, it is important to include a brief presentation of the seven pastors and their backgrounds.

Practice theories have space for agents and individual agency.⁶⁰³ According to Kemmis, '[p]ractice is not just 'raw' activity, it is always shaped and oriented in its course by ideas, meanings, and intentions'.⁶⁰⁴ Moreover, it is reflexive.⁶⁰⁵ To introduce the pastors and their background—as important context for their ideas, meanings, and intentions—in this section, I provide a presentation of the seven main research participants in this study. Due to anonymity requirements, this presentation is brief and, in some ways, generalized. As mentioned earlier, I do not give the pastors' exact ages or the exact number of years they have worked as pastors. Instead, I have chosen to use broader categories, so that both their ages and time since ordination have been grouped into categories of 10 years.⁶⁰⁶ I have also opted not to give information about the diocese in which the different pastors worked, nor about the three theological faculties from which they received their degree.

Jon

A wide variety of influences marked Jon's background. As a child and youth, he felt a sense of belonging to many different Christian organizations. In addition to the local congregation in the Church of Norway, he has been involved in organizations ranging from KFUK/KFUM⁶⁰⁷ and KRIK⁶⁰⁸ to Normisjon,⁶⁰⁹ NKSS,⁶¹⁰ Norsk Luthersk Misjonssamband,⁶¹¹ and Misjonskirken.⁶¹² Many of these can be located within the tradition of prayer houses, and some in the free church tradition. He seldom felt that this breadth created conflict. Instead, he settled into many different traditions of worship. He pointed to this variety when describing a critical factor that had shaped his practice in Sunday services. Still, he did have

⁶⁰² See Askeland's model in Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191. See also 2.4.1 for my elaboration of this 'actor'-category in Askeland's model.

⁶⁰³ Nicolini, *Practice Theory*, 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 22.

⁶⁰⁵ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 23.

 ⁶⁰⁶ The pastors' ages and time since ordination presented here reflect what they were at the time of fieldwork.
 ⁶⁰⁷ YWCA/YMCA.

⁶⁰⁸ A Norwegian youth organization that can be translated as 'Christian Sports Contact'.

⁶⁰⁹ Formerly, Det norske lutherske Indremisjonsselskap, an inner mission organization that merged with Santalmisjonen to become Normisjon in 2001.

⁶¹⁰ The Norwegian Christian Student and School Association, which is part of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES).

⁶¹¹ Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM).

⁶¹² Formerly, Det norske Misjonsforbund, Mission Covenant Church of Norway.

preferences: 'The passionate, charismatic way of worship comes naturally. The more high church tradition of worship is not that close to my heart, although, in some ways, this too comes naturally to me'.⁶¹³

Jon was in his forties, and he had worked as a pastor for 10 to 20 years, some of them as a youth minister, and some in an administrative position in the church. He had maintained an interest in worship and in preaching to young people. Another and related interest centred around worship as a fellowship. Jon liked to be innovative, and to relate to the official guidelines for the Sunday service openly and loosely.

Lars

Lars was in his forties. His father was an ordained pastor in the Church of Norway. Together with his family, as a child and youth, he attended Oase.⁶¹⁴ In his youth, he also participated in Christian youth work, and was a leader in the youth choir and the youth club. Here, he had the chance to try new expressions, music, and forms of worship in the services. Lars felt this gave him the opportunity to contribute to renewal and change, which was an essential experience for him.

During his studies, he also had a period at Ungdom i Oppdrag (UiO).⁶¹⁵ He followed the charismatic line 'all-out', as he said. After completing his theological degree, he worked for a few years as a student chaplain before he decided to return from whence he came: the Church of Norway. It was like 'coming home', he said. As a pastor, he emphasized communication and presentation, and he had taken some courses in performance. Lars had been ordained for 20 to 30 years.

Astrid

Astrid was in her fifties, and had been ordained for 20 to 30 years. She came from a family that only went to church on Christmas Eve, although she went to Sunday school as a child. It was during her confirmation classes that she became more active in the local congregation.

⁶¹³ All the translations of the pastors' remarks are mine. In the following, I present the original of all the quotations in the footnotes. This quote is the translation of 'Den engasjerte, karismatiske lovsangen er veldig naturlig for meg og den mere sånn høykirkelige gudstjenestetradisjonen, som ikke ligger mitt hjerte så nær, men det er naturlig for meg det og, på en mate'.

⁶¹⁴ See 2.4.2 for a brief introduction to Oase and the charismatic movement.

⁶¹⁵ This is the international organization Youth With A Mission (YWAM).

In the local church, they had competent musicians, and she became fond of both the hymns and the liturgy. From then on, she had what she called a 'fundamental delight in liturgy'.⁶¹⁶ With her background, and with no women pastors as role models, she initially decided to become a catechist, and therefore began studying to be a teacher. However, after meeting some women pastors, she changed her mind; she completed her theological education and was ordained. Astrid was passionate about theology. She liked to take more of an academic approach when preparing sermons, and she had done some academic work previously, although not directly connected to worship. She enjoyed being a pastor and loved the Sunday service.

Olaug

Olaug grew up in a Christian family, and she attended Sunday services with her family. She remembered them as dull and something she was obliged to attend. As a young person, she became active in Ten Sing⁶¹⁷ and a youth club, but did not attend many Sunday services. Overall, she said, Sunday services were not especially important to her as she was growing up. As a youth, she participated in youth services; these, however, she described more as meetings than services. There was no traditional liturgy. The first time she developed a closer relationship with traditional services was as a student. In NKSS,⁶¹⁸ she learned that it was possible to shape the services, and she took part in their creation, for instance, writing prayers for them.

After finishing her degree, she went to Africa as a missionary. The experience of living and working in another context while still recognizing the liturgical elements gave her an essential experience of the worldwide church, as well as an ecumenical perspective. Returning to Norway, she worked for several years as a teacher before she was ordained. Olaug had worked less than five years as a pastor, and she was in her forties.

Gunnar

Gunnar was in his sixties. He grew up in the Church of Norway, and he characterized himself as being unfamiliar with Christian organizational life. However, as a youth, he was active in

⁶¹⁶ 'En grunnleggende glede over liturgi'.

⁶¹⁷ Youth choir (<u>YMCA</u>/YWCA), where the young people were given the freedom to create their own culture. ⁶¹⁸ The Norwegian organization that is part of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES).

NKSS, and participated in youth work in the local congregation. He completed his theological training, although it took many years before he was ordained. Gunnar had worked as a pastor for 10 to 20 years. He was an academic, and he had completed several courses after his theological degree, some of them in management studies. For many years, he worked as a teacher, and he had held several leading positions within the school system. He was well-read in theology, with a particular interest in liturgics. The liturgy was essential, he felt, and when he was describing himself, he said that he had 'a kind of Catholic background'.⁶¹⁹

Throughout his life, Gunnar had been interested in the intersection between secular culture and the church. As a kind of ideal, he preferred participating in secular culture life on weekdays, and the service in the church on Sundays. He participated actively in secular cultural life where he lived.

Sigmund

Sigmund was in his thirties. He grew up in a Christian home, and he participated both in Sunday services at church, and in meetings at the prayer house. In his youth, Sigmund was involved in a Christian youth group which gave him an opportunity for self-expression, for instance, playing in a band. He described this milieu as low church, where the focus was on Jesus as a friend and mate. Sigmund also spent some time in free church and charismatic congregations.

As he was studying to become a pastor, he had some significant experiences in which he found that a strict liturgy could also speak to people. Sigmund had always looked for what he described as honest and real, and had reacted against preaching with no connection to the lived life. Sigmund had been ordained for 10 to 20 years. As a pastor, he had worked both as a youth minister and as a minister in Sjømannskirken.⁶²⁰ These contexts had ranged from what he described as 'high church light' to a congregation where there was no tradition when it came to liturgy.

Sigmund pointed to a significant experience some years ago. He had participated in a retreat where he had felt a strong sense of 'coming home'. The retreat was something sustainable: a place and a way where he felt he could breathe.

⁶¹⁹ 'Jeg har jo litt sånn småkatolsk bakgrunn, da'.

⁶²⁰ Norwegian Church Abroad.

Elsa

Elsa had participated in Sunday services as long as she could remember. In her youth, there were many young people in her church: They had a Ten Sing choir, and some of them met during Sunday services. She described having always been fond of the Sunday service, and feeling at home there.

As a student, she continued going to services, in a local congregation where there was a traditional liturgy. After finishing her theological degree, she went to Asia as a missionary. The Sunday services there were what she described as partly liturgical rigid. Following her return to Norway, she held several different jobs: for instance, working for one year in a traditional congregation, and several years in a church with a special focus on church education for children and youth. She decided that she did not want to work in a congregation with a traditional church building and strict liturgical rules; she needed what she called 'room to play'.⁶²¹ Throughout her career, she had a focus on children and Christian education in church and on children being active participants in Sunday services. Elsa was in her fifties, and had been ordained for 20 to 30 years.

⁶²¹ In Norwegian, *spillerom*.

PART II: ANALYSIS

The following four chapters contain the analysis of the empirical material. Early in the analytical phase, the empirical material around the pastors' leadership practice seemed overwhelming. To make it more manageable, I categorized it into four sub-practices: the practice of preparing, the practice of presiding, the practice of preaching, and the practice of concluding.

As the analysis displays, the different elements of the theoretical model are in play in the different parts of the material. While the managerial role of the integrator is prominent in preparing, it is the institutional leader who is in the foreground in presiding, preaching, and concluding.

4. The Leadership Practice of Preparing Sunday Morning Before the Service

It is not as if you can just focus completely and then start the service. There is everything else. You probably observed how many small things there were along the way, right?⁶²²

This quote of Astrid's can serve as a heading for how the pastors in this study performed pastoral leadership during the hour before the services started Sunday morning. My interpretation is that implicit in Astrid's statement is an experience that, in the hour before the service starts, she is not able to focus on *her* upcoming tasks in the service. There are so many other things she must focus on. Astrid characterizes these 'everything else' as 'many small things'. In this chapter, I highlight these small things, and try to capture how the pastors, in doing them before the service starts, carry out pastoral leadership. To be able to analyze the many small things, I found it expedient to categorize them and thus be able to focus on one area at the time.

I choose to categorize the 'many small things' into five categories. These categories are found in the first five sub-chapters: relating to co-workers (4.1), relating to 'special attendants' (4.2), relating to the congregation in general (4.3), taking care of practical arrangements (4.4), and spiritual preparations (4.5). Kemmis' understanding of practice informs the analysis.⁶²³ Moreover, I find Mintzberg's understanding of managerial roles pertinent as a theoretical lens in order to understand the integrating managerial role of the pastors. His description of the different roles in managing can contribute to open these 'small things' and illuminate what leadership practices we find the pastors performed before the Sunday services. However, in analyzing, I realised that there are also pastoral leadership practices where Mintzberg and Askeland's theoretical lenses fall short and, in 4.5, I focus on what I have named spiritual preparations drawing on pastoral theological literature as sensitizing devices.

⁶²² 'Det er ikke bare at du liksom kan fokusere helt på og så begynne gudstjenesten, men det er alt det andre.
Du observerte sikkert hvor mye småting det var underveis, ikke sant'.
⁶²³ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice', 20-26.

Moreover, I argue that the intensity of the pastors throughout the hour of preparing differed (4.6). And furthermore, as the service approached, that the managerial roles acquired added symbolic value. I thus argue that what the pastors then did could contribute to the management of meaning in the service. This topic is thematized in 4.7.

Through all these sub-chapters, I try to show how the pastor herself and the local context influence the pastoral leadership of the pastor in this hour, and to understand her practice.

4.1. Relating to Co-Workers

One of all the 'small things' all of the pastors did, was relating to and engaging with other people involved in the preparation of the Sunday service. However, there were marked differences between the pastors regarding how much they related to them, and on how they related to them. Describing the roles of management, Mintzberg makes analytical distinctions between the information plane consisting of communicating (monitoring, nerve centre) and controlling (designing, delegating, designating, distributing, deeming), and leading on the people plane (energizing and developing individuals, building teams, and strengthening culture). However, as Mintzberg also admits, these layers or roles blend into each other.⁶²⁴

In the following, I first look at how the interaction between the pastor and the co-workers seems to be dependent on planning in advance (4.1.1). Second, I identified a tension between what Mintzberg calls controlling and leading (4.1.2) in the pastoral leadership before the Sunday services. Third, I focus on how the pastors chose to relate to the people involved, as individuals, or as a team (4.1.3).

⁶²⁴ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 90-91. See figure 4 in 2.3.2.

4.1.1. Different Approaches to Preparation Affecting the Hour before the Service

In both the services during which I observed Elsa, she did not spend much time with any of the co-workers.⁶²⁵ She told me that she had sent out a full schedule in advance, the volunteers knew what to do, and the different roles were clearly defined:

People know well *what* to do, the different roles are clearly defined, so that I have not much I have to do. When they have got the full schedule, then the musicians lead themselves, and he who has the practical responsibility knows what to do, and the person decorating, knows what to do. So, it is really little leadership there, because it is in a way clear in the instructions they already have. So there, I do little.⁶²⁶

Elsa planned the services in detail, and she had made all the necessary 'decisions' in advance. All the co-workers had received a full schedule in advance including readings and hymns as well as all the liturgical elements and individual instructions ('information') to the co-workers. Thus, there was little need for her to inform them or the other co-workers, or make decisions on what they should do or how they should do it before the service started. However, she told me that she, in the weeks before the service, had had several e-mails back and forth with the band playing in Fagereng. However, on Sunday morning, there was not much communication. The only thing she did, was to confirm that they agreed to stick to the plan.

In contrast to Elsa's practice, Astrid had not sent out an e-mail with more information to the volunteers the week before. They had only received the semester plan. According to Astrid, this was at least partly because of the lack of staff:

If we had had a person hired so that we could have done this quality assurance on Saturday to [those who should contribute]: 'you shall read text and know this about the service', 'you shall do this, right'. But when they are so trained, they can handle that they get the sheet

⁶²⁵ I use 'co-workers' as a common term for regular volunteers, assistants, and staff, and I do not differentiate between the two groups. However, it differed to what extent they related to them, and what the content of the interaction was.

⁶²⁶ 'Folk vet veldig godt *hva* de skal gjøre, altså, de, de forskjellige rollene er veldig sånn klart definert, sånn at jeg har veldig *lite* jeg trenger å gjøre, når de har fått kjøreplanen og sånn, så leder musikerne musikerne, og han som har det praktiske ansvaret, vet hva han skal gjøre, og den som skal pynte, vet hva den skal gjøre, sånn at det er egentlig veldig lite ledelse der, for det ligger på en måte ganske klart i de instruksene som de allerede har, så der gjør jeg lite'.

they get. It says which Sunday it is, who is going to read and who is welcoming, and [the name of] the pastor and what kind of service.⁶²⁷

She thus had a different approach to Elsa. Astrid assumed the volunteers did not need any detailed description of the service. The semester plan was enough. This approach, however, implied, amongst other things, that Astrid had to give the information Sunday morning. Astrid had planned everything, but she had not informed the co-workers if one or both the texts should be read, or of other necessary information. She thus had to inform them before the service. For Astrid, this was not a problem. And she assumed it was not for the other people involved in the service either. However, it added an extra element to all the 'small things' she had to do Sunday morning.

4.1.2. Balancing Controlling and Leading

According to Mintzberg, managers communicate (being the nerve centre) and control (deciding, distributing) on the information plane and lead (energizing and developing individuals, building teams, and strengthening culture) on the people plane.⁶²⁸ In this section, I analyze how and if the pastors balance and hold together these two aspects of the managerial role. Managing this balance also includes the question of power and authority.

On the information plane, the pastors made arrangements with the co-workers, and they answered questions. There was also an element of 'control'. The pastors asked co-workers to do specific tasks ('delegating'), and 'deciding' what they were to say and do. Although the information plane and people plane analytically can be separated, I find it sometimes hard to distinguish between the two when observing the pastors. They blend into one another. However, occasionally, the need to inform co-workers seemed to be the pastor's dominant focus. When Gunnar talked to the verger in Indrevik, the focus was on how he should perform and what he should do, not on energizing or motivating him. I observed, though, that most of the pastors motivated and supported their co-workers while they informed

⁶²⁷ 'Hadde vi hatt en person ansatt så kunne vi liksom tatt den der kvalitetssikringen ut på lørdag til [de som skal medvirke]; 'du skal lese tekst og vite dette om gudstjenesten', 'du skal gjøre sånn, ikke sant', men når de er såpass trenede, så tåler de at de får opp på det arket de får, så står det søndag og så står det hvem som er tekstleser og hvem som er kirkevert og så står det [navnet på] prest og så står det type gudstjeneste'.
⁶²⁸ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 52-80.

them of their tasks. Or, to put it another way, they included 'energizing individuals' in relating to their co-workers.

Seeing and encouraging their co-workers seemed like an essential practice for several of the pastors. Some of the pastors hugged the assistants arriving in church, and I interpret this act as a way of showing appreciation. Astrid expressed the importance of applauding those coming to volunteer, as they performed an essential service—to greet them and say, 'that is great'.⁶²⁹ I interpret giving them a hug as a way of showing this appreciation. While I observed all the female pastors hugging some of the assistants in greeting, Lars was the only male pastor I observed doing this. In my interpretation of Elsa's character, this came naturally to her and was part of her personality. I asked Olaug if this was 'how she is' (i.e., a 'hugger'). Olaug explained that she assumed a role upon arriving at the church. She became more heartily welcoming than she normally was. I had the impression that greeting the congregation with hugs did not come naturally to Astrid either.⁶³⁰

Astrid told me that she always had a list of things to go over with the assistants when they arrived, to make sure everything was in order before the service started. Nevertheless, she also emphasized the relational aspect of her role by emphasizing the importance of spending time engaging in small talk with them. However, she expressed the challenge of balancing the relational aspect with all the 'small things' that had to be done before a service: '[i]f, for instance, a reader has a lot of personal stuff that you have to deal with a few minutes before [the service starts]'.⁶³¹ In other words, she expressed that she sometimes also had to take care of and deal with the personal problems of the people involved in the service. In this matter, I do not find Mintzberg's category of 'energizing individuals' to be sufficient in describing the role of the pastoral leader. The talk between a pastor and a co-worker

^{629 &#}x27;så flott'.

⁶³⁰ 'This finding could suggest a discussion of whether there are gendered expectations of the pastoral leadership role. In their 1989 study, Almås et al. found that women pastors in the Church of Norway were slightly more relationally oriented than men in their practical work as pastors, Almås et al. *Presterollen*. No similar research has been conducted examining whether or not this has changed. However, in her article based on her experiences as a supervisor for theological students in their final period of internship, Eriksen reports that the students did experience different expectations in the congregations regarding gender. Gry Friis Eriksen, 'Når kjønnsrollen møter presterollen', *St. Sunniva*, no. 3 (2011). However, studying the expectations towards the pastors is outside the scope of this study, and I therefor delimit myself from exploring this perspective further.

⁶³¹ 'Eller hvis det er en tekstleser som har masse egenportefølje som du skal forholde deg til tre minutter før [gudstjenesten starter]'.

becomes what I categorize as pastoral care. I suggest that the challenge of balancing thus becomes a challenge on a deeper level than the challenge between information and energizing. It thus becomes a challenge between preparing the service and another primary task of the pastor, namely pastoral care.⁶³²

Jon expressed the same challenge, however from another perspective, when describing the involvement of youths in the confirmation service. For the staff in Nordbø, it was important to involve youths in the confirmation services. The different tasks were allocated to the young people upon their arrival at the church that morning. All this was taken care of by the catechist. However, Jon could sense a kind of hierarchy regarding the different tasks in the service. It was evident that some tasks were more popular and had a higher status than others. He was thus challenged by how to manage the distribution of the tasks effectively and at the same time be a shepherd⁶³³ for and take care of the young people. Jon thus also emphasized the caring element of the pastoral task.

Before the regular service in Nordbø, two episodes illustrate how Jon tried to be friendly and relational and, at the same time, decisive in communicating with the co-workers. These episodes moreover make current the question of authority and power.

The organist had asked both a violinist and soloist to participate in this service. Jon did not know in advance which song the soloist wanted to sing, but he had requested a song appropriate to the sermon, as it would be sung directly after. He thought they had agreed upon this, but when they talked before the service, it turned out the organist and the soloist had decided on a song without a Christian message. Jon commended the soloist, however, he gently suggested an alternative placement for the song. Afterward, he reflected, 'Maybe I should have been even more explicit that it had to be a song meaningful to use after the sermon, because I don't think they had thought of that'.⁶³⁴ It became evident that the organist had not been very familiar with the church before he had started in the position:

⁶³² 'Put simply, pastoral care is religious attention toward another. Institutionally, it is one of the primary works of religious leadership. 'Barbara McClure, 'Pastoral Care', in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, ed. Miller-McLemore, Wiley-Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

⁶³³ Here, Jon used the word *hyrde*.

⁶³⁴ 'Det kan hende jeg skulle ha sagt enda tydeligere at da må det være liksom noe som gir mening å bruke der, for det tror jeg ikke de hadde tenkt på'.

Here, it seemed that Jon, in a friendly and caring way, manoeuvred the situation to achieve the best possible solution for the service. In doing so, he took overall responsibility for the service, made the decisions he found necessary for the entirety of the service, and I moreover argue that he ultimately prepared for meaning interpretation.

The second conversation took place between Jon and the assistant. Jon had just received information that there was to be a family KRIK⁶³⁵ later that day, and he wanted the assistant to announce that in the service. However, she was reluctant to do so because there were already too many announcements, and she argued that none of the people in the target group would be present at church. Jon insisted, explaining that this was symbolically important and a way of supporting this initiative from some families in the congregation. They then agreed to omit another announcement and include this one. I interpret Jon's managerial decision as being 'community formation', and as a way of infusing value into KRIK as an important activity for families in the congregation.

In both these episodes, Jon applied his authority as a pastor and leader of the Sunday service. I interpret his use of authority in the first case as a mixture of all three of Weber's categories of authority.⁶³⁶ At first glance, it seemed like he used his charismatic authority to manoeuvre in the situation. Smiling and complimenting the soloist could be a way of using his personal charisma to influence the situation. However, although he did not refer to his traditional and/or legitimate authority in his wording, I argue that both Jon's traditional and legitimate authority were in play. He, as a pastor, has the legal authority to make the final decisions about the service.⁶³⁷ However, I argue that, in this case, the pastor's traditional authority was of most importance. The organist tended to be insecure; he was not that familiar with the church and its traditions. For him, it was evident that the pastor, as the symbolic carrier of the tradition, was an authoritative figure. Although I experienced Jon as manoeuvring and balancing between leading (on the people plane) and controlling (information plane) in this case, it was still evident that he, in sodoing, utilized both his charismatic, traditional, and legal authority as a pastor.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ A gathering for families where they play and have fun. See footnote 526.

⁶³⁶ Weber, Makt og byråkrati, 83-93.

⁶³⁷ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 71, page 5.14.

⁶³⁸ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 113-15.

Moving on to the second episode in Nordbø, I argue that Jon tended toward a more explicit use of his traditional and legal authority. In my interpretation of the discussion with the assistant, he did not use his charismatic authority in that situation. I suggest a possible twofold interpretation of the change in approach. First, the service was approaching, and there was little time left. For Jon, this seemed to be a question he could not spend more time on than was necessary. Second, he knew the assistant well, and my interpretation is that he did not find it pertinent to utilize his charismatic gifts in this context. He could tell her pointblank how he wanted it to be without taking that many relational aspects into account. Although the assistant tried to make a protest, he brushed her aside making it clear that the family KRIK should be announced. He made it implicitly clear for the assistant that this topic was not up for discussion.

In several of the places, I got the impression that a substitute verger or organist affected the balance between controlling and leading. Several of the pastors suggested the substitutes needed more information than the regular staff. This need for more information can suggest that they had not received enough information in advance. However, it could also imply that the substitutes were insecure or wanted to reassure themselves, they had understood everything correctly. Another possible interpretation is that the pastor wanted to make sure and control that the substitute verger or organist had remembered and understood everything he/she should do.⁶³⁹ In several of the sites, I assume several of these suggested interpretations were at play simultaneously.

The verger was a substitute in Indrevik, where Gunnar was the pastor. The verger was experienced with this specific pastor, although not in this specific church. It seemed like he was used to doing things spontaneously. However, Gunnar wanted to prepare him properly, and spent several minutes explaining and talking through the different elements in the service. The substitute verger moreover asked several detailed questions about the lighting of the candle in connection with the baptism. This indicated he wanted to be sure he did everything correctly. As I interpreted the situation, the verger understood that such details were important to this pastor.

⁶³⁹ In 4.4, I moreover point to how having a substitute affected some practical tasks.

Some pastors also expressed that the challenge of having control increased according to the number of people involved in the service. Astrid emphasized that, in services involving many volunteers, there was a great deal to organize and manage. 'It's demanding to get people to do things properly',⁶⁴⁰ she explained. Jon also admitted that having many people involved often made things 'messier': As it was more challenging to control everything, small mistakes happened more easily. That mistakes can happen also became evident in Fagereng. It turned out that there had been some misunderstandings in the communication with the man who was to read the texts of the day. Elsa thought he was supposed to do the welcoming as well, and she seemed a bit uncomfortable when he did not arrive until five minutes before the service started. He was surprised that she expected him to do the welcoming, because he claimed he had not received any information in advance. Elsa therefore decided to give the announcements herself. Without evaluating who was right or wrong, it seemed like lack of information (communication and control) made Elsa do the job herself. However, Elsa took responsibility for the situation.

4.1.3. An Individual or Team approach

Mintzberg highlights energizing and developing individuals as well as building teams as important elements in the managerial role of leading.⁶⁴¹ In the following, I argue that there is a tension between the pastors' approaches to how they want to relate to other people involved in the service. Some of the pastors only spoke with co-workers one-on-one. Most of the pastors, however, (Olaug, Lars, Sigmund, Jon, and Elsa [in Fagereng]) had a short meeting with the co-workers before the service started.⁶⁴² Astrid did not gather the co-workers, and she almost seemed sarcastic when she told me, 'we do not have anything like gathering together and then praying in a heartfelt way before the service'.⁶⁴³

I interpret Astrid's remark as a way of distancing herself to traditions where prayer meetings are a central element. Moreover, it seems as if it was not only the concept of prayer meetings being unthinkable for her. Her saying moreover revealed she did not want to

⁶⁴⁰'Det krever mye å få folk til å gjøre ting skikkelig'.

⁶⁴¹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 66-68.

 ⁶⁴² As Astrid suggests, an important element in these meetings was prayer. The spiritual aspect of this practice is further thematized in 4.5. Here, I concentrate on the individual versus team approaches.
 ⁶⁴³ 'Vi har heller ikke noe sånt at vi samler alle og så ber vi inderlig for gudstjenesten'.

gather the co-workers. Astrid argued that this was an inappropriate use of time. Instead of gathering, she would prioritize being in position, and welcoming people. Astrid had instead talked to all the co-workers individually.

On the other hand, Lars was one of the pastors who gathered all the co-workers for a meeting before the service. I quote from my fieldnotes: 'Meeting in the back room with co-workers at 10:40. Going through the service. The pastor led. Checking title of hymn. Correct number, but wrong title in the schedule. Talked through (the liturgy) element by element— 'securing' both himself and others—as I experienced it'.⁶⁴⁴ This brief note highlights two important elements in these meetings. First, the element of control. When they talked through the liturgy, they discovered a mistake in the schedule. Discovering the mistake—and correcting it—made sure all the people involved got the same information at the same time. Second, I experienced this meeting as a way of securing both the pastor and the co-workers of the task ahead. Talking through the service, everyone knew what to do and when. This focus on team building moreover had the potential of giving the people involved a sense of belonging to a team and a fellowship.⁶⁴⁵

The statements and diverging practices of the pastors highlight diverging priorities between them in their pastoral leadership, and moreover what values the pastors want to emphasize. Lars in the interview expressed he wanted to build a team and, in line with Mintzberg, he saw this as part of his leadership task.⁶⁴⁶ Astrid, on the other hand, did not focus on that aspect. For her, gathering the co-workers was waste of time, and as I interpret her, she did not appreciate teams and fellowships in this sense. On the contrary, they could be a threat.

These remarks and practices have ecclesiological implications. I interpret Astrid's individual focus and hesitation to gather some people in a smaller fellowship, as theologically as well as practically funded. Astrid was afraid of focusing too much on fellowship. This concern is recognizable in the Nordic ecclesiological debate. Alden and Lundberg are among the representatives of an ecclesiology being afraid of creating elitism.⁶⁴⁷ On the other hand,

⁶⁴⁴ 'Møte på bakrom med medarbeidarar kl.10.40. Gjennomgang av gudstenesta. Prest leia gjennomgangen. Sjekk av salmetitte. Rett nr., men feil tittel i køyreplan. Gjekk gjennom ledd for ledd—'trygga' seg sjølv og andre—slik eg opplevde det'.

⁶⁴⁵ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 67-68.

⁶⁴⁶ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 67-68.

⁶⁴⁷ Alden and Lundberg, 'Skapelsen som evangeliets'.

some of the other pastors clearly expressed building fellowship as an important element in their ecclesiology.⁶⁴⁸

4.2. Relating to 'Special Attendants'

In almost all the services I observed, people who did not regularly attend services were invited to participate (e.g., a choir in Elvebakken, and band in Fagereng) or were there because of a baptism or confirmation. All the pastors related to these people to some extent.

Utilizing Mintzbergs analytical distinctions, the pastors' way of relating to 'special attendants'⁶⁴⁹ seem to alter between communicating on the information plane, energizing and developing individuals on the people plane, and rehearsing with them on the action plane.⁶⁵⁰ However, there is also an element not covered by the approach of Mintzberg, namely caring by bringing calmness into a nervous situation. First, I give a general and brief description of how the pastors informed, included, and brought calmness to the 'special attendants' (4.2.1). The pastors who spent the most time with people who did not regularly attend services were those who had asked them to perform specific tasks in the service. Accordingly, I focus on how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in those situations (4.2.2).

4.2.1. Informing, Including, and Calming

In an episode in Hole, Astrid herself highlighted how bringing calm into a situation can be a way of carrying out pastoral leadership: 'When I saw they had arrived, I asked myself, "What can I bring into this family now?" It was calm. That is the only thing I could bring... Good leadership here is calmness'.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ Patrik Hagman, 'Tydlighet och öppenhet: Eller, varför de lutherska folkkyrkorna i Norden behöver en kombination av katolsk och anabaptistisk teologi för att möta framtiden', *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 90, no. 3 (2014).

⁶⁴⁹ The term 'special attendants' is chosen of practical reasons and does not have any intended ecclesiological implications.

⁶⁵⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 90-91.

⁶⁵¹ 'Da jeg så at de var kommet så tenkte jeg hva kan jeg bringe inn til denne familien nå... Det er ro, det, det er det eneste jeg kan. God ledelse her er ro'.

Two of the families having baptism in Hole, had come early, while the third family arrived just a few minutes before the service started. Astrid had put on her alb and stole when she welcomed the family who had four children aged seven and under. The parents seemed stressed. Astrid, however, was calm, and she helped the mother dress the child for the baptism. She saw what was needed in the situation and acted. At 10:58,⁶⁵² Astrid said, 'Now you seem ready. Is that correct? Yes—that is fantastic'!⁶⁵³ I asked Astrid about this episode after the service, as I found it remarkable the way she engaged with the family and calmed them down. She explained that she had been confident that they would come and had arranged with the verger to not start the bells before she gave him a signal. She then expressed gratitude for the prior experiences that had enabled her to read the situation and provide what was needed. This calming act of Astrid's thus contributed to the family's being able to calm down and be present in the service. Ultimately, this could mean the difference for this family making it possible to manage meaning in the service. I thus interpret her practice as being a transitional practice between the managerial role and the role as institutional pastoral leader.⁶⁵⁴

My general impression was that all the pastors tried to be welcoming and inclusive when relating to the 'special attendants'. The pastors took into consideration the fact that some of the people in attendance might be somewhat unfamiliar with the service. Several of the pastors paid special attention to those attending for baptism or confirmation. They spent time with small talk and gave 'information' to them on what to do during the service. I interpret both the small talk and the information as a way of bringing calm into a nervous and excited situation.

A possible challenge in being welcoming and inclusive is that those being welcomed and included can feel they are treated like guests and not as regular members of the community. Since I did not ask the 'special attendants' of how they experienced it, I cannot say how they felt. However, I did not find any remarks that signalled that any person or group was less welcome to church than other. However, as I interpreted the pastors' practice, they signalled that the church was also for those not attending often—for families having a baptism, for children in the choir, and for confirmands and their families. If this finding

⁶⁵² All the services in this study started at 11 a.m.

⁶⁵³ 'Da ser dere ut til å være klare. Stemmer det? Ja, så fantastisk'!

⁶⁵⁴ For further analysis of the change from managers to institutional leaders, see 4.7.

describes the situation, though, it has ecclesiological implications. Including everyone in the same fellowship without making any distinction between 'internal' and 'external' attenders, expresses an ecclesiology not focusing on the traditional dichotomy between the folk church and the community of believers.⁶⁵⁵

4.2.2. Energize, Develop, and Rehearse for Participation

'I think it is great when they want to be involved in one way or another, even though it does not always work out. Of course, we have to facilitate it'.⁶⁵⁶ This remark of Jon's came when I confronted him of an episode where he had spent a lot of time informing, energizing and rehearsing with a girl before the service started. In the following, I focus on how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership when involving 'special attendants' in the services. I argue that the integrating role of the pastor thus became evident as they spent time energizing, developing, and rehearsing with some of the 'special attendants'.

When Jon met the family having a baptism on the morning I observed the service, they had thought it would be nice to have their older (4- or 5-year-old) daughter pour the water into the baptismal font and asked if this was possible. Jon confirmed that it was, and talked to the girl, telling her 'You can use a jug made of silver'!⁶⁵⁷ Jon asked if the girl wanted to practice, and she nodded. Jon rehearsed with her and let her try to pour water into the baptismal font. However, at 5 minutes to 11 o'clock, the girl decided she was too nervous to participate in this way. Jon had thus spent a fair bit of time on something that did not end up coming to fruition. However, Jon did not seem bothered.

In the family service in Elvebakken, Elsa had asked the four-year-olds to participate in the procession, and she spoke with them shortly before the service started. Elsa moreover asked the girls from the choir to participate in the reading and intercession in addition to being lead worshippers; she therefore had to spend time rehearsing with them before the service. Astrid asked two boys from the families having baptism to assist in the procession by carrying the cross and the jug of water for the baptism.

⁶⁵⁵ Hegstad, *The Real Church*, 15.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Jeg synes det er flott når de vil involveres på en eller annen måte, selv om det da ikke alltid går, så er det jo klart at vi må legge til rette for det'.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Du kan få bære en sølvmugge'!

Elsa, Jon, and Astrid spent time interacting with the children explaining to them what to do, encouraging them, and rehearsing with them. There was obviously an element of 'information' in what they did. Astrid delegated the tasks and 'informed' them of what they should do and read. Elsa 'distributed' the tasks and 'informed' them of how they should carry the cross and jug and how to walk. However, the 'leading' element on the 'people plane' was even more prominent. When Mintzberg elaborates upon the leadership task of 'developing individuals, he emphasizes the coaching, teaching, and training as aspects of this practice. I find these elements prominent in how the pastors were leading the 'special attendants' who were involved in the service. In rehearsing with them, I argue the pastors helped them develop and encouraged them for their upcoming tasks.

In the episode with Jon in Nordbø, we also see how involving 'special attendants' can affect the practice of other people involved as well. When rehearsing with the girl, Jon also asked her if she wanted to come forward alone, or together with her family at the time of the baptism. She said she wanted to come forward with the others, and I understood that Jon was thus switching an element ('deciding') in the baptismal liturgy so the family could approach earlier than the time prescribed in the regular liturgy. He then arranged things with ('informed') the co-liturgist because she needed to know when to hold his liturgy book. This back and forth not only affected Jon, but also the assistant.

4.3. Relating to the Congregation in General – a Way of Establishing and Strengthening a Culture?

I—this is a way of seeing people, and I think it's a good start to the service to greet people. So, to the extent I can do it, and it's not 'boiling' somewhere else, I try to be ready 10 minutes before the service starts and stand by the door, yes.⁶⁵⁸

Elsa's quote here demonstrates that her practice of welcoming people before the service starts was intended. In both Elvebakken and Fagereng, after she had put on the alb and stole, Elsa spent the last 10 to 15 minutes before the service standing by the entrance,

⁶⁵⁸ 'Jeg—det er en måte å se folk på, og jeg synes det er en fin start på gudstjenesten å hilse på folk, i den grad jeg har anledning til det, og det ikke koker på andre områder, så prøver jeg å være klar ti minutter før og stå i døra, ja'.

welcoming people. In Elvebakken, Elsa focused mostly on the four-year-olds, while she welcomed all in Fagereng. She hugged some, greeted some by shaking their hands, and others she welcomed with her words. Elsa also talked with some of them. She told me that this was a practice she strived for.

Most of the pastors did not spend much time relating to the congregation in general before the service started, though I did observe Sigmund talking to several people before the service. My interpretation of this finding is that relating to the congregation in general was not a prioritized task for most of the pastors. Elsa was thus an exception. For her, this was an intended practice aiming at contributing to 'culture building' in the congregation. She expressed that she both preached and talked to people emphasizing the importance of meeting and seeing people both before and after the services, as well as in other gatherings. For Elsa, this was thus an intended and prioritized practice with a clearly 'inviting' intention.⁶⁵⁹ Moreover, she wanted her practice to contribute to 'strengthening culture'⁶⁶⁰ People should have the experience of being seen when they come to church. Elsa's intention is thus in line with both Mintzberg, Selznick, and Carroll, who emphasis leadership tasks as 'strengthening culture', 'embodiment of purpose', and 'community formation'.⁶⁶¹ In 4.6, focusing on the time aspect, I utilize this practice of Elsa's to highlight the symbolic effect of what the pastors did just before the service started, and how their practice made a turn from the focus on management to institutional pastoral leadership.

4.4. Taking Care of Practical Arrangements

'Maybe I take on too much responsibility?'⁶⁶² This reflection formulated by Lars highlights what I interpret to be a dilemma between being the integrating manager who does what is necessary to the entity,⁶⁶³ and the distribution of authority and responsibility to the verger. The empirical material displayed there were concrete tasks the pastors had to deal with that

⁶⁵⁹ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 24.

⁶⁶⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 68-72.

 ⁶⁶¹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 69. Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 90-119; Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 100.
 ⁶⁶² 'Så da kan jeg sikkert ta litt for mye ansvar og'.

⁶⁶³ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 483.

no one else could handle at that moment. However, in other matters, the pastors did several of the verger's tasks⁶⁶⁴ without communicating with the verger.

In Lia, Nordbø, and Hagneset, they seemed dependent upon the pastor in regard to some technical issues. There, I observed the pastors attending to technical challenges with the audio system. When I arrived in Lia the second time, Sigmund immediately asked me, 'Do you want to be a sound technician today?'⁶⁶⁵ The person who usually managed the sound was absent. Sigmund then spent some time adjusting his and the piano's microphones and those of the lead worshippers, and he showed the verger how to mute them in case of poor sound during the service. Lars also helped with microphone set-up, in this case, for the new organist. He noted that he usually did not have to do this, as the previous organist knew the sound system, and, while the verger should have known how to do it, he did not, so Lars had to help.

In Nordbø, when the sound was checked, there was no sound in the lapel microphone. The verger in the gallery did not know what to do. Jon went up to the gallery to help, and he thought he had managed to fix it. When he came back down, he discovered that there was still a problem. He then instructed the verger in the gallery on what buttons to press, and the problem was solved. According to Jon, most of the time, there were no problems with the sound. However, it happened on occasion, and as the verger was not a sound technician, if there were technical challenges, they fixed them together, or Jon simply fixed them himself (a fact he downplayed). That morning, there was also a 'zizzing' sound in an alarm in one of the rooms. The verger asked Jon to assist her when he arrived, but they were unable to figure out what was causing the sound and how to turn it off. Jon then told ('informed') the family having a baptism about the situation, since they were in the room with the alarm.

In Lia, Nordbø, and Hagneset, it seemed like the pastor was the only person who could fix the sound system in these situations. That the introduction of technical equipment affects professional practice is well-known from other professions and fields of study.⁶⁶⁶ This was

⁶⁶⁴ According to Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, number 19. page 5.5. the verger or assistant is responsible of making sure the church and equipment is ready for use.

^{665 &#}x27;Vil du styre lyden i dag?'

⁶⁶⁶ Margarete Sandelowski, *Devices and Desires: Gender, Technology and American Nursing*, ed. Allan M. Brandt and Churchill Larry L., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Hannelore Montrieux et al., 'A Qualitative Study about the Implementation of Tablet Computers in Secondary Education: The Teachers' Role in this Process', *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 112 (7 February 2014).

the case for the pastors in the present study, as well. While the verger was responsible for the room and the equipment, I interpret that the pastors felt responsible for fixing any technical problems that arose because they had the overall responsibility for preparing and carrying out the service.⁶⁶⁷ That the pastor fixed the problem was thus vital for the upcoming service. Without a functioning sound system, it is possible to argue that the meaning-making in the service was endangered. If many of the people present are unable to hear what is going on, an important element in meaning-making is lost. However, it is not strictly speaking a pastor's job to fix the sound system. This finding thus demonstrates the importance of competent and conscientious vergers taking responsibility for the church building and necessary equipment.

However, tasks other than fixing technical problems highlight the pastoral dilemma between taking the full responsibility as a pastoral leader of the service with trusting the verger to do his/her job. On the day I observed her, Astrid had a great number of practical issues to attend to. She told me that this was partly because she had a substitute verger that day. 'Today I knew it was NN who was the verger [so] I had a look at some things: I made sure some candles were lit, which he had forgotten [and]I turned up the microphone'.⁶⁶⁸ She moreover placed 'reserved' signs and hymnals on the benches where the families having baptisms were to sit. She did not intend to say anything to him about it, as she thought he had enough to handle just orienting himself to a new place. In this case, I interpret Astrid's practice as both taking the overall responsibility of the service, and at the same time caring for and not wanting to stress the verger. She did not problematize that she, strictly speaking, did some of the verger's job.

In Hagneset, there was usually Sunday school. However, the day that I was there was a Sunday during the autumn school holiday, so there was no Sunday school. On days without Sunday school, they usually had a table for drawing set up for the children. Lars discovered that the table had not been set up, so he carried out this task himself. He explained that the verger that day was not an easy person to make requests of. And, he added; 'He has some health issues, so, no I do it myself'.⁶⁶⁹ Lars thus legitimized his choice of moving the table

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.4 number 13.

⁶⁶⁸ 'I dag visste jeg at det var NN som som var kirketjener, så jeg hadde litt blikk på noen ting, jeg sørget for at noen lys ble tent, som han hadde glemt...jeg skrur opp mikrofonen'.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Han har slitt en del med helsen han her sånn så det, nei da gjør jeg det selv'.

himself. As I interpret this, his reluctance was related to the personality of the verger, and he found it easier to do it himself.

Besides moving the drawing table, Lars checked the numbers of the hymns on the board ('controlling'), as the woman who was usually responsible for putting the numbers there happened to be away that morning. It turned out some numbers were incorrect. It was in this context I asked him about all the practical issues with which he had to contend that morning, and he wondered, 'maybe I take on too much responsibility?'⁶⁷⁰ I interpret his question as pointing to the dilemma between trusting the verger by not checking the hymns on the board, and the hymn numbers being wrong. Although he briefly raised the dilemma, I interpret Lars as prioritizing the correct hymn numbers on the board, as well as putting the drawing table in place.

In Fagereng, Elsa found it problematic that the musicians had left their equipment and clothes 'everywhere'. She was unsure what to do and consulted me to see if I had any ideas. She decided to tidy things a bit because she wanted the church to look nice. In this case, I sensed that Elsa was reluctant asking them to do it. They were busy rehearsing, and there had been some challenges in the communication the weeks before the service. However, as the service approached, she moved clothes and equipment. When she discovered stearin had poured down from the candles at the altar, though, she approached the two young girls serving as vergers that day, asking them to fix the candles. The two vergers in Fagereng that day were youths, and as I interpreted the situation, they did not notice that the candles needed some attention. However, Elsa did.

I interpret the pastors as being concerned about the outcome of this project (the Sunday service). Therefore, they involved themselves.⁶⁷¹ Fixing the sound system, lighting the candles, and putting 'reserved signs' on the benches thus became actions they found necessary to bind the coming service together 'as a functioning whole'.⁶⁷² The integrating role of the pastors thus contains concrete tasks and hands-on action. This practice displays how the pastors took full responsibility for the Sunday service and did what was necessary to make things work and happen. Sound, aesthetics, correct information, and arranging the

⁶⁷⁰ 'Så da kan jeg sikkert ta litt for mye ansvar og'.

⁶⁷¹ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 82.

⁶⁷² Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

activities for children are moreover basic functionalities and necessary preconditions for the meaning-making in the service.

It is, however, possible to argue that the pastors did what the vergers should have seen and done themselves in most of these cases. However, for several contextual reasons, the pastors ended up doing these practical tasks. Doing another person's job can be a way of caring, as Astrid argued. However, it can also be a way of undermining the responsibility of the other. When the pastor does the verger's tasks without asking the verger or saying anything, there is a possible danger of disregarding the other. It is possible the verger appreciates help. It is, however, also possible the verger feels overrun by the pastor. In combination with the traditional authority of pastors, the pastor can thus contribute to reinforce the asymmetric relationship between the pastor and the verger.

There was also another challenge in taking that much responsibility for practical tasks. Both in Nordbø and in Lia, all the unexpected practicalities occupied so much time that the pastors did not have time for other preparations. Jon discovered that he had to cancel his plan of utilizing the projector during the service. He did not have sufficient time to connect it to the computer and make sure everything was set. Sigmund related that all the practicalities reduced his time for personal preparations. As I interpret this, all of the managerial tasks challenged and displaced other parts of the pastoral leadership. Practical tasks could have been performed by the verger; personal preparations, however, must be done by the pastor.

4.5. Spiritual Preparations

As Astrid put the Bible on the altar when preparing for the service, she said: 'I am one of those pastors who misses having a service book to hold onto. Something bigger than I and which carries'.⁶⁷³ Astrid and Olaug spent some time putting the Bible and/or liturgy on the altar and the sermon in the pulpit. Although these were practical tasks, there seemed to be something more to them. I interpret what Astrid said as suggesting an answer: putting the

⁶⁷³ 'Jeg er en av de prestene som savner en alterbok å holde i. Noe som er større enn jeg og som bærer'.

Bible and liturgy on the altar and the sermon in the pulpit have a symbolic and spiritual dimension.

In the following, I focus on the spiritual preparations of the pastors before the service started. Besides what I name as being symbolic placements of objects, I pause to examine Lars' practice of learning the Bible text by heart, and two distinct practices of prayer before the service.

It is not surprising that the spiritual dimension of leadership is absent from both Mintzberg and Selznick's approaches. Although Askeland's model is developed for church leadership, the spiritual dimension of leadership is not reflected there, either. Although it can be argued it is implicitly found in Caroll, he does not pay explicitly attention to it. When analyzing the spiritual preparations before the services, the main theoretical framework put forward is thus not sufficient, and must be supplemented. Lathrop, though, utilizes the Lord's Prayer as a sensitizing device focusing on the pastor preparing for presiding.⁶⁷⁴ Explicitly, when recommending a weekly rehearsal before presiding, he includes 'to pray for those who will come and those who will not' in the spiritual practice of preparing.⁶⁷⁵

Astrid's remark points to what I interpret to bea spiritual and symbolic practice of placing elements on the altar and the pulpit. As I will further elaborate later, the altar and pulpit are themselves strong symbols communicating the presence of God and the word of God.⁶⁷⁶ In what I experienced as a deep sigh, Astrid expressed a longing for a service book. As I interpret it, this remark implies a critique of the service reform from 2011. Then, flexibility was one of the core concepts, and each parish council should (within the guidelines given in the order of worship) pass their local order of worship. Consequently, the pastors could no longer bring a service book with a complete liturgy. They had to bring their local order. Many of the pastors thus utilized a binder for the sheets. However, I don't interpret Astrid's sigh as first and foremost a critique of the sheets and the binder. It is rather a critique of the content of the reform. The 'old' service book was all a pastor needed to preside in a service. Besides containing the liturgy, it moreover was a symbol of the tradition and history. As I interpret Astrid, placing some sheets of paper on the altar does not have the same symbolic

⁶⁷⁴ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 23-40.

⁶⁷⁵ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 27-28.

⁶⁷⁶ See 5.3.1 on how the pastors interacted with the altar, and 6.1 on where the pastors staged themselves in preaching.

effect as placing a thick book with a common liturgy for all the congregations in the Church of Norway. However, despite the implicit critique of the service reform, I interpret Astrid's act—and Olaug's—as a symbolic and spiritual practice. In placing the concrete objects carrying the message they are going to deliver (the liturgy and the sermon manuscript) respectively on the altar and the pulpit, can be a way of surrender both the task of presiding and preaching to God.

When I arrived at the church in Hagneset an hour before the service started, Lars was busy learning the text of the day by heart (which he said took him 20 minutes). He should, as he often did, present the sermon text by heart. Although this, strictly speaking, can be categorized as a rehearsal for the upcoming task, I interpret it also as a spiritual preparation for the task ahead. Lars himself said, 'I empathise with the text in a totally different way when I [learn it by heart], because then I look for feelings; "What does he feel when he says that?"⁶⁷⁷ His preparation thus becomes more than memorizing the text. It becomes knowing by heart as adding a spiritual dimension to the preparations.⁶⁷⁸

As thematized previously,⁶⁷⁹ most of the pastors gathered the co-workers before the service. It moreover seemed like all those pastors considered prayer as an important element in this gathering. They prayed for the service, for those attending it, and for those performing tasks in the service. In two of the congregations (Lia and Hagneset), one of the assistants led the prayer. I interpret the pastors' emphasis on prayer as a spiritual practice important in its own right. However, emphasizing prayer before the Sunday service can also be interpreted as a way of contributing to building a culture of prayer, and thus to community formation.⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, when a layperson leads the prayer, it has the potential of counteracting the traditional authority of the pastor. As Modéus emphasizes, this can also be seen as a formative element expressing the priesthood of all believers and counteracting what he calls *øvrighetsgestaltning*.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁷ 'Jeg lever meg jo inn i teksten på en helt annen måte når jeg [lærer det utenat], for da leter jeg etter følelser. "Hva er det han føler når han sier det?"

⁶⁷⁸ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 25-30.

⁶⁷⁹ See 4.1.3.

⁶⁸⁰ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 68-72; Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 99-104.

⁶⁸¹ Modéus, *Menneskelig gudstjeneste*, 110-12.267-69. Although not literally translatable, this term indicates a tendency that the authorities execute all 'important' tasks.

In Astrid's previously commented on remark,⁶⁸² where she told me that they 'do not have anything like gathering together and then praying in a heartfelt way before the service',⁶⁸³ her focus was not only on the gathering. As I interpret it, her critique was also aimed at the praying in these meetings. When she referred to 'praying in a heartfelt way', I immediately interpret her saying that as a critique of the format of such prayer. As I interpret her meaning, she associates such meetings with prayer from another tradition than the liturgical prayer, namely spontaneous and emotional prayers. Saying this can thus act as a way of distancing herself from the lay tradition, where spontaneous and emotional prayer play a prominent role. Another possible interpretation can be in line with what Skjevesland aims at when he claims prayer often becomes a pious prelude in meetings where we make decisions.⁶⁸⁴ In other words; It looks pious. However, we do as we like anyhow, and maybe such prayer is not that pious after all. As I interpret Astrid, she distances herself from the lay tradition, and is moreover critical to the use of prayer in that particular situation.

Gunnar had a distinct spiritual practice. At 10:45, I noticed Gunnar went to the sacristy. I followed, but immediately understood that Gunnar needed this time alone. He told me that he needed some time to gather his thoughts and pray. As I understood him, he was used to having this time for himself. Before I left, he said while dressing, 'This is a holy act. Even though we don't have many resources, I am filled with respect for this'.⁶⁸⁵ As I interpret Gunnar, these minutes in the sacristy were an important preparation for the forthcoming task as presider in the service. The relationship with God in prayer was more important to him in these minutes than relating to special attendants, co-workers, or tasks.

When he entered the sacristy and started to put on alb and stole, I argue that Gunnar left the managerial role and focused only on the upcoming task as institutional leader. He communicated the coming service as something holy, and that he was filled with respect for the task ahead. I find Gunnar's description resembling with Josuttis' emphasis on the pastor as someone who leads to the holy,⁶⁸⁶a cross-border commuter who, literally and figuratively, helps crossing borders. Josuttis expresses that in order for the pastors to be able to follow

⁶⁸² See 4.1.3.

⁶⁸³ 'Vi har heller ikke noe sånt at vi samler alle og så ber vi inderlig for gudstjenesten'.

⁶⁸⁴ Skjevesland, Morgendagens menighet, 53.

 ⁶⁸⁵ 'Det er en hellig handling, dette. Om enn det ikke er så ressurssterkt. Jeg har respekt for dette her'.
 ⁶⁸⁶ Presented by Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn'.

others into forbidden and hidden sphere of life, they themselves need to have personal experiences in the holy domain. Every spiritual act demands spiritual preparation.⁶⁸⁷ For Gunnar, this preparation manifested itself in the sacristy in the minutes before the service started. By focusing, gathering his thoughts and praying, Gunnar prepared himself for leading the congregation to the holy. The time in the sacristy thus seemed to be a distinct, conscious transitional practice preparing for the task of guiding the congregation to the holy.

The pastors' diverging approaches seem to reflect their diverse backgrounds. Those pastors encouraging assistants to lead the prayer have a multifaceted background stemming from the Church of Norway, lay organizations, and free churches. Gunnar praying and preparing alone in the sacristy, and Astrid talking down the practice of praying in a meeting before the service both have a background in the Church of Norway and are marked by the liturgical movement.

4.6. Differences in Intensity

In this sub-chapter, I argue that the intensity of the pastors' preparation differed during the hour before the services started. In order to make a simplified presentation of the pastors' intensity during the hour before the service, I distinguish between three categories of intensity along a timeline. Some pastors prepared with high intensity the entire time before the services started (A). They seemed to be almost running from one task to the other, answering questions and taking care of practical arrangements. One pastor started out with high intensity. However, the intensity decreased as the service approached (B). For the other pastors, I sensed low intensity in the beginning. However, as the service approached, the intensity increased (C). Figure 6 demonstrates the diverging approaches.

⁶⁸⁷ Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn ', 126.

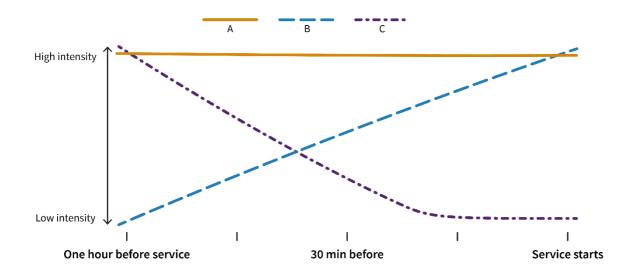


Figure 6: The leadership practice of the pastors diverging in intensity the hour before the service starts.

The pastors in category A were busy doing practical tasks or making arrangements with coworkers from around 10 a.m. When I came to Lia at Pentecost, Sigmund was already in the church trying to monitor the sound system.⁶⁸⁸ Sigmund was not the only pastor caught up with practical issues from the time he entered church. When Jon and I entered the church together around 10:15 a.m. before the regular service in Nordbø, he too immediately had to deal with practical issues. These two pastors thus were 'thrown into' practical tasks as they entered the room. It moreover seemed like they were busy relating to tasks and/or people throughout the hour until the service started.

I put Gunnar in category B. When he entered church, he seemed a bit stressed, and he immediately initiated a talk with the verger. However, he seemed to calm down when all the practical tasks were taken care of, and he withdrawn to the sacristy 15 minutes before the service started.

The pastors in category C started out with low intensity. Around 10 a.m., Astrid and an assistant arrived in Hole. She then introduced us and presented the co-workers as 'the star team'.⁶⁸⁹ She seemed calm and asked me about the project. However, as the time went by,

⁶⁸⁸ It is important to notice that some of the pastors had been in the church for some time when I arrived around 10 a.m. Therefore, some of them may have had some time on their own before I came. This is also the reason why I do not put all the pastors into one or the other category and thus don't name them. I don't know for how long Sigmund had been in the building. However, I got the impression that he had entered the sanctuary some minutes before.

Astrid had to manage different practical tasks as well as making arrangements with coworkers and paying attention to 'special attendants'. The intensity thus seemed to escalate as time went by and the service was approaching.

In Øyra, moreover, Olaug and I arrived before everyone else.⁶⁹⁰ After a few minutes, the verger and paid assistant came. They were both experienced and knew what to do and how to prepare. It was thus a calm atmosphere, and Olaug did not seem to have many specific tasks besides making some arrangements with the co-workers. She thus spent some time chatting with them. However, as the time went by, and the service was approaching, the intensity increased. She made arrangements with the families having baptism, and with co-workers.

The diagram is a simplified and schematic illustration of the three categories put forward. There are of course nuances within each category, and the level of intensity does not follow a straight line. However, I argue the diagram illustrates how some of the pastors have an intense hour with many tasks and people to relate to before the service starts. For most of them, it seems as if several contextual factors contributed to making the hour intense. In some cases, and for several reasons, practical issues needed their attention. These contextual factors illustrate how contextually embedded the leadership practice of the pastors is, and that the pastors must deal with unforeseen challenges.

Although context affects practice, it is also evident that the routines of some of the pastors affected the hour before the service started. I find this evident in Jon's practice. Before the regular service in Nordbø, Jon picked me up at the bus stop. He then commented he did not usually come that early to church. We were there around 10:15. When I asked Jon in the interview about when he usually comes to church in relation to the start of the service, he answered '25 minutes. Not more'.⁶⁹¹ Jon thus explained what he then usually spends these 25 minutes on: 'Then we go *straight* on (to going through the service). Then it is just to, then they know the pastor comes flying, so now we are ready',⁶⁹² Jon chuckled. It thus seemed like both Jon, and his co-workers, were used to hectic minutes before the service's start.

⁶⁹⁰ Olaug picked me up at the railway station. We thus probably arrived somewhat earlier to church than she usually does.

⁶⁹¹ '25 minutter. Ikke mer'.

⁶⁹² 'Ja, da går vi rett på, da er det liksom bare å, da vet de at da kommer presten fykende, så nå er vi klar'.

Although Jon had 45 minutes this time, and not 25, he went from one task to another until the last minutes before the service started. He never had time to set up the computer so that the presentation of the hymns could be viewed on the new TV screens. When I left the sacristy at 10:55 and met the verger on my way to the gallery, the verger asked me if Jon was coming. I interpreted this question as being filled with both irritation and impatience. He was waiting for Jon and wanted to start ringing the bells. Two to three minutes later, I could hear the bells ringing. Of course, it is possible that all the external factors affecting the minutes before this Sunday service were an extreme version of how it usually is. However, it seems that Jon's habit of coming to church that late could affect his ability to be the nerve centre⁶⁹³ before the service starts. Because of all the external elements, and the lack of time, he had to deal with several issues during the last minutes. Thus, he was not able to manage his own time, and the minutes before the service started thus became hectic for the people around him, as well.

4.7. From Integrator to Institutional Pastoral Leader

I find the time before the service starts to be a time when many of the pastors focus on functions that are necessary to bind the service together as a functioning whole.⁶⁹⁴ The role of the integrator is pertinent. Still, some of the practices of the pastors in the hour before the service starts also have elements of meaning interpretation, community formation, and empowering the congregation.⁶⁹⁵ However, it seems as if several of the pastors, in diverging ways, start to adjust their focus as the service draws near. I thus argue there is a marked shift from the managerial integrating role before the service, to the institutional pastoral leader as the service starts. Besides the shift in intensity during the hour before the services started. I thus want to expand the understanding of the last minutes before the service starts where the focus of some of the pastors leans more towards pastoral leadership through meaning interpretation, community formation, and empowering.

⁶⁹³ Mintzberg, Managing, 54.

⁶⁹⁴ Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

⁶⁹⁵ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93-105.

In these minutes, I argue that a role transition took place. I have already suggested that Gunnar entered a transitional role in the minutes before the service started. When he entered the sacristy and began to put on alb and stole, he left the managerial role and focused only on the upcoming task as institutional leader.

In the following, I argue that several of the other pastors entered an intermediate stage the minutes before the services started as well, and acted as cross-border commuters.⁶⁹⁶ However, while I interpret Gunnar as having left the managerial role, I interpret Astrid and Elsa as maintaining both the integrating managerial roles as well as entering the role of institutional leader during the last minutes before the service started. As a manager, Astrid took care of the family coming for baptism. When she was standing there in her pastoral clothing, helping the family to be ready for the service and the baptism, I moreover interpreted this practical act as management of meaning. As an institutional leader, she stayed calm and thus prepared the way for this family to experience the upcoming service meaningfully. Her practical act in these central minutes thus became an exceeding act preparing the family for the holy.

Elsa spent the last minutes in the doorway welcoming the congregation. In Elvebakken, she talked to and prepared the four-year-olds to go in the procession. Standing there by the door in her alb and stole, Elsa became a physical and symbolic cross-border commuter⁶⁹⁷ between the sphere and life outside church and the sanctuary where the service should take place.

Saxegaard argues that the pastor as symbolising⁶⁹⁸ leader is most prominent in the service. Then, she is surrounded by strong symbols, being herself a strong symbol, and administers symbols through actions and speech.⁶⁹⁹ I argue that, although the service had not started and they were not in the sanctuary, the symbolic element of the pastoral clothing became prominent. Astrid's and Elsa's distinct practises would not have had the same symbolic meaning if the pastors had not worn alb and stole. Being dressed for the coming service, I argue their doings thus could have a stronger symbolic impact. The pastors had started to

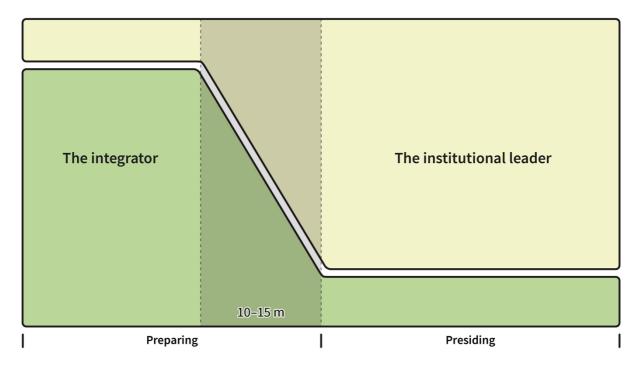
⁶⁹⁶ Skjevesland, Morgendagens menighet, 115.

⁶⁹⁷ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens Menighet*, 115.

⁶⁹⁸ Saxegaard utilizes the term 'symboliserende', and not the term 'symbolsk' in Saxegaard, 'Presten som symboliserende'.

⁶⁹⁹ Saxegaard, 'Presten som symboliserende', 19.

enter another sphere, and their doings in these minutes thus contributed to the transition and guidance into the holy. Figure 7 illustrates the focus on the integrator in preparing, and the institutional leader in presiding and preaching. Moreover, it demonstrates the shift taking place 10-15 minutes before the service starts.





4.8. Summary

In this chapter I have unfolded the 'many small things' described by Astrid in the introduction to this chapter. The analysis has displayed that, in the practice of preparing, the integrating managerial role of the pastor has been prominent. The pastors take the role of the integrating manager with a focus on functions that are necessary to bind the coming service together as a functioning whole. Through the information plane (making arrangements, delegating, deciding, and explaining), the people plane (encouraging and energizing) and the action plane (welcoming, rehearsing, pastoral care, and taking care of practical issues), the pastors perform pastoral leadership. We have seen how the pastors have organized themselves and how they have prioritized their tasks and time.

Some contextual elements have been important for understanding pastoral leadership practice during the hour before the services started: The group of 'special attendants' played a decisive role, particularly if the pastor involved them in the service. Then communicating and rehearsing with them characterized the preparation. In general, the number of other people involved, along with their qualifications and personal skills, seems essential. Moreover, the room with artefacts and technical equipment is important. All these elements also seemed to affect the intensity in the preparations of the pastors. Moreover, the personal routines of the pastors also affected the preparations. In 8.2, I discuss how these findings can contribute to the understanding of the contextual as well as personal elements in pastoral leadership of Sunday services.

In the minutes before the services started, there was a shift. While Gunnar left the managerial role, some of the other pastors seemed to enter an intermediate stage where the focus tended more towards contributing to meaning-making and community formation. The dressing of the pastor thus contributed to strengthen the symbolic dimension of their doings.

Another finding in this chapter is what I interpret to be diverging ecclesiological approaches. Where some of the pastors focus on team building and community formation, Astrid distanced herself from such an approach. These findings contribute to the two patterns presented in 8.1, and the following discussion.

5. The Leadership Practice of Presiding

The official regulation of pastors, states that 'In the administration of word and sacrament, all pastors carry out pastoral leadership'. ⁷⁰⁰ Presiding⁷⁰¹ is thus a central element in the pastoral leadership conducted during Sunday services. How is this pastoral leadership done, and could the practice of presiding contribute to the last half of the same official regulation of pastors, namely '...contribute to the strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation'?⁷⁰²

In this chapter, I present selected elements from the pastors' presiding on the Sundays I observed them. However, both the participatory observation and the interviews inform this chapter. The main theoretical perspective I draw on in this chapter, is Carroll's understanding of pastoral leadership as meaning interpretation.⁷⁰³ How do the pastors facilitate meaning interpretation in presiding? However, other elements in the theoretical framework are also in play. The empirical categories presented in this chapter evolved through the analysis of the doings, sayings, and relatings in the empirical material. The analysis focused on what the pastors did, how they related to the given regulations, architecture, and artefacts, as well as how they interacted with the people involved.⁷⁰⁴ I have not explicitly focused on how they interacted with the congregation, but this perspective is not absent, as it is implicit in several of the sub-chapters. The empirical material from the interviews complements the observations', as it explains the pastors' understanding of the liturgy. Moreover, it is possible to investigate whether there was consistency between the pastors' practice and their intentions regarding how they wanted to preside, or not.

Below, I present the doings and relatings of the pastors before I present their understanding of the liturgy. First, I focus on how the pastors presided (5.1). Second, I present how the pastors related to the liturgy (5.2), which is then followed by an emphasis on how the

⁷⁰⁰ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

 ⁷⁰¹ I follow several liturgical theologians who prefer the word 'presider' instead of liturgist. According to Gail Ramshaw, the word 'liturgist' implies that it is the pastor doing the job alone, while the word 'presider' implies a leader of a team, a manager. Veiteberg, 'Kunsten å framføre gudstenester', 235.
 ⁷⁰² 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁷⁰³ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93. See 2.4.4.

⁷⁰⁴ This is in line with Kemmis' understanding of practice presented in 2.3.1, and the contextual elements presented in 2.4.2-2.4.4.

pastors related to artefacts in the room (5.3). Next, I concentrate on how the pastors involved others in the service (5.4), before I present the pastors' sayings during the liturgy (5.5). Finally, I focus on how the pastors intended to preside (5.6).

5.1. How Did the Pastors Preside?

In the following two sub-chapters, I provide select examples from the empirical material. As accounted for in the method chapter, I have not followed or developed a particular method for the participatory observations or the study of the video recordings.⁷⁰⁵ However, given the study's scope and my choice of theoretical framework, I have selected examples that I find particularly relevant. Thus, a focus on the diversity of the pastoral leadership, and how this diversity can be understood, has been prioritized. The material thus highlights how the pastors, in diverging ways, facilitate meaning interpretation⁷⁰⁶ in the way they preside. First, I give a general Impression on the presiding (5.1.1) before I look at how some of the pastors had memorized parts of the liturgy/texts (5.1.2).

5.1.1. A general Impression on the Presiding

In the following, I focus on the general impression I formed from observing the pastors' movements, body language, and voice. This is not an in-depth analysis of their presiding, but rather a broad categorization giving an overview and introduction for further analysis of the material. I have divided the different practices into three categories: 'controlled and formal', 'loose and informal', and 'in the middle'.

Gunnar, Astrid, and Olaug are in the 'controlled and formal' category. None of them wandered around as they presided, and their body language was fixed, without many gestures. They appeared formal. Both their movements and gestures seemed controlled and tight, and when they needed to walk, they did so relatively slowly.

The pastors with a 'loose and informal' way of presiding were Lars, Jon in the confirmation service, and Sigmund and Elsa in the family services. These pastors wandered around more

⁷⁰⁵ See 3.4.1.

⁷⁰⁶ Carroll, As one with Authority, 93. See 2.4.4.

and had more expressive body language, using more hand gestures and movements to underline their message. They were also more expressive in their use of voice and varied more in both volume and tempo.

Finally, Jon, Sigmund (in the regular service), and Elsa (in the regular service) are 'in the middle' category. Although their movements were much more controlled in the regular services than in the other services I observed, I found it difficult to place them in the 'controlled and formal' category. Some expressiveness did surface now and then, and I found their body language to be more relaxed than rigid. This finding is in line with what both Jon and Elsa told me in their interviews. Elsa said that she presided differently in different contexts, and that the character of the service and the expectations from the congregation shaped her practice. She was more formal in Fagereng than in Elvebakken, and more informal in family services than in other services. Jon also noted that he was more expressive in confirmation services and other similar services than he was in regular services. Despite the differences in presiding, my impression was that all the pastors presided expressing confidence.

I argue that the different backgrounds likely marked the pastors' practice. Olaug was 'controlled and formal', yet she added practical and pedagogic explanations during the service. She reflected upon the ways her background as a teacher may have affected her practice in this sense. Astrid and Gunnar emphasized the liturgical tradition and were much in line with the liturgical movement and the liturgical tradition in the Church of Norway.⁷⁰⁷ One may also argue that controlled and formal performing is the most traditional way of presiding. Although the order from 1976/1992⁷⁰⁸ was more flexible than earlier orders, there were apparent regulations for the pastors concerning how they should preside in services.

The practices of Lars, Jon, and Sigmund, however, revealed other influences. Their loose and informal way of presiding resembles the impulses from the charismatic and/or lay movement. Although some pastors had presided in different ways at that time, it is worth asking whether the liturgy reform (in 2011)—with flexibility and localism as two of its core concepts—indirectly invited a more flexible and localized way of presiding in the services.

⁷⁰⁷ See 2.4.2.

⁷⁰⁸ Gudstjenestebok for Den norske kirke: Del II Kirkelige handlinger, (Oslo: Verbum, 1992).

The pastors all showed strong agency. Rather than accepting pre-programmed values and actions, the pastors made choices concerning their actions and appearances that were in line with their own reasoning and theological considerations.⁷⁰⁹ The changes the pastors made were built on their values, experiences, and knowledge, and indeed, some of them regarded it as more important to be true to themselves, their theology, and values than the scripted rituals. For these pastors, the liturgy and their practice had to be marked by moral authenticity.⁷¹⁰

However, although it is evident that the context of the service (congregation, building, and what kind of service it was) affected the way some of the pastors presided, it is also evident that some of the pastors were loose and informal, in general, while others were firm and formal. It is reasonable to interpret these diverging practices as if the pastors have diverging approaches to how to manage meaning for the congregation in the best possible way.

Here, I find it useful to draw on Øierud. In her analysis of how two pastors led confirmation services in two different ways, she pointed to how they each nevertheless adapted for meaning interpretation, or managed meaning. She pointed to how one pastor—who I would, in this study, characterize as loose and informal—worked to help those who were unused to participating in services feel secure. Here, it seemed like this pastor's intention was to build a relationship with the people in the congregation,⁷¹¹ and adapted his practice to allow meaning-making in their experience of being addressed. Øierud calls this model participant 'the included guest'.⁷¹² Similarly, we saw how Lars explained and introduced elements in the service, adapting his practice to facilitate meaning-making for a model participant who was relatively unfamiliar with the liturgy.

Øierud moreover described a pastor who I would characterize as controlled and formal, as he emphasized quality and dignity in presiding, and emphasized the contrast to everyday life.⁷¹³ Øierud characterized his practice as facilitating meaning-making for two different

⁷⁰⁹ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction', 261.

⁷¹⁰ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction', 257.

⁷¹¹ Gunnfrid Ljones Øierud, 'Deltakerroller for konfirmanter', in *Gudstjenester med konfirmanter: En praktiskteologisk dybdestudie med teoretisk bredde*, ed. Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, Prismet bok (Oslo: IKO-forlaget, 2017).

⁷¹² 'Den inkluderte gjesten', my translation. Øierud, 'Deltakerroller for konfirmanter', 165-68, 86.

⁷¹³ Øierud, 'Deltakerroller for konfirmanter', 176-78, 86.

model participants: 'the Christian, well-informed appreciator of tradition'⁷¹⁴ and the one 'perceiving solemn differentness'.⁷¹⁵ When Astrid and Gunnar emphasized the recognizable, and performed in a controlled and formal way, they were adapting their practice to similar model participants: those who are well-informed and/or those who like the solemnity in church.

As Øierud also emphasizes, whether or not the pastors' practices are experienced as meaningful likely depends both on the listeners and the way the practices are performed. What some experience as meaningful—or inviting—may represent an obstacle for others: this, among other things, depends on the background, competence, and preferences of those participating.⁷¹⁶

Øierud's perspectives can deepen the understanding of how diverging ways of presiding can contribute to meaning-making. However, while Øierud delimited her study to analyzing the services, I have moreover interviewed the pastors. This study thus expands and deepens the understanding of the pastors' reasoning behind their choices. In 5.5 and 5.6, I elaborate on how the practice of the pastors represent two diverging approaches to how pastors intend to contribute to meaning-making in services.

5.1.2. Leaving aside the Books and Papers—Knowing by Heart

Sigmund had recently decided to memorize the liturgical elements in the baptismal ceremony, and he had rehearsed these until he knew them by heart. 'I feel I communicate very differently with the families having a baptism, and also the congregation, when I don't have the book between me [and them], so I decided to put it away during the baptismal ceremony and do it by heart'.⁷¹⁷

Most of the pastors had memorized parts of the liturgy. In the following, I will take a closer look at the findings related to the baptismal liturgy. I observed six out of the seven pastors presiding over baptisms. Three of them (Jon, Lars, and Sigmund) did not use the book at all

⁷¹⁴ 'Den kristne, kunnskapsrike tradisjonsverdsetteren', my translation.

⁷¹⁵ 'Fornemmeren av høytidelig annerledeshet', my translation.

⁷¹⁶ Gunnfrid Ljones Øierud, 'Inkluderende gudstjenestekommunikasjon', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 190-94.

⁷¹⁷ 'Jeg føler jeg kommuniserer helt annerledes med dåpsfølget, og for så vidt menigheten, når jeg ikke har boka mellom meg [og dem], så da har jeg bestemt meg for å legge den vekk når vi kommer til selve dåpshandlingen og ta det utenat'.

during the baptismal ceremony, while the three others did use it to some extent. Although Lars had memorized most of the liturgy in the baptismal ceremony, he was frustrated that he had not memorized the complete baptismal liturgy. 'That much I have learned by heart... It annoys me that I have not been able to prioritize learning all of it by heart'.⁷¹⁸

Jon said it was important for him to know this part of the liturgy by heart, as he felt the focus should be on the child being baptised. For him, this focus was the reason why he used the baptismal liturgy from 1977.⁷¹⁹ I thus interpret Jon as having a relational approach. If several children were scheduled to be baptised, he did look into the book in between every child to check that he had remembered their names.

I interpret these pastors as wanting to focus on the child and communicate better. In other words, they felt strongly that they should be authentic⁷²⁰ and that the book should not come in between the pastor and the child. I moreover understand the practice of leaving aside the books and papers as a way of integrating both the child being baptized and their families in a better way than without.

Lathrop emphasizes learning by heart as an essential part of inviting to bread and forgiveness. First of all, this means memorizing the structure—the ordo. However, he also recommends learning some of the central texts in the liturgy by heart.⁷²¹ Lathrop describes the freedom in learning liturgical elements by heart: 'There is a remarkable freedom in such knowledge, a freedom to see that the liturgy is not in the book but in the present actions of the assembly, a freedom to begin to invest the text with the gift of oneself'.⁷²² I argue that the old baptismal liturgy gave Jon a sense of this kind of freedom—a freedom that would have taken time to achieve with the new liturgy. While Jon could have taken the time to learn the new liturgy by heart, as Sigmund and Lars had done, he had not done so. For Jon, the enjoyable experience of knowing the liturgy by heart was more important than the regulations and the new liturgy.

However, I interpret Olaug's arguing that her practice of keeping the book also has an integrating function. Olaug told me that she had tried several times to do it by heart, but she

 ⁷¹⁸ 'Så mye som jeg lærer utenat... Det bare irriterer meg at jeg ikke har fått prioritert å lært det helt utenat'.
 ⁷¹⁹ Del II Kirkelige handlinger, 16-22.

⁷²⁰ Gaarden, *Prædikenen som det tredje rum*, 71.

⁷²¹ Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 25-30.

⁷²² Lathrop, *The Pastor*, 25.

had found it challenging. 'Then suddenly I—"Oh! What was I supposed to say again?"', and then it becomes stupid, so I want to have the book there although I *know* it. Then I can cast a glance down and "Oh yes—how does that go?"⁷²³ For her, keeping the book was the best practice for the entirety of the service.⁷²⁴ I argue that the inviting aspect becomes more prominent when the pastors put the book aside, as it is not then an interfering element between the pastor and the baptismal candidate. Nevertheless, if the pastor feels insecure, loses her place, or stumbles over the words in the absence of the book, this is neither inviting nor the best practice in overseeing the entirety of the service.

These diverging practices can also reflect differences in personality. Olaug was afraid of misspeaking and/or losing her place, so she ended up using the book. Jon, who had learned it by heart, stated that he never looked at the book to check whether he was correct because what he does *is* correct. While these different attitudes may be rooted in distinct approaches to the liturgy, I suggest that they also reflect the pastors' differing personalities, specifically related to their need for control.

5.2. How Did the Pastors Relate to the Liturgy?

Acts and regulations regulate the practice of the pastors in Sunday services. The chapters in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke* have different statuses. 'Ordning for hovedgudstjeneste i Den norske kirke',⁷²⁵ 'Ordning for dåp',⁷²⁶ and 'Alminnelige bestemmelser'⁷²⁷ are considered acts and thus legal rules the pastors should follow.⁷²⁸ While the first two include both the liturgical texts and rubrics, the second also includes 79 subsections regulating the order of worship.

Two other chapters in the book are guidelines. One chapter offers guidance and background information regarding the different liturgical elements,⁷²⁹ while the other chapter focuses on

⁷²³ 'Da plutselig så "åh! Hva var det jeg skulle si nå igjen"? og så bl- og da blir det dumt, så den vil jeg gjerne ha der bare sånn, selv om jeg kan det, så kan jeg liksom kaste blikk ned "åja hvordan var det igjen liksom".
⁷²⁴ Grende Ledelag, gregorigense en ledenag, and det så kan jeg liksom kaste blikk ned "åja hvordan var det igjen liksom".

⁷²⁴ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 483.

⁷²⁵ The order of the principal service. Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, chapter 2.

⁷²⁶ The baptismal liturgy.

⁷²⁷ General provisions. Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, chapter 5.

⁷²⁸ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 5.3-5.4.

⁷²⁹ Chapter 8: Veiledning til hoveddelene i gudstjenesten.

more general reflections and guidelines connected to relevant themes.⁷³⁰ Within the set regulations, the parish council decides on the local order of worship. The bishop, however, makes sure the local order of worship is congruent with the order of worship.⁷³¹

The regulations for pastors include a paragraph regulating the function of the pastor in worship services. As paragraph seven states,

The pastor is obliged to conduct their service according to the agreements of the Church of Norway. Services and religious ceremonies are conducted according to set liturgies. It is only possible to deviate from the liturgies and regulations when this is founded on the liturgies and orders themselves. The conducting pastor is responsible for leading and preparing services and religious ceremonies. In this regard, the pastor has the authority to make decisions whenever the authority is not given to anyone else.⁷³²

When I analyzed how the pastors related to the liturgy, I organized the material into four different categories of practices. These categories are 'adding' (5.2.1), 'changing', 'moving', and 'removing' liturgical elements (5.2.2).

5.2.1. Adding Liturgical Elements and Words

The bishop has said that we should have information in the beginning of the service. And, we have tested it, we have checked it out, and we have *tried*, and we had many weeks, maybe months in a row where we had the information in the beginning of the service. And every time our conclusion was that this functions *really badly* in our congregations. [...] So, the conclusion in practice was that it did not work, but now we are discussing with the parish council [...] because the bishop has told us that it *should* work, so now I tend towards introducing it again (chuckles). My answer is *a bit* flippant, but I don't like it, not at all.⁷³³

⁷³⁰ Chapter 7: Veiledning om ulike sider ved gudstjenesten.

⁷³¹ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, D 68, page 5.13.

⁷³² My translation of § 7: 'Presten skal utføre sin tjeneste i samsvar med Den norske kirkes ordninger. Gudstjenester og kirkelige handlinger forrettes etter de fastsatte liturgier. Liturgier og ordninger kan bare fravikes når de selv hjemler det. Forrettende prest har ansvaret for å lede forberedelsen og gjennomføringen av gudstjenester og kirkelige handlinger. Presten har i denne sammenheng rett til å treffe beslutning i alle forhold der beslutningsmyndigheten ikke er lagt til andre enn presten'.

⁷³³ 'Biskopen har sagt at vi bør ha informasjon i starten av gudstjenesten. Og vi, det har vi testet, det har vi sjekket ut, og vi har *prøvd*, og vi hadde mange uker, kanskje måneder på rad hvor vi hadde informasjon i starten av gudstjenesten, og hver gang var konklusjonen at dette her funker jo *kjempedårlig* i våre menigheter.

^[...] Så konklusjonen i praksis var at dette fungerer ikke, men nå er vi i en litt drøfting igjen da med menighetsrådet og sånn, fordi at biskopen har sagt at det *bør* fungere, så nå heller jeg vel mot at nå skal vi ha det likevel (humrer). Så nå svarer jeg *litt* flåsete på det, men jeg synes ikke noe om det i det hele tatt'.

This remark of Jon's demonstrates his reluctance towards one of the new liturgical elements introduced in the order of the principal service in 2011.⁷³⁴ In Lia, Øyra, and Hagneset, they followed the order in the sense that an assistant welcomed the congregation and gave practical information before the service started. The other pastors each gave a welcoming after the greeting. For Sigmund, Olaug, and Lars, this was in addition to the assistant's welcoming; for Elsa, Astrid, and Jon, however, this was the only saying besides the liturgy at the beginning of the service.

The rubrics state that the greeting of grace may be followed by an element, which should then relate to the character and theme of the service.⁷³⁵ The guidelines give examples of such elements, including symbolic acts, choral singing, dramatization, and dance.⁷³⁶ What the rubrics and guidelines indirectly communicate is that, in these regulations, the presider's opportunity to introduce the character of the day and give information about the service⁷³⁷ is removed. These pastors thus added a liturgical element that had been moved from the order of worship.

They refused to follow the new regulations. As Jon expressed in the quote, his approach is functionality. They had tried to implement the new practice, but it did not function, so they chose to stick to the practice from 1978. The bishop had told them that this element '*should* work'. However, according to Jon, it did not work. Although Jon reluctantly said they wanted to give it another try, the days I observed him, he had a welcoming after the greeting, and nothing was said before the entrance hymn.

It is striking that only Gunnar was loyal to the new regulations. His loyalty was demonstrated when he seemed stressed because he had to do the welcoming himself (before the service) because the verger had to be in the tower ringing the bells. Although Olaug wanted to follow the regulations, she pointed to the challenge that arose when the assistant did not give sufficient information before the service started: she then felt she had to 'fill in' after the greeting.

⁷³⁴ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 2.5.

⁷³⁵ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 2.6.

⁷³⁶ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 8.7-8.8.

⁷³⁷ Gudstjenestebok for Den norske kirke: Del I Gudstjenester, (Oslo: Verbum, 1992), 26.

One interpretation of the pastors' practice of having a welcoming after the greeting was that they were disobedient to the bishop and the new regulations. Another interpretation is though that they performed pastoral leadership by doing what they found to be a functioning practice. In retrospect, the disobedience of the pastors is worth noticing. When the Church of Norway General Synod adjusted the order of worship in 2019, they changed the rubric, allowing information to be given after the greeting of grace if necessary.⁷³⁸ I suggest that the empirical material in this thesis mirrors the extensive resistance toward the practice introduced in 2011. This finding indicates that, across Norway, pastors' negotiation of the regulations contributed to a change in those regulations.

Besides adding a liturgical element, the pastors added other content. The welcoming appeared to be a central element where the pastors carried out leadership. In the coming sub-chapter, I thus first present an analysis of the content of the pastors' welcoming. Here, I include material from all the pastors, independent of whether they gave the information before the service started, or after the greeting. Second, I present the content of the other additional sayings of the pastors throughout the service.

The Welcoming

In the following, I present what kind of information the pastors gave at this point in the service. I identified five categories of sayings: 1) welcoming and/or practical information about the service, 2) the theme of the day/the day in the liturgical year, 3) content of the baptism and/or the Eucharist, 4) relational talk, and 5) visionary talk, or what the service is and/or what the congregation is and wants to be.

All the pastors gave some kind of 'practical information'. In different ways this practical information contributed to enabling people present to take part in the liturgy. Most of the pastors explicitly welcomed any families having a baptism that day. Elsa additionally welcomed the four-year-olds and the choir in Elvebakken, and in Fagereng, she recognized the musicians and other people involved in that morning's service. By doing so, she

⁷³⁸ Kirkerådet Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste med veiledninger: Gudsteneste med rettleiingar* (Bergen: Eide forlag, 2020), 16.

appreciated and acknowledged their role in the service. I interpret this practice as an attempt to acknowledge and empower the people involved.

Most of the pastors (Elsa in Fagereng, and Lars, Sigmund, and Jon in the regular service) explored in some way 'the theme of the day and/or the day of the liturgical year'. While Elsa and Jon touched on it relatively briefly, both Lars and Sigmund elaborated on it a bit more by giving a preview of the sermon. Lars, Sigmund, Astrid, and Jon also said something about the content of the baptism and/or the Eucharist. As I interpret it, these two elements could contribute to meaning-making as they made it possible to put the service into a broader context, and to know what the baptism and/or the Eucharist is.

In the category I have termed 'relational talk' are sayings from three of the pastors: Lars, Jon, and Gunnar. Of these, Jon's welcoming words were the most relational. He began by speaking of all the preparations that had taken place before the confirmation service. For Jon, this was deliberate, as he explained to me later:

Today I wanted to say something that made people chuckle right after the greeting of grace... So that talk with pictures and films from childhood and so on, which is probably embarrassing for some, had nothing to do with the service. It was only to create that situation of communication, so that was conscious, just to *get* that 'Wow, this was a cheerful pastor' or something like that—to assume that role immediately.⁷³⁹

By utilizing humour, making people relax and laugh—and give a good impression of himself – Jon tries to establish a foundation for what is going to happen during the rest of the service. As he expressed it, the content of the sayings had nothing to do with the service. Thus, these words did not carry an important message. However, I interpret the words as having a function of establishing a relationship between the pastor and the congregation. As Jon suggests, he aimed at establishing his role. I put forward that these sayings were an attempt to create a charismatic authority.⁷⁴⁰ Jon wanted to show that he possesses the right to lead this confirmation service. To receive this charismatic authority, though, he was dependent

⁷³⁹ 'I dag så var jeg for eksempel veldig opptatt av at jeg skulle e si noe som folk humret litt av allerede sånn rett etter nådehilsen, ja. Så det der med bilder og film fra barndommen, som kanskje er litt pinlig for noen, det hadde jo ingenting med gudstjenesten å gjøre, men det var *bare* for å skale den formidlingssituasjonen, så det var helt bevisst, bare for å *få* den at de skulle liksom "oi dette var jo en litt munter prest" eller litt sånn den stilen der. For å få den rollen med en gang, ja'.

⁷⁴⁰ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

upon and had to be recognized by the people in the congregation.⁷⁴¹ I thus interpret these sayings as an attempt to establish the groundwork for what he is going to say and do in the rest of the service. Ultimately, he then aimed at meaning-making in the service. If the people present have a good first impression, it is probably more likely they would listen to him presiding and preaching.

The final category is 'visionary talk', which is exemplified by the following, which Astrid said to the congregation: 'We have come together in the room of the church where we are met by the love of God and reminded we belong here with our lives'.⁷⁴² Here, Astrid emphasized the importance of the service and what the service gives and reminds the congregation of. Thus, she infused the services with value.

Sigmund, too, participated in visionary talk, during the family service. However, his talk was closely related to the theme of the day, as it seemed the service was mean to 'kick off' the new semester: 'Today we mark the start of a new semester—a new semester where we want Lia to be a great congregation to be in for both children and adults, and we wish for many to find their place here and maybe find their task and take part in what it is to run a congregation'.⁷⁴³

With this saying, Sigmund made a connection between what was happening in the service and what was going to happen in the congregation the coming semester. As I interpret him, he drew a vision for the congregation. He made it clear that both children and adults are welcome, and that he and others want people to find their place in the congregation. The vision he draws of Lia as a congregation is of a fellowship where people find their place. Where there are committed people. People who want to belong, and who want to contribute to the congregation. As I interpret this saying, this is community formation 'helping to shape the congregation as a community of belonging'.⁷⁴⁴ In this saying though, there is an implicit ecclesiology emphasizing the aspect of belonging and community.

⁷⁴¹ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

⁷⁴² 'Vi har kommet sammen I kirkens rom her hvor vi møtes av Guds kjærlighet og minnes om at vi hører til med våre liv'.

⁷⁴³ 'For i dag så markerer vi at vi starter et nytt semester—et nytt semester der vi ønsker at Lia menighet skal være en god plass å være for både store og små og vi ønsker at mange skal finne sin plass her og kanskje finne sin oppgave—være med på det som er å drive menighet'.

⁷⁴⁴ Carroll, As one with Authority, 100.

Lars also linked the theme of the day to the vision of the congregation in Hagneset. He presented a vision of 'living faith and warm fellowship' and elaborated on this as follows:

It doesn't mean that everyone coming here to the church is always full of living faith, caring for all. No, everyone coming here... is here because we also have our struggles. We are comprised, every one of us, of both good and evil. However, we gather here because Jesus fascinates us, and we want to be shaped by him. That Jesus is at the centre in church, and our congregation is the reason we can have this vision of living faith and warmth between us.⁷⁴⁵

I interpret Lars's sayings also as contributing to community formation.⁷⁴⁶ He says that the community aims at a warm fellowship and living faith. The vision of the congregation thus has ecclesiological implications. There is an emphasis on fellowship, and this fellowship is qualified. It aims at being warm. I interpret the intentions behind the use of the word warm as expressing that the congregation should be caring, friendly, kind, hospitable, and loving. Moreover, that living faith implies an active, dynamic, and vital faith. However, in his saying when referring to the vision, I interpret him as trying to make the vision understandable and applicable to people's lives. He describes the people in the congregation as ordinary people with faults and struggles. This is not a community of perfect people. As I interpret him, he legitimizes different kinds of participants and different kinds of participation. In one sense, then, I interpret Lars' saying as more open than the vision itself. However, his saying is a way of inviting the people present into this fellowship.⁷⁴⁷ Or, to use the metaphor by Josuttis, to guide people to the holy.⁷⁴⁸

As I interpret them, both Lars and Sigmund used the opportunity to put the specific service into a wider context of what and how the congregation wants to be. By utilizing the welcoming as a bridge between the service and the rest of congregational life, they contribute to what paragraph 10 in the general regulations for pastors in the Church of Norway aims at, namely that what the pastor does in the service should 'contribute to the

⁷⁴⁵ 'Det betyr ikke at alle som kommer her I kirka alltid er fulle av levende tro og omsorg for alle og enhver. Nei, alle som kommer her... er her fordi vi også har vårt å streve med. Og vi er sammensatt hver enkelt av oss på godt og vondt. Men vi samles her fordi vi er fascinert av Jesus og ønsker å bli prega av ham. Og det at det er Jesus som er kjernen i kirka og i menigheten vår det gjør at vi kan ha en sånn visjon om at det skal være levende tro at det skal være imellom oss'.

⁷⁴⁶ Carroll, *As one with Autho*rity, 100-04.

⁷⁴⁷ Lathrop, *The Pastor*.

⁷⁴⁸ Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn', 125.

strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation'. ⁷⁴⁹ As I interpret their sayings, this way of utilizing the welcoming can make such a contribution.

Additional Sayings in the Rest of the Service

The findings display significant differences in what and how much the pastors said during the services. Through analyzing all the sayings of the pastors from start to finish, I identified three categories: 'practical information', 'additional content', and 'relational talk'. 'Practical information' includes any instructions, explanations, and information given by the pastors in addition to the liturgy. 'Additional content' is where I placed sayings adding extra theological content or explaining liturgical elements. The third category, 'relational talk', contains sayings that I interpret primarily as building relations with the congregation.

All the pastors gave some kind of 'practical information' during the service although the amount varied. In general, I interpret the practical information given as an attempt to facilitate meaning-making in the service.

Both Jon and Lars introduced several of the hymns and some other elements in the services. Jon reflected on why he introduced several of the hymns, despite noting that it can be 'a little bit involving to introduce the hymns'.⁷⁵⁰ He mentioned that he was aware that he provided more information than usual in the service with the confirmation. Moreover, he reflected on the problematic balance between giving information and losing some of the solemnity and continuity. However, he felt that, as songs and hymns are typically introduced in other contexts, it was nice to do in the services, as well—with one exception. Jon thought it was essential that the hymn immediately following the sermon not be introduced, since he wanted the music to be a clear continuation of the sermon. As he explained, 'because *there* it is a bit of a misstep if, after the sermon, I have to give information about the hymn... I'm a perfectionist when it comes to the final sentence in all the sermons I deliver'.⁷⁵¹

In the confirmation service, the original plan was for the organist to begin playing the hymn immediately following the sermon, just after Jon had said, 'Amen'. Jon wanted the last

⁷⁴⁹ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁷⁵⁰ 'det er litt sånn involverende å introdusere salmene'.

⁷⁵¹ 'fordi *der* glipper det, hvis jeg etter prekenen må informere om salmen, så føler jeg det glipper lite grann... jeg er *veldig* opptatt av siste setningen i alle prekener jeg holder'.

sentence to be *standing* when the music began. However, the organist did not start to play in that moment, so Jon had to introduce the hymn. He told me later that he had not communicated his plan well enough with the organist: 'So, I felt that slipped a bit'.

Regarding the final hymn, the plan was for the catechists to introduce it as a continuation of his brief, final speech to the confirmands. However, he forgot, so when Jon entered, he introduced the hymn, 'because the thought is that this hymn *needs* to be introduced. If not, people wouldn't have joined the singing when the worship band started'.⁷⁵² Although he did not like what he felt was a break in continuity, he had to do it anyway.

I interpret Jon in both these instances as carrying out the role as the institutional pastoral leader with the overall responsibility for performance and result. When the unplanned/unexpected happened, he did what was necessary to bind the service together and went into the action-plane of the role as integrator. The unexpected happened, and leadership was necessary.⁷⁵³

Olaug's practice of giving practical information was distinctive. Although she did not introduce all the hymns, she introduced several other elements in the service. She introduced both single elements and the main elements in the ordo, saying: 'Then we are going to have the reading of the word of God',⁷⁵⁴ 'then we will have the remembrance',⁷⁵⁵ and 'then we will move on to the Eucharist part'.⁷⁵⁶ The first words she uttered in the service were an instruction: 'Please be seated'.⁷⁵⁷ During the rest of the service, she said this sentence again after the Apostle's Creed, to the parents and the godparents after the admonition, after the reading of the Gospel, after remembering the dead, and after the blessing.

When Olaug reflected on her practice with me later, she explained that her practice of saying, 'Please be seated' so often was unconscious. However, she also noted that she did this because of the architecture of the church: It was not sufficient to make hand gestures, as she was not visible to everyone when she was standing in the chancel. The architecture of

⁷⁵² 'Tanken er at den *trenger* å introduseres, for ellers så synger ikke folk med når lovsangteamet kommet på'.

⁷⁵³ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 24-25.

⁷⁵⁴ 'Da skal vi ha lesningen av Guds ord'.

⁷⁵⁵ 'Da har vi minning'.

⁷⁵⁶ 'Da skal vi gå over til nattverddelen'.

⁷⁵⁷ 'Versågod og sitt'.

the church was thus an important contextual element affecting her practice. Olaug also gave several reasons for introducing the different elements in the liturgy. She wanted to ensure that everyone knew what was happening, so they would feel secure. She mentioned that she had received feedback from people, saying that they appreciated her practice in this respect: they told her that they felt secure, and that it was clear that she was the leader of the service. She noted, too, that her practice also involved special consideration for the families having a baptism. Finally, she described how her practice was shaped by her efforts to ensure that the assistant and the organist would follow her: '[My assistant] is, for the most part, amiable, so there is nothing painful about it or problematic. However, of course it's, it's probably one of the reasons I perhaps seem like a teacher, or I don't know—that I say "Now are we going to do this" because I'm a bit afraid he's not paying attention'.⁷⁵⁸

Olaug thus gave several reasons for giving much practical information. Although she recognizes some of it happens unconsciously, much is deliberate. Her argumentation is moreover mostly relational and is thus made with the intention of facilitating security and thus meaning-making. At the same time, it is also evident that she gives a lot of practical information to all present while the most important recipient for the information, seems to be the assistant. That the relationship to the assistant influenced Olaug in her practice was evident. When I watched the video-recording from the service, I noticed that she looked at the assistant when she was introducing something that he was meant to do. Olaug also had to change her practice to accommodate the organist, when the organist did not start playing at the designated time during the Eucharist. Olaug and the congregation waited for a moment for the Agnus Dei to begin, until finally Olaug introduced it by saying, 'Now we will sing the Agnus Dei'. Here, leadership was needed, and Olaug carried it out.

Moving to 'additional content', I interpret that some of the pastors needed to add content in order to help people master the service or make the service more meaningful. Thus, it seems as if these pastors were trying to infuse the service with value or meaning. Others seem to rely fully on the liturgy in conveying meaning.

⁷⁵⁸ 'Han er stort sett veldig fin altså, så det er ikke noe sånn sårt ved det liksom eller noe problem med det, men klart det er, det er nok en av grunnene til at jeg kanskje virker litt sånn som lærer eller jeg vet ikke jeg, at jeg liksom sier "nå skal vi gjøre sånn" ja nå skal vi gjøre sånn når jeg er der framme fordi at jeg er redd for at han ikke følger med da'.

Jon, Sigmund, and Lars each added several pieces of additional content. This additional content sometimes contained theological content. Lars introduced both the confession of sins and the Gloria by adding introductory and explanatory sentences. Sigmund combined a piece of practical information with theological content when he introduced the final hymn at the service for Pentecost: 'Today we're going to close by singing "Be Thou My Vision", and in many ways, that's the essential task of the Spirit—not to show itself but to show Jesus. The Spirit makes Jesus visible in us and among us, and so then we sing "Be Though My Vision"^{1,759}

All the pastors except Gunnar engaged in what I have defined as 'relational talk' at the end of the service, just before the dismissal. Some engaged in relational talk at other times as well. I interpret the relational talk as a way of creating a familiar atmosphere, making people comfortable, and a way of seeing and appreciating a particular group of people. I present two examples of relational talk.

Astrid said nothing to introduce the three children and their families coming forward for baptism. After each of the children had been baptised, however, she tailored what she said when she presented the child. The standard formulation would have been, 'Dear congregation in Hole, this is NN. Dear NN, this is the congregation in Hole, and you belong here'.⁷⁶⁰ Astrid, however, added one sentence to this formulation with the first and the second child. She presented the first child, who had screamed throughout the baptism, by saying, 'This is Mari.⁷⁶¹ She has good lungs', and, to the second, who slept through the baptism, she said (in a sing-song voice), 'Dear Truls, this is the congregation in Hole, and you belong here. Even though you cannot see us, we see you'.⁷⁶² In addition, she also addressed the older brothers in both the second and third baptism. I understand these additional sayings as a way of relating and connecting to the congregation in general, and the families having a baptism in particular. Her relational talk was personal to each of the children, and was thus a way of seeing and appreciating each one of them.

⁷⁵⁹ 'I dag skal vi avslutte med å synge "Deg å få skode" og det er på mange måter Åndenes viktigste oppgave ikke å vise seg selv—men å vise Jesus. Ånden gjør Jesus synlig i oss og blant oss, så da synger vi "Deg å få skode".

⁷⁶⁰ 'Kjære Hole menighet. Dette er NN. Kjære NN. Her er Hole menighet, og her hører du til'.

⁷⁶¹ Fictive names.

⁷⁶² 'Kjære NN. Her er Hole menighet, og her hører du til. Selv om du ikke ser oss, så ser vi deg'.

For Olaug, her 'relational talk' at the end of the service seemed important that day because of something that happened earlier in the service. Olaug presided over a service for the Day of Penance and Prayer that also included baptisms, due to an administrative error. During the intercession, the children were making a fair bit of noise. At the end of the intercession, Olaug introduced a time of silence and prayer by saying, 'And we also pray in silence about what we have on our minds'.⁷⁶³ After a short moment, she continued, 'Let us be quiet'.⁷⁶⁴ The parents likely interpreted that as being directed at them, because they hushed their children and the children quieted.

I interpret Olaug's relational talk at the end of the service as trying to connect positively with the families and their children, given the earlier tension: 'I am very impressed by all the children, who were so clever. You have probably been drawing many beautiful things and had fun in between, even if it maybe lasted long. You can bring these drawings home and post them on the wall. That is nice—so good luck with the rest of the day to the families having a baptism'.⁷⁶⁵ She wanted it appear as though she thought the children managed well, so the parents could relax.

When I spoke to her afterward, Olaug explained that she had been ambivalent about adding that extra sentence in the intercession. Although she felt that the children were making too much noise, she was concerned about whether the families had felt uncomfortable. Here, I understood Olaug as feeling some dissonance around combining a baptism with the Day of Penance and Prayer. This episode thus demonstrates a possible tension between 'the ordinary churchgoers' and the 'special attendants' which the pastor must handle. Olaug had the overall responsibility for the performance and result of the service. But what result was the best, and what relations were the most important? The churchgoers probably wanted the intercession to be meditative and silent, while for the family having baptism, this silence was not important. For them, the thriving of their children in the service was far more valuable.

⁷⁶³ 'Og vi ber også i stillhet om det som vi har på hjertet'.

⁷⁶⁴ 'La oss være litt stille'.

⁷⁶⁵ 'Jeg er veldig imponert over alle ungene som var så flinke. Dere har sikkert tegna mye fint og hatt det kjekt innimellom selv om det kanskje tok litt lang tid. Men de tegningene de kan dere får ta med hjem og henge opp. Det er fint. Så lykke til med resten av dagen for dåpsfamiliene'.

I interpret both Astrid's adaption of the baptismal liturgy as well as Olaug's sayings as a possible way of increasing their moral authenticity.⁷⁶⁶ Astrid made specific choices and adapted her sayings to each of the children being baptised. By adapting to the children individually, she possibly gave the families an experience of being important and special. When Olaug made some relational talk at the end of the service, this could be interpreted as an attempt to restore a possible feeling of being hushed and criticized, and thus to build her moral authenticity.

5.2.2. Changing, Moving, and Removing Liturgical Elements

In this section, I present how the pastors adjusted parts of the liturgy. While some adjustments seem to be made for practical reasons, some are theologically founded. In the following, I first present how some of the pastors changed the liturgy before I look at how they moved and removed liturgical elements.

Changing

Several of the pastors changed elements in the liturgy. The pastor deviating the most from the adopted liturgies was Jon, specifically, in the way that he used parts of the old liturgy when he performed the baptism and administered the Eucharist. Additionally, Jon made several other changes in the liturgy.

Jon told me that he used the old baptismal liturgy because he wanted to use a liturgy he knew by heart. I interpret Jon's intention here to be relational. He wanted to communicate and relate to the family having a baptism in the best possible way. For the Eucharist, he used most of the new liturgy, but he included some elements from the old liturgy. Jon explained that this was due in part to decisions made by the local parish council: 'I don't think this part was all that important in the Church service reform: what kind of words we use in the baptismal liturgy and Eucharist. What was important was all the other 76 may⁷⁶⁷ that were

⁷⁶⁶ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction', 257.

⁷⁶⁷ The order of worship from 2011 includes 76 elements where the pastor and/or the congregation can choose between different alternatives.

introduced in the liturgy'.⁷⁶⁸ According to Jon's interpretation of the service reform, its intentions of flexibility and locality trump the regulations.

Jon moreover made two changes that I interpret to be relational. During the part of the baptismal liturgy when the pastor asks the parents and the godparents if they want the child to be baptized, he changed one word. 'Do you desire that Sissel be baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and be *taught* according to the Christian life and faith?' (Emphasis mine). Normally, the pastor would say 'brought up'⁷⁶⁹ whereas Jon said 'taught'.⁷⁷⁰ Jon had purposefully changed the wording. He remembered 'taught' was used in one of the suggested liturgies before *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke* was passed, and he thought this was a better and friendlier wording. He wanted to come across as a little more accommodating,⁷⁷¹ and less strict.⁷⁷² His relational argumentation is also prominent in the next example.

In the confirmand service, I noticed that Jon changed the standard formula in the greeting of grace at the beginning of the service.⁷⁷³ While the standard wording for 'Grace be with you' in Norwegian is plural, Jon used the singular.⁷⁷⁴ He explained that he often alternated between the use of the singular and the plural. His reasoning was fundamental and pragmatic. Fundamentally, he argued that it is possible to address the whole congregation with the use of singular, as the Apostle Paul did. The argument for using singular on that specific day was, however, that he wanted to be personal. He wanted people to experience him as 'now I am talking to *you* (singular)'. As I interpret these changes, they can be a way of emphasizing and increasing his moral authenticity.⁷⁷⁵

Olaug made some changes to the blessings in the sermon and at the end of the service, saying 'The Lord lift his face upon you'⁷⁷⁶ in place of 'The Lord lift his countenance upon

⁷⁶⁸ 'Jeg tenker at det var jo ikke det som var det viktige med gudstjenestereformen, hva slags ordlyd vi har i dåps- og nattverdliturgien. Det viktige var jo at alle de andre 76 kan-ene [som] er kommet inn'.
⁷⁶⁹ oppdradd.

⁷⁷⁰ opplært.

⁷⁷¹ *imøtekommende*.

⁷⁷² strengt.

⁷⁷³ He made a similar change when he said the Peace after the distribution of the Eucharist in the regular service.

⁷⁷⁴ 'Nåde være med deg'.

⁷⁷⁵ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction'.

⁷⁷⁶ 'Herren løfte sitt ansikt mot deg'.

you'.⁷⁷⁷ The wording she used is the same as that used in the newest Bible translation.⁷⁷⁸ According to Olaug, this change was deliberate, and she said that she mostly used this wording in the family services, though she occasionally used it in other services, as well. Her reasons for doing so were that it, according to her, communicated better than the standard version, and she wanted to make the new version better known: 'Just as The Lord's prayer is used in the new translation, I hope this will be used more and more'.⁷⁷⁹

Astrid made several changes in the baptismal liturgy. She told me that she did not like it when prayer became dogmatic: 'I think we should dare to use the open, good, and adoring language in baptism. We shall *not* have dogmatic prayers in connection with the baptism. That is like a hobby horse for me, theologically founded'.⁷⁸⁰ She therefore used one of the prayers for the water from the suggested order of worship from 2008.⁷⁸¹ Additionally, she changed the wording when she presented the child to the congregation. Inspired by a lecture by Kjell Nordstokke, who asked why pastors did not say, 'Now that you are baptised you can follow Jesus',⁷⁸² she had begun saying, 'This is your baptismal candle—the sign of your being baptised and now able to follow Jesus who says "I am the light of the world. Follow me, and I will follow you"^{1.783} It seems as if Astrid changed the liturgy when she had what she would characterize as strong arguments for doing so.

Moving

According to *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke*, the Lord's Prayer is part of the Eucharistic liturgy. If the Lord's Supper is not celebrated in a service with a baptism, the Lord's Prayer is included at the end of the baptismal liturgy.⁷⁸⁴ Both Olaug and Gunnar, however, moved the Lord's Prayer from the Eucharist liturgy to the baptismal liturgy. While I believe that, for Olaug, this was simply a mistake, Gunnar told me that he had made a conscious decision to

⁷⁷⁷ 'Herren løfte sitt åsyn på deg'.

 ⁷⁷⁸ Numbers 6:24 *Bibelen: Den hellige skrift: Det gamle og det nye testamentet,* (Oslo: Bibelselskapet, 2011).
 ⁷⁷⁹ 'Slik som Vår Far blir brukt i ny oversettelse håper jeg denne blir mer og mer brukt'.

⁷⁸⁰ Jeg synes vi skal våge det åpne, gode, tilbedende språket i dåpen. Vi skal *ikke* ha bønner som er dogmatikk i tilknytning til dåp. Kjepphest fra meg, teologisk fundert'.

⁷⁸¹ Kirkerådet Den norske kirke, *Liturgi- Bokmål: Forslag til ny ordning for hovedgudstjeneste i Den norske kirke* (Eide forlag og Den norske kirke ved Kirkerådet, 2008).

⁷⁸² 'Nå som du er døpt så kan du få følge Jesus'.

⁷⁸³ 'Her er dåpslyset ditt—tegnet på at du er døpt og nå kan følge Jesus på sier "Jeg er verdens lys. Følg meg, og jeg vil følge deg"'.

⁷⁸⁴ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 2.17 and 3.11.

make this change. For Gunnar, it was more for pedagogic than liturgical reasons. In the baptismal liturgy, he had urged the parents and godparents to pray for the child and to teach him to pray himself. 'I want them to join in prayer. I want them to take part in praying our common prayer, which I want them to teach their children'.⁷⁸⁵ Saying the Lord's Prayer, according to Gunnar, follows naturally from the admonition to the parents and godparents. Gunnar has a strong liturgical focus, and as he is the pastor deviating the least from the liturgy, I interpret this change as being important for him.

While the change Gunnar made was clearly intentional and thought through, this was not the case for a change Sigmund made in the family service when he placed the intercession after the Eucharist. It was not quite clear why he did so, and he explained that he had done this for pragmatic and practical reasons. This exchange, however, reveals that Sigmund did not place emphasis on the liturgical consequences of this choice. In liturgical theology, the ordo is crucial, as it is understood as the canon of worship.⁷⁸⁶ Sigmund's practice of moving the intercession thus displays that he does not emphasize the theological implications of such a choice.

Removing

Sigmund removed several elements from the Eucharist liturgy at Pentecost. At least two elements were missing: the Greeting and the Sanctus (or another song).⁷⁸⁷ Sigmund voiced some frustration about all the elements that were meant to be included in the service. In previous years, they rarely combined baptisms and the Eucharist because of time constraints. However, the bishop had commented that, in accordance with the new order of worship, they should celebrate the Eucharist more often, so they decided they would try to do so. At the same time, they had seen a decline in the number of baptisms, and in an attempt to reverse this, they tried to be flexible, letting people choose which Sunday they wanted for the baptism. This resulted in more services in which both baptisms and the Eucharist were celebrated, and they found this challenging to do in the allotted time. As

 ⁷⁸⁵ 'Så vil jeg ha dem med på en bønn, vil ha dem med på vår felles bønn som jeg vil de skal lære sine barn'.
 ⁷⁸⁶ Gordon W. Lathrop, *Holy Things: A Liturgical Theology*, First paperback ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 204.

⁷⁸⁷ Missing although they used the shortest Eucharist liturgy. 'Nattverdordning for særlige anledninger'. Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 2.79.

Sigmund noted, it takes time for 250 people to receive Holy Communion. This specific Sunday, another issue had arisen, as they could not have Sunday school. Sigmund explained that they 'thought it would just be too much with the children present, so we did a very simplified Eucharist liturgy, just in that particular service'.⁷⁸⁸

As I understand Sigmund, he experiences conflict between welcoming and facilitating for as many baptisms as possible, and the expectation to celebrate Eucharist more regularly. According to him, there were two contextual elements making this conflict more pronounced: In Lia, many people attend services, so celebrating the Eucharist takes time. In addition, since there was no Sunday school this Sunday, the children were present during the whole service. Meeting this conflict and balancing expectations, he thus decided to simplify the Eucharist liturgy.

Lars and Astrid both removed some elements from the last part of the baptismal liturgy. Astrid removed the greeting to the congregation, which contained a reminder of the baptism as an entrance to a worldwide fellowship and an encouragement to take part in God's mission.⁷⁸⁹ Astrid said that this omission was simply due to practical reasons. Lars opted to leave out the closing verse from 1 Peter 1:3; like Astrid, he chose to do so for practical reasons. He told me that he sometimes omitted this verse because there are 'too many words at the end, so this is a freedom I make use of'.⁷⁹⁰ This remark is representative of some of the critiques toward the baptismal liturgy in 2011,⁷⁹¹ which contributed to its revision in 2017.⁷⁹² Here, Lars' practice shows that the critique was not only performed in formal and informal forums, but was also enacted in pastoral practice.

Lars also left out the greeting at the end of the baptismal liturgy, but this was unintentional. In the interview, he explained that he had simply forgotten this part. He had been eager to move on in the service, and he also was not wearing his reading glasses, as he often put

- ⁷⁹¹ Kirkerådet Den norske kirke, Høringsdokument til Kirkerådets forslag til revidert ordning for dåp i hovedgudstjenesten (2015),(https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/kirkeradet/2016/horinger-i-kirkeradets-
- regi/revidert_daapsliturgi_hoeringsdokument_oktober_2015.pdf: Kirkerådet, 2015).

⁷⁹² Kyrkjemøtet Den norske kyrkja, 'KM 05/17 Revisjon av dåpsliturgi',

(https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/om-kirken/slik-styres-

⁷⁸⁸ 'Tenkte det ble massivt for ungene å sitte inne, så tok vi en veldig forenklet nattverdliturgi akkurat på den gudstjenesten'.

⁷⁸⁹ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 3.10.

⁷⁹⁰ 'Det blir litt mye *ord* på slutten, så det, den friheten tar jeg meg'.

kirken/kirkemotet/2017/vedtak/km_05_17_revisjon_daapsliturgi_vedtak.pdf, 2017).

them away when he did things by heart. He noted, 'If I had had the book and glasses the entire time, I would have done [the greeting]'.⁷⁹³ This episode reflects how decisive apparently small artefacts can be in affecting how a pastor presides and what choices she makes.

The liturgy and rubrics are considered to be legislative documents,⁷⁹⁴ and following them are thus a part of the constitutive expectations to the pastoral role. While the regulations of the Sunday service do not explicitly state that additional elements are not allowed, I interpret that changing, moving, and removing elements, are. However, all the pastors questioned the order of worship at least once, and some did so several times. The pastors made individual choices. For varying reasons, they were more or less loyal to the order of worship, and the reasoning behind their practices differed. In 5.5, I elaborate on how differences display themselves in their differing attitudes and understanding of the liturgy. However, they each asserted their own opinions about and through their practice. I argue that the fact that the pastors felt free to make their own choices independent of the order of worship reflects an individual approach. They, as pastors in the congregation, in one way or another, perceived themselves as being autonomous. In an individualistic culture, autonomy is an ideal: everyone is meant to have their own opinion.⁷⁹⁵ As Fretheim states, the individual is not bound to given and predicted values and traditions to the same extent as earlier.⁷⁹⁶ In postmodern Norway, the freedom of the individual can be used to pursue old and established traditions. If a pastor finds that a tradition is not functioning, he or she wants the right and possibility to change the practice.

5.3. How Did the Pastors Interact with Artefacts in the Room?

The rooms in which the pastors presided were different, and the pastors related to different artefacts during the service. Here, I take a closer look at how the pastors interacted with two

⁷⁹³ 'Hadde jeg hatt boken og briller på hele tiden, så hadde jeg tatt den'.

⁷⁹⁴ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*.

⁷⁹⁵ Skytte, *Etniske minoritetsfamilier og sosialt arbeid*, 66-73.

⁷⁹⁶ Fretheim, 'Kirke i Norge', 29.

of the artefacts. First, I look at the use of the altar (5.3.1), and second at how the pastors presiding in rooms with screens interacted with the screens during the service (5.3.2).

The altar is a strong symbolic element in all the rooms—aesthetically, liturgically, and theologically. Taking a closer look at how the pastors interacted with the altar reveals some of their theological understandings, and thus how they infuse the congregation with their theology. In particular, it illuminates their theology of the service and the room, and their understanding of their role in relation to the artefacts. Screens are a relatively new element in Sunday services, and it is therefore relevant to explore if and how this affected the leadership practice of the pastors.

5.3.1. How Did the Pastors Relate to the Altar?

The churches in Øyra, Indrevik, Nordbø, and Hole were traditional churches in which the traditional position of the pastor was ad orientem. In Fagereng, Elvebakken, Hagneset, and Lia, the pastors could stand versus populum.⁷⁹⁷ Below, I first focus on the pastors who presided in churches with the altar in the traditional position. I look at how they interacted with the altars and how they argued for their different practice. I then turn to the pastors presiding in churches where the altars were not traditionally positioned.

In traditional churches

Astrid, Olaug, Gunnar, and Jon presided in churches where it was impossible to stand behind the altar versus populum. Still, it varied among them as to when and how often they turned toward the congregation. I identified three different ways of interacting with the altar. Jon and Astrid largely turned ad orientem. Their practices were aligned with the official understanding of the Church of Norway, which is that the altar is the central element in and focal point of the sanctuary, and that the pastor turn towards the east (ad orientem) when praying, and towards the congregation when addressing them.⁷⁹⁸ Olaug stood versus populum during all the hymns, while Gunnar moved away from the altar and sat down in a chair during the hymns.

⁷⁹⁷ In Norway, the traditional position of the pastor is ad orientem. Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 6.15 and 7.31. For further description of the architecture of the churches, see 3.8.

⁷⁹⁸ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.32-7.36.

Moreover, Gunnar said that he did not want to stand by the altar if he did not have to. For example, he felt he should not stand there when he was singing:

Why should I stand there singing? I am just, when I sing, I am part of the congregation. Additionally, the congregation should *see* the altar. It's nothing interesting to see *me*. Totally uninteresting. [...] And *every* time where I don't *have* to do something by the altar, I am not there. People should *see* the altar; people should be conscious about the altar. They don't, but they should, and I'll help them have it.⁷⁹⁹

Gunnar bowed toward the altar, and he also told he instructed the assistant ministers to do the same. Gunnar bowed the first time he approached the altar, and again when he approached it after the sermon. Moreover, after he had said the words of institution, he kneeled and bowed. He told me that he did not think he bowed much. However, he felt it was a way to signal to the congregation that 'the altar is the most holy place in the church'.⁸⁰⁰

The way he related to the altar was conscious and intentional. As I interpret Gunnar, he wanted to strengthen and reinforce the symbolic dimension of the altar. He wanted to signal with his body that the altar represents something different—something holy. The congregation should learn to experience and acknowledge the holy. Moreover, I interpret him as strongly expressing that he, as a person, should not stand between the congregation and God. Attention should be directed towards the altar, and not towards himself.

He also noted that it is natural to turn toward the east when praying and turn to the congregation when speaking to them. 'I don't ask the congregation for something. I ask God for something, on behalf of the congregation'.⁸⁰¹ Gunnar wanted to transmit a specific understanding of the altar, of the service, and God. I interpret this theological understanding as also being the reasoning behind Gunnar's practice of bowing before the altar.

His practice and sayings indicate an awareness and emphasis on his symbolic leadership, and it moreover demonstrates a tension between giving and receiving attention. By his practice,

⁷⁹⁹ 'Hva skal jeg der og synge for? Jeg er jo bare, når jeg synger, er jeg en del av menigheten. Pluss at menigheten skal *se* alteret. Det er ikke noe interessant å se *meg*. Helt uinteressant. [...] og *hver* gang hvor jeg ikke *må* noe på alteret, så er jeg ikke der. Folk skal *se* alteret, folk skal ha en bevissthet om alteret. De har ikke det, men de *skal* ha det. Jeg skal hjelpe dem til å få det'.

⁸⁰⁰ 'Det helligste stedet i kirken er alteret'.

⁸⁰¹ 'Jeg ber ikke menigheten om noe. Jeg ber Gud om noe, på menighetens vegne'.

Gunnar strived for moving the attention away from himself and giving attention to the altar. Is it, however, evident that this is the result of this practice? Is it evident that leaving the altar is the best possible way of emphasizing the symbolic dimension of the altar? Still, I interpret this was his intention.

The other pastors stood by the altar singing. Astrid told me that she preferred to sing facing the same direction as the congregation was facing. Additionally, she preferred that her face not be visible all the time. 'Truthfully, I think it's wonderful to be able to make faces'—here, Astrid made a face—'or drink a glass of water, or...'.⁸⁰² Astrid laughed and referred to a personality test indicating that she was a maximum introvert. For her, it was more demanding having what she called a 'versus populum altar'. Thus, the architecture of the church in Hole complemented Astrid's personality.

Olaug explained that she assumed the role of a lead worshipper when she stood facing the congregation. When they sung the Kyrie, Olaug stood facing the altar. Then she turned around, said an absolution, and remained standing facing the congregation during the singing of the Gloria. She thus did not follow the instructions given in the guidelines in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke*.⁸⁰³ In response to my asking why she did this, she said that it was not conscious, and that she had not noticed that she was turning to the congregation in that moment. She chuckled as she said, 'I think that, in a way, there is so much turning around, that maybe I just do not want to turn around again'.⁸⁰⁴ She also turned toward the altar during the renunciation of the devil, and not only the confession of faith.

I interpret Olaug's focus on being a worship leader during the hymns to be pedagogical—to encourage more people to join in the hymns. However, she revealed little liturgical reflection regarding why she did not follow the guidelines concerning turning toward the altar at certain points.⁸⁰⁵ This lack of reflection can possibly reveal some of her background not focusing much on liturgy.

⁸⁰² 'For å si det litt sånn ubeskyttet, jeg synes det er deilig å kunne gjøre en grimase (gjør en grimase) eller drikke et glass vann eller (latter)'.

⁸⁰³ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.33.

⁸⁰⁴ 'Jeg synes det liksom blir så mye snuing da (humrer) ja, så det er vel kanskje derfor jeg ikke snur meg tilbake igjen?'

⁸⁰⁵ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.32.7.36.

In Newer Churches

While the pastors in the churches with no detached altar had no room for the pastor standing versus populum behind the altar, the pastors in the churches with a detached altar could make other choices. While Elsa stood behind the altar for the greeting and welcoming, Sigmund and Lars stood in front of the altar and thus closer to the congregation. When discussing his reason for doing so, Lars referenced the leader of the Sunday service committee, who felt that the altar was no more holy than anything else, as it was simply a working table. He did not argue in support of or against her opinion in my interview with him, but simply said that he did not stand behind the altar for the welcoming, preaching, or baptism because he wanted to be as close to the congregation as possible at these times. Elsa told me that she usually stood behind the altar in Elvebakken throughout the entire service except for the sermon and the blessing: She felt it would become disorganized in that room if she moved back and forth. For the blessing, Elsa moved in front of the altar, as she wanted to move closer to the congregation. She explained that the blessing was an essential element for her, and she wanted to come close.

I interpret none of these pastors as understanding the altar as being more holy than other artefacts in the room, and none of them expressed that the altar had a symbolic dimension. The reasoning behind their way of presiding was mostly practical and aesthetic. In this sense, it does not seem as if they made any connection between themselves as symbols, and how they relate to the altar as a symbolic artefact. The altar rather became an obstacle in having direct and good communication with the congregation.

5.3.2. Screens

While the altar is an old artefact with strong symbolic connotations, screens are relatively new elements. How do the pastors relate to them? In Lia, Elvebakken, Fagereng, and Hagneset, screens were used to display the liturgical elements in which the congregation was meant to participate, in addition to the hymns. The screens were positioned in different places in the room, and the pastors related to the screens in different ways. In Fagereng, Elsa sat on a chair and looked at the screen when she was singing the hymns. When she was

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in Elvebakken, the screen was behind her when she stood behind the altar, so she generally did not interact with the screen. However, there were exceptions: First, when there was a slideshow from the gathering of the four-year-olds a few days earlier; and second, when she gave the announcements at the end of the service. In these instances, Elsa moved from behind the altar to stand beside it, closer to the congregation. Lars also interacted with the screen when he gave the announcements at the end of the service.

Sigmund's practice in this context was the most distinctive. When he stood behind the altar, he did not interact with the screens to his left and right. He did, however, interact with the screen on the back wall, which he was facing. This screen was for the pastors, lead worshippers, and others involved in the service. When he was leading some of the liturgical elements, Sigmund looked at the screen: in the first service, when leading the gathering prayer and the confession of sins; and in the second service, when leading the gathering prayer and the confession of faith. He told me that this practice was unconscious, and although he had not reflected upon why he did so, he could explain why this practice had developed:

I can to some extent explain why it has become this way. I like to be free. Don't like to have the book in my hands. Maybe it is related to that. When it is services for families, I feel freer. [...] And yes, we have a screen back there where we can see everything displaying on the screens in front. Then there have been times for instance that the wrong gathering prayer was displayed on the screen. We have one for family services, and one for regular services, and then they have been switched. So, it's probably a way of controlling [things], that I look up and check that I'm saying the same prayer as the congregation is saying/reading what is written on the screen. So, it's probably just that I've continued to read there once I look up. However, it's not that conscious, no.⁸⁰⁶

As I interpret Sigmund, there are practical and pragmatic reasons why he looks at the screen during several liturgical elements. There is moreover an element of control. If the text on the screen turns out to be wrong, I believe that Sigmund would stick to the text on the screen and not the text in his manuscript. The screen thus trumps the manuscript.

⁸⁰⁶ 'Jeg kan nok til en viss grad forklare hvorfor det har blitt sånn. Jeg liker jo å være fri. Liker ikke så godt å ha boka i hånda. Det handler kanskje litt om det. Når det er familiegudstjeneste så er jeg litt friere. [...] Og ja—vi har en skjerm bak der vi kan se alt det som kommer på skjermene fremme. Så har det hendt for eksempel at det har kommet opp feil samlingsbønn. Selv om vi har en fast en på familiegudstjeneste og en annen en på høymesse, så har de blitt byttet om. Så det er nok en form for kontroll det at jeg ser opp og sjekker at jeg ber den samme bønnen som menigheten ber/leser det samme som står på skjermen. Og så har det nok bare blitt til at jeg har fortsatt å lese der og leser hele mens jeg ser opp. Men det er ikke så bevisst, nei'.

However, neither Sigmund nor the other pastors I asked about the use of screens reflected much upon the role of the screen(s) and how they related to them. Unfortunately, I did not ask those pastors who not have a screen in their room to reflect upon the use of screens.⁸⁰⁷

5.4. How Did the Pastors Involve Others?

Involving others is one of the core concepts of the Church Service reform, and thus a strategic expectation of the pastors.⁸⁰⁸ The Church of Norway makes explicit that the crucial involvement happens when the whole congregation takes part in singing hymns, participating in responses, active listening, joining in prayers, and celebrating the Eucharist. In addition, on behalf of the fellowship, some people take on the responsibility of preparing and serving as presiders and assistants.⁸⁰⁹ The focus here is on the latter: the inclusion of some people from the congregation in preparing for and serving in the service. I therefore delimit myself from exploring how the pastors endeavoured to involve the congregation in general. However, this topic has, to some extent, been thematized from a different perspective, in 5.1.

5.4.1. How Much and Where Did the Pastors Involve Others?

There were marked differences between how the pastors involved others in the services, and how many they involved. I interpret these differences as being both contextual and resulting from the different pastors' approach to involving others.

In this section, I point to how differing contexts mark the practice of involving others. The services with most people involved, were the family services in Elvebakken and Lia. In both services, there were some people preparing the room, extra musicians, sound technician, a person controlling the pictures on the screen, and some responsible for the coffee hour after the service. There were children participating in the procession, children's choir, lead worshippers, volunteers reading texts, and the pastor involved others in the sermon.

⁸⁰⁷ In retrospect I should have asked all the pastors about the use of screens in the services. However, I did not. Therefore, the empirical material has some limitations.

⁸⁰⁸ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.6, 7.9-7.20, 7.23-7.29.

⁸⁰⁹ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.6.

It is an important contextual element that these services were family services. The pastors expressed they involve more people in such services. However, if we look at the regular service in Lia, there were still approximately 15 people besides the organist involved in the service, and all were unpaid. This finding contrasts the situation in Indrevik. There were two people involved in the service besides the organist, one of whom was paid. Although Gunnar wanted to involve more people in the services, he found it difficult to do so. How could he get in touch with people to ask if they would participate? In Lia, the church was busy with activities all week, while in Indrevik, the church was only used on Sundays. The differences in involving others might also reflect different spiritual traditions in the congregations, as Mosdøl also found.⁸¹⁰ The congregation in Lia is in an area strongly marked by lay organizations. As such, people in the congregation are familiar with taking responsibility in other Christian settings.

Still, I assert that this finding cannot be used to argue that the pastors' practice was predetermined. Modéus argues that pastors have an essential role in increasing the number of people involved in the services and that the way it is organized matters.⁸¹¹ Although context is important, the pastors have the possibility of finding alternative ways of involving others. Fagermoen presents examples of how this is done in a congregation not marked by lay organizations and a culture of contributing to church.⁸¹²

I claim that the pastors adapted to meaning-making by involving people in the services. This involvement had the potential to increase meaning for both those involved and for their families. Astrid involved some boys in the procession from the families having baptism. The families having a baptism read the texts in Lia and Hagneset, and the four-year-olds participated in the sermon in Elvebakken. I argue that the involvement of these individuals had the potential for making the service more meaningful to those involved. Indeed, a woman who participated in the sermon in the family service in Lia told the congregation that

⁸¹⁰ Hallvard Olavson Mosdøl, 'Strategier for involvering i gudstjenesten: En casestudie av to menigheter', in *Gudstjeneste à la carte: Liturgireformen i Den norske kirke*, ed. Anne Haugland Balsnes et al. (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015), 171.

⁸¹¹ Modéus, Längta efter liv.

⁸¹² Hege Fagermoen, 'Å vikle ut en menighet: En fortelling om stedegengjøring, involvering og fleksibilitet', *Luthersk kirketidende* 146, no. 7 (2011).

it was more fun to take part in services after she had begun contributing.⁸¹³ This is in keeping with some of Mogstad's findings,⁸¹⁴ and also Johnsen's, in her study of learning trajectories in services. Johnsen argues that when children are involved in core practices in services, it makes the meaning of the practice more accessible to them.⁸¹⁵ However, in her empirical study of the involvement of members in a choir in Sweden, Gustavsson found that it was not necessarily the case that those involved felt they were participating in the service.⁸¹⁶ Meaning-making is thus something the pastors can endeavour to facilitate when involving others in the service, but it is not guaranteed.

Children were involved in several of the services. Following Johnsen, involving children in the core practices in the service (e.g., the intercession) can be a way of helping children to feel more included in the fellowship.⁸¹⁷ This practice is thus a way of communicating with the rest of the congregation: first, that the children can take part in these practices, and second that the children have a legitimate role and function in the congregation.⁸¹⁸

In the following two sub-chapters, I focus on two elements in the Sunday service that reveal differences in the pastors' practices: namely, how they involved others in the baptismal liturgy and the intercession. I selected these two elements for several reasons. The first of these is that, according to *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke*, CL (the co-liturgist/minister assistant) should read two texts from the Bible in addition to leading a prayer in the baptismal liturgy.⁸¹⁹ The regulations in the order of worship also state that an assistant should lead the intercession, if possible.⁸²⁰ There is thus constitutive expectations to the involvement of others in both the baptismal liturgy and the intercession. Second, while the role of the pastor can be different with regard to several other elements in the service,⁸²¹ I argue that the pastor is central in deciding whether and how others should be involved in

⁸¹³ See 6.2.1.

⁸¹⁴ Mogstad, 'Gudstjenesten', 80-86.

⁸¹⁵ Elisabeth Tveito Johnsen, 'Gudstjenestelæring gjennom deltakelse', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 167-68.

⁸¹⁶ Gustavsson, *Delaktighetens kris*, 209-28.

⁸¹⁷ Johnsen, 'Gudstjenestelæring', 167.

⁸¹⁸ Thor Strandenæs, 'Barn og gudstjeneste: Gudstjenesten som sted for trosutfoldelse eller trosopplæring?', *Prismet*, no. 1 (2008).

⁸¹⁹ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 3.4-3.6.

⁸²⁰ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 2.14.

⁸²¹ The parish council has passed the local order of worship, and made decisions guiding the involvement in several elements in the service.

these particular elements. Lastly, I found the empirical material divergent related to the pastors' practices in these contexts.

Involvement in the Baptismal Liturgy

Both Sigmund and Lars involved others in the reading of the texts. In Hagneset, some of the people attending because of a baptism read both the texts and the prayer. In Lia, Sigmund led the prayer himself, while one of the regular assistants read one of the texts and a member of the family having a baptism read the other. These two pastors followed the instructions and recommendations in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke* regarding involving others.

When the families having a baptism are asked to participate in the baptismal liturgy, this can signal to these families that they are included in the congregation. Involving the families in the service can therefore be a leadership practice expressing that both the children being baptised and their families are welcome and included in the fellowship: that they belong to the congregation, and are not visitors. Additionally, this way of involving others can be strategic, as it signals to the regular attendants that both the children being baptised and their families are full members of the congregation and belong there.

Now I will take a closer look at those who did not involve others and explore the reasoning behind their choice. Astrid said that she often asked children in the families having a baptism to do practical tasks in the service, but she was hesitant to ask someone to read the texts in the baptism liturgy. Moreover, regarding the specific service I observed, she told me that when she had met the families beforehand, she became certain that she would not ask if any of them wanted to read: 'I have my feelers out when having it [the baptismal meeting on beforehand], and when I saw these [people] I thought "No, I won't ask today"¹⁸²² Her more general argument was that, if those reading are not in position when they are meant to be, it affects the rhythm and flow of the service. In addition, Astrid pointed out that some people are insecure when reading, and the readings must have a certain level of quality. She had also received feedback on her voice—that it is clear and easy to hear—and as such, she

⁸²² 'Jeg har faktisk jeg har litt antenner ute når jeg har det [dåpsmøtet], og da jeg så disse så tenkte jeg "nei, dette kommer jeg ikke til å spørre [om] i dag."

argued, 'If there is one clear and present voice carrying throughout this service, that is also good'.⁸²³

Astrid's practice underlines what she said about involving others.⁸²⁴ For her, involving someone to read the text in the baptism liturgy is not of value. For her, quality in flow and reading is much more important. In this way, I argue that she was trying to form the congregation in another direction. For Astrid, there were other values and theologies more important than communicating fellowship and belonging. This finding suggests that Astrid was more focused on forming the community into being quality conscious.

The other pastor who read the texts himself in the service I observed was Jon. This finding surprised me because, as we have seen, he (implicitly and explicitly) expressed the importance of involving others. According to Jon, they always asked the families if any of them wanted to read the texts. Usually they did not, so in these instances he ended up reading the texts himself. He reflected on the way he and other pastors usually asked the families, and whether they could perhaps be more persistent and encouraging. They had never discussed letting the assistant read these texts: 'We have never considered that— however, we could consider it'.⁸²⁵ Apparently, until I asked him this question, Jon had not realized it was a possibility.

In Indrevik and Øyra, the paid assistant read the texts. In these instances, Gunnar had also asked the family having a baptism if they would read, but they did not want to. He therefore chose to let the paid assistant read the texts. The was also the case in Øyra: Olaug explained that they always asked the families having a baptism if they wanted to read the texts, but in this instance the families did not want to, so the assistant read the texts, and Olaug read the prayer.

As we have seen, one of the pastors expressed a fundamental hesitation in involving others in the readings, while the other pastors expressed contextual factors as reasons why either they themselves or a regular assistant read the texts. This analysis however does not

⁸²³ 'Hvis det er *en* tydelig *nærværende* stemme som bærer gjennom denne gudstjenesten, så er det noe fint i det også'.

⁸²⁴ See 5.4.2.

⁸²⁵ 'Det har vi aldri vurdert, men det kan vi jo vurdere'.

develop or go deeper into how the families were asked to participate, and the reasoning behind their answer.

Involvement of Others in the Intercession

Moving on to the practice of the intercession, pastors involved other people in only four of the services I observed. Considering the liturgy reform and its focus on involvement, I find it striking that many of the pastors did this part of the service themselves.

When I spoke with the pastors who did not involve others in the intercession, I learned that there were differences as to whether and how often they involved others in this part of the service. While Gunnar rarely involved others, Olaug and Astrid told me that they often involved children in services where groups of children were supposed to participate (e.g., services related to the Christian education reform).

The pastor who had the most distinct practice when involving others in the intercession was Lars. In the service I observed, a man from the congregation was responsible for preparing the intercession, and he led the prayer. Lars advocated involving people in the congregation in both preparing and leading the intercession. He told me that he sent some keywords to the man in an e-mail in advance of the service, and that the man had then formulated the prayers himself. By giving the responsibility to someone else, he was delegating the job. Moreover, Lars distributed authority. Lars emphasized the capacity and competence of this layperson, at the same time signalling that he, as the pastor, is not the only one capable of formulating an official prayer. I thus argue that Lars distributed power by involving the layperson.

Lars added that, often, in such e-mails, he also encouraged the person to 'sense the atmosphere' in the service and pray in a spontaneous way, if something came to mind from the sermon or somewhere else. Although he liked the regular and steady elements in the liturgy, Lars explained that he also wanted some spontaneity: 'We need those elements happening in the here and now and coming from below, from the individual'.⁸²⁶ This emphasis on spontaneity, and what I interpret to be authenticity, is in line with the tradition

⁸²⁶ 'Vi trenger de elementene som bare skjer litt der og da, som er litt spontane og som kommer nedenfra fra den enkelte'.

of the lay movement and the charismatic movement.⁸²⁷ Lars' background thus seems to guide his practice. In this tradition, the pastor did not hold a unique position compared to the laypeople.⁸²⁸ Although there have been local variations, many prayer meetings could have an intimate and personal character, with an emphasis on the word and preaching, and prayers and testimonies where most of the people who attended also participated.⁸²⁹

5.4.2. What Did the Pastors Say About Involving Others?

In my analysis of the sayings of the pastors, I identified that most of the pastors valued and strived for the involvement of others. The pastors emphasized involvement as expressing and creating belonging, fellowship, and ownership. In addition, they pointed to involvement as a way of distributing authority, bringing more people to church, improving the quality of the service, and leading to growth in the congregation in general. There was, however, one exception among the pastors: Although Astrid also said involvement could add value to the service, she was critical toward involvement for the sake of involvement. In the following, I will elaborate on these substantially different approaches.

When Gunnar was asked why people should be involved in the service, he answered:

It is [...] to express even stronger that, as strong as possible that the service and the celebration of the services is the celebration of the entire congregation. In that way, all should have been involved in one way or the other. However, it is to hope that everyone participates in the responses or hope that everyone sings in the hymns. I hope they feel they too mean something for the celebration.⁸³⁰

I interpret that, for Gunnar, involving others is a core concept in his understanding of the service. This emphasis is thus theological. He felt strongly that, in one way or another, the whole congregation should be involved. Gunnar told me that it was difficult to think of a

⁸²⁷ Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', 182.

⁸²⁸ Hegstad, 'Presten og de andre', 33.

⁸²⁹ Olaf Aagedal, *Bedehusfolket: En studie av bedehuskultur i tre bygder på 1980- og 1990-tallet*, vol. 12, KIFO Perspektiv. Forskning i kirke, religion, samfunn, (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag, 2003), 49.

⁸³⁰ 'Det er [...] for å uttrykke i enda sterkere grad at, altså [i] så sterk grad som mulig at gudstjenesten og gudstjenestefeiringen, det er hele menighetens feiring, så man skulle ha involvert alle sammen på ett eller annet vis. Det er å håpe at alle sammen er med på svarene eller håpe alle sammen er med på salmene. Jeg håper at de føler at de også betyr noe i selve feiringen'.

situation where it would be better not to involve others: 'I would rather have someone reading [the text] poorly than reading it myself'.⁸³¹

Elsa told me that she had begun thinking of services as something in which the whole congregation took part and participated. 'It's about people experiencing this as *their* fellowship, that "this is *ours"*. It's not about a pastor having a show standing in front of the others. We're part of a fellowship where we contribute... When people contribute in different ways, we get the understanding that this is our service'.⁸³² Elsa emphasized that, when people are involved and contribute, this creates belonging and fellowship. I thus interpret Elsa's involving others as a strategic choice contributing to community formation. She moreover expressed involving children as a matter close to her heart. These sayings have ecclesiological implications. For Elsa, building belonging and fellowship is a goal.

Another aspect of involvement creating belonging and fellowship is exemplified by Olaug's experience involving confirmands in the confirmation services. She told me about the feedback received from confirmands who had been involved in different tasks in the services. They reported that it was more fun⁸³³ to be in services when they had tasks to do. Here, I understand Olaug as saying that involving confirmands can be a way of improving the experience for confirmands who are unfamiliar with attending services. As I also observed, the involvement of the confirmands in Øyra encouraged some parents to come to church who might not otherwise have come. Lars also pointed to more people coming to church as a positive effect of involvement. These pastors thus express involving others as a strategic element in the pastoral leadership of the service.

Elsa pointed to the connection between what was happening in the service and the rest of the congregational life: 'to create a feeling that we are a "we"—not "the pastor and us", but ownership'.⁸³⁴ She felt that this influenced and shaped the fellowship in the congregation as a whole. Jon pointed to the same link between involvement in the service and the rest of congregational life when he talked about the reasoning behind involving so many young people in the confirmation service in Nordbø. He prefaced his explanation by saying that

⁸³¹ 'Jeg vil heller ha en som leser dårlig, enn selv å lese det'.

⁸³² 'Det handler om at folk skal oppleve dette som *deres* fellesskap, at 'dette er vårt', at det handler ikke bare om en prest som står foran og har en forestilling, men at vi er en del av et fellesskap hvor vi bidrar, og hvor dette er på en måte vår gudstjeneste, og det tror jeg vi opplever med at folk bidrar på forskjellige måter'.
⁸³³ She uses the word *kjekkere*.

⁸³⁴ 'å skape en vi-følelse, og ikke bare en sånn "presten og oss", men et eierskap'.

they wanted both the confirmands and their parents to see these 'fantastic' young people and to think that the youth club in the church is a 'great place'. As such, involving young people in the confirmation service was part of a strategy to encourage the confirmands to continue going to church once their confirmation classes were over. He also expressed involving different groups as a way of 'finding mechanisms [to involve people further in congregational life]'.⁸³⁵ Both Jon and Elsa expressed that involvement concerned more than just what was happening in the service. Lars, too, put this idea into words: 'Getting as many as possible involved in the service is leading the church into growth... It's just silly, and not strategic, to not do the extra work related to involving people'.⁸³⁶ In this way, the pastors referenced involvement as part of their leadership practice.

As I interpret them, these pastors point to involvement as a way of contributing 'to the strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation'. ⁸³⁷ That the pastors try to make connections between different practices within the congregation is in line with the findings of Saxegaard.⁸³⁸ He described pastoral leadership as a complex activity where the pastor can be described 'as a boundary object and broker between communities/activities'.⁸³⁹ A congregation consists of many sub-practices, and he uses the metaphor of a theatre house to try to describe how pastors negotiate between the different activities within the theatre when realizing church.⁸⁴⁰ Jon thus explicitly pointed to involving the youths in the confirmation service as being a strategic activity connecting different practices within the congregation.

This way of contributing to the strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation has ecclesiological implications. The attempts to build connections between the Sunday service and the rest of the activities in the congregation, and the emphasis on fellowship and community, implies an ecclesiology where both the Sunday service and the other fellowships are important, and where everything in the congregation is seen as an entirety.

⁸³⁵ 'at det blir noen mekanismer av det'.

⁸³⁶ 'det å få flest mulig involvert er menighetsbyggende... Det er bare dumt, ustrategisk, å ikke gjøre det ekstra i forhold til involveringen'.

⁸³⁷ "Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁸³⁸ Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church'.

⁸³⁹ Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church', 128.

⁸⁴⁰ Saxegaard, 'Realizing Church', 267-68.

Olaug told me that she wished for more involvement in the services in Øyra; she also pointed to involvement as a way of bringing in much-needed expertise. Among other things, she wanted more people to be involved as lead worshippers, as they might also have an interest in contributing to prepare for services, especially regarding choosing the hymns. As I interpret Olaug, involvement of others is thus also a strategic way of increasing the quality of the service. Here, the focus is not on the people who must be empowered, but on the service and the church who need people's expertise. I thus suggest this perspective challenges the term empowering. This term can imply the pastor's being the one with the expertice empowered by other people to contribute. Here, she points to how the service can be empowered by other people's expertise. Lars voiced a similar perspective (albeit somewhat implicit), when he stated his wish for a group who could be responsible for leading the intercession in the services. He felt that they could add something by praying from their perspective, from their own thoughts and experiences. Here, Lars was also pointing to another value in involving others, namely that it gave authority⁸⁴¹ to those involved.

In contrast to the other pastors, Astrid had a different point of departure regarding the involvement of others. As I interpret her, she did not agree with, and declared an opposition to the core concept of involving others. She used herself as an example, pointing out that if she were to attend a service in another congregation, she would not want to be asked to volunteer:

I know that if I should choose to attend a service, then—then I would like to go to a service with quality, and I, literally, for God's sake, don't ask me to contribute. I want to be allowed to, I want to feel *seen* by being allowed to come receiving my hymnbook, sit down in the bench or the chair and *be* there and be susceptible, to be in [...] the congregational responses. I don't want to feel that the quality of the service increases because I am allowed to be a reader. It is not what I need when I come to church.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴¹ myndiggjør.

⁸⁴² 'Jeg vet det at hvis jeg skal velge en gudstjeneste å gå til, så gå- vil jeg like å gå til en gudstjeneste med kvalitet, og jeg, bokstavelig talt, for Guds skyld, ikke spør meg om å bidra. Jeg vil ha lov til, jeg vil føle meg *sett* ved å få log til å komme, få salmeboken min, sette meg i benken eller stolen og *være* der og være mottakelig, å være i [...] menighetssvarene i leddene, og jeg vil ikke føle at kvaliteten på gudstjenesten øker for at jeg skal få lov til å være tekstleser. Det er ikke det jeg har behov for når jeg kommer til kirken'.

In general, Astrid did not like involvement just for the sake of involvement, and claimed that involvement should have a purpose. She emphasized that, instead, the goal should be quality, which she defined as 'something enriching the service, adding something more'.⁸⁴³ As an example, she mentioned involving people with disabilities: Here, she explained, involvement can express equality and belonging as a quality. Involving children and confirmands can also provide added value. She told me: 'It's not that I don't want to give someone else a chance (...) but it's what works communicatively'.⁸⁴⁴ She continued: 'It's just that I want it to be of a certain level and quality. I'm not embarrassed to say so'.⁸⁴⁵

5.4.3. How Did the Pastors Interact with the People Involved?

In general, I observed little taking place between the pastors and any assistants or staff members during the service. Indeed, it appeared that everyone's roles were distinct and clarified. The pastors performed their tasks, and the others did theirs. As Elsa pointed out, 'I know they are there. I am confident they know their tasks and their roles'. Astrid told me that the people involved in the service on the day I observed her were 'top-notch', indicating that she trusted them and had confidence that they would perform their duties reliably. It seems as if the roles are set, and that further communication is not needed. As Selznick states, leadership declines in importance when roles are determined, and everyone knows what to do.⁸⁴⁶ A natural interpretation of this finding, though, is that the service is well planned, and that the people involved know what to do.

That people know their tasks and roles can depend on at least two things: First, that the pastors had carried out pastoral leadership in planning the services in advance. When Elsa pointed out that she was confident that the other people involved knew what to do, this is probably because she has planned the service well. Second, she also stated that she trusted them. They had worked together before, and she knew she could trust them. Astrid described her people as 'top-notch'. This statement indicates that she relies on these people: they know what to do, and when.

⁸⁴³ 'noe som *beriker* gudstjenesten, får frem noe *mer*'.

⁸⁴⁴ 'Det går ikke på at jeg ikke vil slippe andre til, men det, det er hva som kommunikativt fungerer'.

⁸⁴⁵ 'Det er rett og slett at jeg tenker at det skal være et visst nivå og en viss kvalitet i det. Det er jeg ikke flau for å si'.

⁸⁴⁶ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 92.

Although some of the services were carried out with little or no communication between the assigned roles, there were exceptions. In some instances, the pastors had to pay particular attention to people involved in the service. As noted earlier, Olaug paid special attention to the assistant, making sure he knew what to do, when. She looked at him while introducing the upcoming liturgical elements ('informing' him),⁸⁴⁷ to ensure that he was ready. I interpret this practice as a way of securing him and empowering him for the task, while at the same time carrying out pastoral leadership by overseeing the performance and results of the service.⁸⁴⁸

The other incidents where the pastors communicated with people involved were largely related to services in which children and youths were involved. In Elvebakken, three girls from the children's choir had been asked to be lead worshippers and read the gospel and prayers in the intercession. Before the readings, Elsa approached the girls, helped them find the text in the book, and stood beside them. During the intercession, there was a misunderstanding. The organist started to play in the middle of one of the prayers, which made one of the girls falter: Elsa moved over to her and helped her continue the prayer. When she did that, she supported them and helped them be confident in their tasks, thus also securing the quality of the service.

In my interview with him following the confirmation service in Nordbø, Jon said that he understood his role as giving positive feedback to the people involved, throughout the service. He wanted to show enthusiasm so that all involved could feel it, and told me he gave many 'thumbs up' to the young people during the services. The integrating role thus consisted of motivating and supporting the young people involved.

As the examples show, involving others in the service usually meant that it was impossible to plan and organize everything in advance. Changes could occur at the last minute, and this demanded that the pastor be flexible, able to adjust, and able to handle the unexpected. There were two examples in the empirical material of people doing something unexpected in the service. In the regular service in Lia, there was no Sunday school because of the long weekend and many people, including all the Sunday school teachers, had left for the weekend. However, when Sigmund introduced the film for the children (the alternative to

⁸⁴⁷ Mintzberg, *Managing*, 52, 90.

⁸⁴⁸ Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations', 52.

Sunday school that day), one of the Sunday school teachers interrupted the service, picked up a microphone, and invited the children to Sunday school. She had opted not to go away after all, and when she arrived at the church, she decided that it was a shame not to have Sunday school that morning. Sigmund seemed to handle this sudden change well, and this may be an indication that he did not get easily stressed. It may also indicate that he appreciated the laity taking responsibility and felt that services did not have to be overly formal, because afterward, he said, 'This is a gift, to the congregation and me, that we have people like this... I had no problem with her grabbing the microphone and doing that spontaneously'.⁸⁴⁹

The confirmation service in Nordbø had been planned in detail. After the Gloria, the band was to begin playing the first of two songs immediately, however, the singer in the band suddenly decided to greet the confirmands. Although Jon told me that he felt this greeting interrupted the flow of the service, he acknowledged that what the young person did was valuable in other ways. 'He's a guy with a lot of charisma, right? So I think every mother sitting in church was thinking, "Wow! I have to send my daughter there"^{1,850}

Lars mentioned the distribution of authority as an advantage of involving others in the services. Although the other pastors did not explicitly voice a contrasting viewpoint, they did reference examples illustrating the challenges involved in distributing authority. In Nordbø, Jon had asked the worship band to find two songs building on the Gloria, giving them responsibility for choosing the songs. He told me that this was a way of showing them trust. However, just before the service started, he asked them what they had decided to sing, calling this question a 'tiny safety valve'⁸⁵¹.

The band had indeed chosen two songs, but these were songs that Jon described as having a motif and melody not appropriate for a confirmation service. They had chosen 'a Good Friday—melody, in a way, or song, like "he was tortured to death" and "the blood was shed for me" [...] Beautiful and nice, but it was *totally* off'.⁸⁵² After the first service, he had gently

⁸⁴⁹ 'Det er jo en gave, til meg og menigheten at vi har sånne… Det gjorde ikke meg noen ting at hun tok mikrofonen og laget en sånn invitasjon til søndagsskolen på sparket'.

⁸⁵⁰ 'Det er klart at han er jo en fyr med masse karisma, ikke sant, sånn at jeg tenker jo at enhver mor som satt i salen tenker "Oj! Ja, dit må jeg sende datteren min".

⁸⁵¹ 'En ørliten sikkerhetsventil'.

⁸⁵² 'sånn langfredagsmelodi på en måte, eller sang. Sånn 'han ble pint helt til døden' og 'blodet rant for meg'.[..]. Vakkert og fint, men det er *helt* på siden'.

asked them to make some changes. Jon said that the quality of the service as a whole likely suffered a bit because of the distribution of authority, but it was nevertheless of great value to give the young people this responsibility. Chuckling, Jon said, 'People probably sit there and "Wow! This was probably important". It was a bit like that in church'. ⁸⁵³ The way he laughed indicated that although he saw some disadvantages and challenges in distributing authority, he thought it did little harm.

In my interview with Elsa, we touched on the fact that the person responsible for decorating in Elvebakken had decorated with fake flowers. Without putting it into many words, we agreed that the quality of the decoration had not been very good. Elsa admitted to me that she hoped nobody else would notice, and she voiced a difficult question: 'What do you do when you have volunteers who are sweet and friendly and all that, but not gifted? I cannot tell her—and *definitively*, not *her*¹!⁸⁵⁴ Although Elsa emphasized this as a rare challenge, it did occur on occasion. And she did not know how to handle this leadership task.

5.5. The Pastors' Sayings About the Liturgy

In the above sub-chapters, I focused mostly on how the pastors presided, how they related to the liturgy, and how they interacted with artefacts and people. Moreover, I referenced some of the reasons they gave for their practices. In this sub-chapter, I present and analyze the liturgical positions of the pastors, moreover, I explore whether their practice corresponded to their intentions. In the following, I elaborate on the diverging positions (5.5.1) before I further analyze how these differences can be understood (5.5.2).

5.5.1. A Presentation of the Diverging Positions

In analyzing the pastors' sayings of the liturgy, I placed the pastors into three categories. The first category of pastors had a strong 'emphasis on liturgy and tradition' (Gunnar and Astrid), the second had a 'functional understanding' of the liturgy (Jon and Lars), and the third

⁸⁵³ 'Men folk sitter jo bare liksom 'Oi! Det var sikkert viktig, det'. Det var litt sånn i salen'.

⁸⁵⁴ 'Hva gjør du når du har frivillige som er velvillige og søte og alt det der, men som ikke ser akkurat den biten?... Men jeg kan ikke si det til henne. Nei, jeg kan ikke, og *i hvert fall* ikke henne...'

category of pastors expressed a middle position, as they appeared 'unclear, pragmatic, or ambivalent' (Olaug, Elsa, and Sigmund).

An Emphasis on Liturgy and Tradition

Gunnar and Astrid represented what I choose to name a traditional liturgical position. Astrid told me that she had a fundamental and deep joy in the liturgy:

I have always been very fond of the liturgy and the rhythm and in hymns and in *this.* [...] Liturgy is not anything I fool around with. It is something I approach with some reverence which I can fill in my own way. But this is long traditions I in a way am designated to administer. So, I have had this deep liturgical joy.⁸⁵⁵

She moreover characterized herself as conservative when it came to the liturgy, with 'a deep sympathy for the tradition and for something that endures over time'.⁸⁵⁶

Gunnar had a passion for the service and the liturgy and called for a renewed awareness of the liturgy. He emphasized the service as a holy act, and sometimes found it a bit overwhelming to think about what he was part of; he expressed a seriousness regarding the liturgy. Gunnar moreover expressed that he was preoccupied with 'the intersection between the services and the Christian life and the cultural life, so the regular cultural life, being there. So, my ideal, is almost that "you attend what you want in the weekdays, but on Sundays you attend the service". This is how it is'.⁸⁵⁷ As I interpret him, the Sunday service is the focal point in Christian life. This statement moreover demonstrates how he relates the Sunday services to the rest of the Christian life. For Gunnar, regular cultural life is important. Implicit in this statement is an ecclesiology not focusing on building Christian fellowships besides the services. In his ecclesiology, the Sunday service is the focal point. Besides that, Christians should participate in regular life in society.

The congregation in Indrevik was the only congregation in this study that included a Gospel procession in the service. When we spoke about the Gospel procession, an example of where Gunnar positioned himself liturgically emerged. He commented on this, saying, 'By

⁸⁵⁵ 'Jeg har alltid vært glad i liturgien og i det pulsslaget og i salmer og i *dette*. [...] Liturgi er ikke noe jeg tuller med. Det er noe jeg går til med ærbødighet, som jeg kan fylle på min måte, men dette er lange tradisjoner som jeg på et vis er satt til å forvalte. Så jeg har hatt den veldig dype sånn liturgiske gleden'.
⁸⁵⁶ 'en dyp sans for tradisjonen og for at noe lever altså over tid'.

⁸⁵⁷ 'skjæringspunktet mellom gudstjenesteliv og kristenliv og kulturliv, altså det vanlige kulturlivet, som er der, så mitt sånn ideal, nesten, det er jo 'du går på hva du vil på hverdagene, men på søndagen går du til gudstjeneste'. Så det er, sånn er det, ja'.

inclination, I could have held [the textbook] higher and even kissed it. I feel, however, that that would have crossed the line'.⁸⁵⁸ I interpret this reflection as a negotiation between his background and personal preferences and the context in which he was presiding. He opted for the practice that was more aligned with the congregation's preferences than with his own. Therefore, he modified himself when presiding.

A Functional Understanding

Jon was the pastor with the most functional approach to liturgy and who expressed this most explicitly: 'I prefer functionality before tradition... That's like my hobbyhorse... We have to ask whether things work instead of asking what's allowed, for instance—to push it to extremes'. Here, Jon laughed, and then continued, 'I never ask, I never check the order of worship, and what is allowed, I just do whatever I think functions best'.⁸⁵⁹ I interpret his use of the word 'function' in this context to be equivalent to 'what works or what is preferable'. When Jon distanced himself from tradition, I interpret him as referring to the liturgical tradition. It is, however, important to have in mind that emphasizing the liturgical tradition is relatively new in the Church of Norway.⁸⁶⁰

When I remarked on his use of some parts of the old liturgies, Jon replied that following the liturgy was not the essence of the service reform; flexibility, he felt, was the essence. He moreover contrasted this flexibility (as one of the core concepts of the reform) with regulations. For Jon, flexibility trumped the regulated liturgies. I interpret this as a critique of the reform, in which Jon was pointing to an inconsistency between the intentions and core concepts of the reform, and the result in terms of liturgy and rubrics. For Jon, the regulative limits were in a sense enacted by the congregation and the parish council, who he

⁸⁵⁸ 'Jeg kunne nok av legning så kunne jeg nok ha holdt den [tekstboken] høyere, men jeg føler nok at det er å gå et steg for langt'.

⁸⁵⁹ 'Jeg er opptatt av funksjon fremfor tradisjon... Det er liksom min kjepphest. Vi må spørre hvordan fungerer ting, i stedet for å spørre hva som er lov, for eksempel. Så jeg spør aldri, jeg sjekker aldri gudstjenesteordningene og hva som er lov, jeg bare gjør det som jeg mener fungerer best, for å sette det litt på spissen (humrer)'.

⁸⁶⁰ In a historical perspective, the liturgies in Norway have had a focus on the word and the preaching. The order of the service from 1685-1889, was named 'Salmemessen' [the Hymnal Mass] and had a pedagogical focus in teaching the Christian faith through singing the liturgical elements. Tveito argues also that some elements in the liturgy as well as symbolic dimensions were lost. However, he sees a line from 1889 to 2011 where the old churchly traditions have been implemented step by step. Tveito, *Gudstjenestens historie*, 139-40.

experienced as guardians of the liturgy. They confronted him if he did something upon which they had not agreed.⁸⁶¹

While he was willing to lead the congregation using the practices with which they were familiar, his overall perspective was, 'If something else functions better, I do it boldly'.⁸⁶² He wanted it to be engaging to attend services, and he did not like the perspective of attending services for the sake of God and not for oneself. 'We have to dare to say the service can be experienced as boring, and then we must do something. We cannot just continue and continue because it's pious'.⁸⁶³ This statement can be interpreted as a critique of a part of history, when attending services was required by statute.⁸⁶⁴ However, it can also be interpreted as an indirect critique of the approach taken in one of the first sentences in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke*: that, while people can have many reasons for attending services, the most profound reason is not found in people, but in God, calling them to come together.⁸⁶⁵ As I interpret Jon, this approach is the wrong starting point, and can be used as an excuse for doing nothing. The service must be attractive to people.

Although Lars was not as explicit as Jon, he also stated that he was not a slave to *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke*: 'It has to be suitable; it must function'.⁸⁶⁶ However, he did change 'small things', as he called them, 'and then we see if the bishop reacts'.⁸⁶⁷ For Lars, the fluidity reached its limits when it met the bishop.⁸⁶⁸ Here, he laughed, but he also noted that he does not change the baptismal liturgy, nor would he remove the Apostle's Creed or the Lord's Prayer. (However, as we have seen, Lars did make some changes in the baptismal liturgy, skipping the biblical text at the end.)

⁸⁶¹ This reaction was within their rights Den norske kirke. *Gudstjeneste*, D56 page 5.10.

⁸⁶² 'Men hvis det fungerer bedre med noe annet, så gjør jeg det med stor frimodighet'.

⁸⁶³ 'Vi må våge å si at gudstjenesten kan oppleves kjedelig, og da må vi gjøre noe med det, ja ikke sånn at vi bare skal fortsette og fortsette fordi at det er så fromt'.

 ⁸⁶⁴ Bernt T. Oftestad, *Den norske statsreligionen - fra øvrighetskirke til demokratisk statskirke* (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget AS, 1998), https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009030900113?page=69.
 ⁸⁶⁵ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 1.1.

⁸⁶⁶ 'Det [sic] må være *tjenlig*, dette må *fungere*'.

⁸⁶⁷ 'og så ser vi om biskopen reagerer'.

⁸⁶⁸ This aligns with the regulations found in Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, D68 page 5.13.

A Middle Position: Unclear, Pragmatic, or Ambivalent

I put the three other pastors in what I name a middle position. In this middle position, the pastors were unclear, pragmatic, or ambivalent. Olaug said little about her position. She told me that she found the order of the service to be expressive;⁸⁶⁹at the same time, she adapted to distinct practices liturgically. She also told me that she had not taken a specific position in liturgical debates in the congregation. For the most part, she listened to the congregation and what they wanted. In other words, she was not outspoken about her liturgical position—neither to the congregation, nor to me in the interview. This may have been because she was relatively new as a pastor and had not yet found her own position, or perhaps she had not reflected much about where to position herself. Another potential interpretation, however, is that her position here was deliberate, as a strategy to manage the different contexts in which she conducted services. However, such a strategy can also be interpreted as conflict averse.

Her approach raises the question of pastoral leadership and the use of authority in the local processes. On the one hand, the general regulations for Sunday services state that the parish council is responsible for preparing and enacting the local order of worship.⁸⁷⁰ On the other hand, the pastor has a legal authority residing in Paragraph seven⁸⁷¹ and 10⁸⁷² in the official regulations for pastor in the Church of Norway, the general regulations for Sundays services,⁸⁷³ as well as the ordination liturgy.⁸⁷⁴ The pastor is a member of the parish council. Moreover, the regulation states that if the parish chooses to have a committee planning the local order of worship, the pastor should be part of the committee. The expertise of the pastor in theology and liturgics is thus emphasized.⁸⁷⁵ The other staff members being involved in services should also be given the right to comment on the suggested order. There is thus a possible tension between the parish council, the pastor, and other staff members involved in the services. The process can thus depend on how the pastor interprets her role

⁸⁶⁹ She used the word *rik*.

⁸⁷⁰ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 5.9-5.10.

⁸⁷¹ My translation of part of §7: 'Forrettende prest har ansvaret for å lede forberedelsen og gjennomføringen av gudstjenester og kirkelige handlinger'.

⁸⁷² 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁸⁷³ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, Number 71, page 5.14.

⁸⁷⁴ Del II Kirkelige handlinger, 162-73.

⁸⁷⁵ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, Number 52, page 5.9.

in the parish council. Should she be outspoken, put forth her own opinions, and thus use both her legal, traditional, and possible also charismatic authority to convince the parish council and the staff of her position, or should she mainly listen to the different opinions and try to manoeuvre them and contribute to the best possible solutions? As I interpret Olaug, her reluctance in the interview mirrors her reluctance to use her authority in the parish.

Elsa expressed that the congregation should be allowed to shape their services. For Elsa, it was essential to have variety and diversity, and for the church to offer space for many ways to express oneself. Thus, it seemed as if Elsa wanted to make the most out of the flexibility given in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske Kirke*. For her, the flexibility made it possible to have different kinds of services within the same congregation.

Sigmund leaned toward the liturgical approach, although I ultimately placed him in the middle position. Sigmund described having a background in both the church and in charismatic organizations. As mentioned earlier, when he attended a church retreat many years prior, he had 'a strong experience of leaning on something fundamental, something solid, and something that had been sustainable for two thousand years'.⁸⁷⁶ This experience impacted him strongly:

I entered it and felt that eh [...] (short pause) a *little* and cautious attraction towards the more high church without me necessarily sensing it being my style. I have probably had a kind of inherent ambivalence where I realize that the high church [tradition] with its liturgical consciousness, that there is a sustainability which I eh really think is what is needed. At the same time, I feel that in one way I don't believe in it enough.⁸⁷⁷

As I interpret Sigmund's situation, his ambivalence was also related to the situation in Lia. The congregation in Lia was strongly marked by the lay organizations, and there had clearly been some conflicts related to the shape of the worship services. If Sigmund infused the congregation with values or theologies from a high church tradition, it would be challenging.

⁸⁷⁶ 'En *sterk* erfaring av å kunne lene seg mot noe fundamental, noe solid, noe som har vært bærekraftig I to tusen år'.

⁸⁷⁷ 'Og jeg gikk inn i det og kjente vel at eh (kort pause) en sånn *liten* forsiktig indre dragning mot det mer høykirkelige uten at jeg klarte helt å kjenne at det var min stil så har jeg nok hatt en litt sånn iboende ambivalens der jeg erkjennest at dypest sett så tror jeg at den høykirkeligheten med den liturgiske bevisstheten at der er det en bærekraft som eh jeg tror egentlig er det som trengs. Samtidig så kjenner jeg at jeg ikke på en måte tror helt nok på det'.

5.5.2. How Can these Diverging Positions Be Understood?

When, in the following, I try to understand the diverging practices, I draw on Hughes. When he approaches worship as meaning, he focuses mainly on hypothetical worshippers. However, he gives a brief description of what he calls 'hypothetical worship leaders'.⁸⁷⁸ These descriptions are not gained from empirical studies, and as Hughes emphasizes, they are hypothetical. However, I find these descriptions to be a good starting point for interpreting the pastors' different understandings of the role of the liturgy. According to Hughes, 'There will be leaders whose chief confidence for the event's being meaningful is vested in the familiarity and durability of the liturgical forms—the words, the actions, the vestments, the rubrics. Such leaders see themselves as subordinate in some sense to the ritual prescriptions, as the facilitator or enactor of these'.⁸⁷⁹

I find echoes of this description in Astrid's and Gunnar's practices. In particular, Astrid emphasized the familiarity and durability of the liturgical forms as important. I moreover interpret both Gunnar and Astrid as emphasizing the liturgy as meaning, or as practising with the understanding that, following Lathrop, '[t]he meaning of the liturgy resides first of all in the liturgy itself'.⁸⁸⁰ Gunnar accentuated the liturgical actions. When he stated that he wanted 'to tie a line of communication between the people present and God',⁸⁸¹ he was positioning himself as a facilitator.

For the most part, these two pastors remained true to the liturgical rubrics. In this sense, I found the two pastors to be subordinate to the ritual prescriptions. However, these two pastors were also consciously reflecting on the liturgy, and their subordination had its limits. Astrid changed elements in the baptismal liturgy, while Gunnar made a deliberate choice to move the Lord's Prayer from the Eucharist liturgy to the baptismal liturgy. These choices show that they were not unconditionally subordinate, and would adjust the liturgy if they deemed it necessary to do so.

Hughes moreover describes pastors who have more personal intervention in their practice: 'But other leaders will presume a great deal more personal intervention, taking it for granted

⁸⁷⁸ Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

⁸⁷⁹ Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

⁸⁸⁰ Lathrop, *Holy Things*, 5.

⁸⁸¹ See 5.6.

that their words, their style, their formulations will be the means which persuade, convince or convert'.⁸⁸² Of all of the pastors, Lars best fits this description: he added content to the liturgy and included several explanations introducing liturgical elements—specifically, the confession of sins and the Gloria—as he apparently felt these were not self-explanatory. In other words, he presumed more personal intervention than the other pastors. As I interpret Lars, however, he was practising from an understanding that there *is* meaning inherent in the liturgy. However, the liturgy does not always sufficiently express this meaning, and he, as a pastor, must add elements to make that meaning explicit. His adjustments indicate that he used his own words to clarify and communicate the meaning for and to the congregation.

Thus, although Lars' practice is aligned with Hughes' description above, it is not an identical match. We cannot say that Lars' practice unequivocally means that he believes that it is his style and formulations that make the service meaningful. Thus, I would position Lars, along with the other pastors, as falling somewhere between the two ends of the continuum to which Hughes referred. All the pastors expressed that the liturgy conveys meaning. As Hughes expresses, 'Most leaders, I suppose, fall somewhere between the two, allowing to the familiar forms an importance of signification and yet assuming that they, the leaders, also have the capacity to render those forms meaningful or otherwise'.⁸⁸³ Having the two ends of the continuum be distinct, however, makes it easier to demonstrate the differences between the implicit and explicit liturgical understanding of the pastors, as they can be positioned along that continuum.

Although 'the hypothetical worship leader' proposed by Hughes contributes to the interpretation and understanding of the pastors' sayings of the liturgy, I claim that it does not capture the essence of Jon's understanding. For Jon, the matter of functionality was the overall argument. As I interpret Jon, sticking to the liturgy and relying on the liturgy is ok if the liturgy functions, or conveys meaning. However, if the liturgy does not function or convey meaning, Jon does not subordinate himself to the liturgy. This, however, does not mean that he takes for granted that *his* 'formulations will be the means which persuade, convince or convert'.⁸⁸⁴ However, according to him, the formulations must function. A

⁸⁸² Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

⁸⁸³ Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

⁸⁸⁴ Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

natural question could thus be *who* decides what functions? As I interpret him, at least some of these decisions must be made locally.

In describing the first category of pastors, Hughes highlights their emphasis on familiarity and the durability of the liturgical forms: the words, the actions, the vestments, the rubrics. When describing the opposite position as hypothetical worship leaders, he highlights their emphasis on their own words and sayings. I find it crucial to interpret these different positions, considering both international and national traditions and movements. The pastors are themselves, as well as the congregations they work in, marked by diverging traditions and movements.

Looking at Astrid and Gunnar's position, it is reasonable to align their position with the liturgical movement. The liturgical movement is a global trend influencing all branches of Christianity.⁸⁸⁵ This movement emphasizes the community and the church as the body of Christ, and protests individualism: Here, '[t]he intention has not been to *repeat*, but to rediscover certain principles of worship that had been forgotten or overlaid'.⁸⁸⁶ Fenwick and Spinks point to the following characteristics of the movement: the 'struggle for community'; community participation; a rediscovery of the Bible, the Eucharist, other Christian traditions, and the Early Church as a model; and an emphasis on the vernacular and on proclamation and social involvement.⁸⁸⁷ The liturgical movement has also led to a general awareness of and willingness to learn from other Christian traditions. As Fenwick and Spinks point out, '[t]he result is a remarkable degree of similarity between once widely-different traditions, and the pleasant discovery of the familiar in each other's worship'.⁸⁸⁸

The emphasis on rediscovering principles of worship aligns well with what I interpret to be Gunnar and Astrid's position. They emphasize the liturgical tradition and call for type authenticity as they want the liturgy to be 'faithful to our common Judeo-Christian roots'.⁸⁸⁹ Gunnar called for a renewed awareness of the liturgy and moreover emphasized the church as the body of Christ. I suggest that Gunnar's strong position in favour of the liturgical movement challenged individual cultural tendencies. For him, tradition and the collectivistic

⁸⁸⁵ Fenwick and Spinks, Worship in Transition.

⁸⁸⁶ Fenwick and Spinks, Worship in Transition, 7.

⁸⁸⁷ Fenwick and Spinks, Worship in Transition, 5-11.

⁸⁸⁸ Fenwick and Spinks, Worship in Transition, 10.

⁸⁸⁹ Stauffer, 'Christian Worship', 39.

approach in the service were decisive. Making individual choices in the liturgy, thus did not seem like an easy choice for him. As I interpret him, he emphasized the worldwide liturgical tradition, and for him, it was important to stick to the tradition and thus to the global church.

It is evident that the liturgical movement has influenced the latest church service reforms in the church of Norway, not the least the 2011 reform.⁸⁹⁰ Although I interpret Gunnar as being more liturgically-oriented than the official position of the Church of Norway—or, as he described himself, as having 'a kind of Catholic background'⁸⁹¹—it is possible to argue that the reasoning behind Astrid's and Gunnar's liturgical position aligns with the position of the Church of Norway. Comparing Astrid's and Gunnar's sayings of the liturgy with how they related to the liturgy, it is important to be aware of the resemblance between their position and the order of worship and its regulations. To some extent, what I have interpreted to be subordination or loyalty could be something else. Because of their position in being close to the liturgy of the Church of Norway, they were not in need of opposing much of the liturgy. However, I have already pointed out that their subordination or loyalty had its limits, and that, if they found it pertinent, they also made changes.

Hughes assumed other leaders would presume more personal intervention.⁸⁹² In order to understand some of the reasoning behind their positions, I interpret Jon and Lars as being influenced by two different—although to some extent concurrent—traditions and movements, namely the charismatic movement, with its national movement Oase,⁸⁹³ and the traditional lay movement in Norway. Halldorf asserts that there is 'some kind of Pentecostal revolution'⁸⁹⁴ affecting Christianity and the way of worship worldwide.⁸⁹⁵ The two pastors had a multifaceted background. They were familiar with different traditions and had been influenced by charismatic traditions and lay organizations.⁸⁹⁶

 ⁸⁹⁰ Tveito, *Gudstjenestens historie*, 154-56. Christoffersen, 'Sammen for Guds ansikt', 26-32.
 ⁸⁹¹ See 3.9.

⁸⁹² Hughes, Worship as Meaning, 14.

⁸⁹³ This movement has influenced pastors and congregations in the Church of Norway. <u>https://www.oase.no/english/</u>

⁸⁹⁴ 'ett slags pentekostal revolution'. Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', 169.

⁸⁹⁵ Halldorf, 'Mötet i frikyrklighet och väckelse', 169.

⁸⁹⁶ See 3.9.

Although there have been local variations, prayer houses generally have had a shared meeting culture. Meetings could have an intimate and personal character, with an emphasis on the word and preaching, and prayers and testimonies where most of the people who attended also participated.⁸⁹⁷ Moreover, an essential element in these traditions, is the preference of functionality. The emphasis is not put on the means, but rather on the goal. According to Martin, a characteristic of music in revival movements and among evangelical Christians, is that the message is considered far more important than the form. The message must reach out.⁸⁹⁸ This approach is thus closer to an understanding of 'what functions'. Lars and Jon were familiar with these traditions, and for me, it seems as if they brought with them some fundamental elements from these traditions.

Their backgrounds are thus in contrast to Astrid's and Gunnar's backgrounds. Astrid's background was restricted to the Church of Norway: she was not familiar with the lay organizations, nor had she been involved with the lay movement. Gunnar had not been involved in traditional lay organizations since he was young; he knew there was a prayer house in his parish, but he did not know about the activity there or the people involved.

Putting up the two main positions and pointing to the different movements influencing both the pastors and the congregations, I find that the pastors to have a third position—in the middle—could not be placed in either of the two other categories. However, I interpret them as living in the tension between these understandings, movements, and traditions. Sigmund explicitly expressed the ambivalence and conflict between the two distinct positions. On the one hand, he said tradition was the future for the church. On the other hand, it seems as if the tradition and culture of the congregation is more aligned to the charismatic and lay movement.

Wagle argues that the liturgy reform in 2011 can be understood in the tension between tradition and renewal.⁸⁹⁹ I concur with Hellemo when he points out that it can be

⁸⁹⁷ Aagedal, *Bedehusfolket*, 12, 49.

⁸⁹⁸ David Martin, *Christian Language and its Mutations: Essays in Sociological Understanding*, Theology and Religion in Interdisciplinary Perspective Series, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 49-50. See also Repstad's reflections on Martin's findings in a Norwegian context. Repstad, 'Innledning', 33-36.

⁸⁹⁹ Finn Wagle, 'Etterord: ... liv fra kilder utenfor oss selv', in *Gudstjeneste à la carte. Liturgireformen i Den norske kirke*, ed. Anne Haugland Balsnes et al. (Oslo: Verbum Akademisk, 2015), 287.

problematic to stick to the dichotomy or dilemma between tradition and renewal,⁹⁰⁰ or, I find it problematic, at least, when analyzing the findings here. In my interpretation of the essence of what I have named the functional approach, the essential criterion was not whether something was traditional or new, the question was whether it functioned or worked or not.

5.6. The Pastors' Intended Way of Presiding

In 5.1.1, I gave a description and categorization of the general impression of the presiding of the pastors. While I categorized Jon and Lars as 'loose and informal', Astrid and Gunnar were 'firm and formal'. Olaug, Sigmund, and Elsa were put in the 'in the middle'. The pastors' intended way of presiding is moreover closely related to how they wanted to facilitate meaning-making.

Jon and Lars both had a functional approach to the liturgy. Although they did not use many of the same words, there were similarities between them. Both wanted to be a 'clear leader'⁹⁰¹ of the service. When I asked Jon about his main task as presider, he answered:

It is to in a way guide the congregation through the celebration, the worship celebration, to be a 'clear leader', a in *the best meaning* [of the word] a television presenter, in a way. This [description] can be misunderstood in a liturgical context, but I often think of myself as a television presenter, without chatting. And in the same way as [the television presenter, I], think like that about the dramaturgical. It should be timing, it should be like something felt like being well directed, and that someone is leading us through. It shall not be like 'yes, all, now we have a prayer'. It shall be a little 'now it is this', 'this is what is happening'.⁹⁰²

Jon used the metaphor of a television presenter to describe how he wanted to preside. Being a television presenter is a profession, and the metaphor can thus imply an emphasis on quality. Jon highlighted some characteristics of his understanding of the work of a

⁹⁰⁰ Geir Hellemo, 'Gudstjeneste - fornyelse og tradisjon i samspill', *Halvårsskrift for praktisk teologi* 23, no. 1 (2006).

⁹⁰¹ tydelig leder.

⁹⁰² 'Da er det å på en måte veilede menigheten gjennom feiringen, gudstjenestefeiringen, altså være en tydelig leder, en i *beste forstand* en programleder, på en måte, altså det kan jo fort misforstås i en liturgisk sammenheng, men jeg tenker ofte på meg som programleder, uten å være pratete. Og på samme måte som liksom en tenker altså at, tenker sånn om hele dramaturgien, at det skal være timing, det skal være sånn at det oppleves som vi er med på noe som er godt regissert, og noen leder oss gjennom. Det skal ikke være sånn"ja, dere, nå tar vi en bønn" liksom. Det skal være litt sånn "nå er det dette", "det er dette som skjer", ja'.

television presenter. He emphasized that the dramaturgical included good timing, giving a feeling that the service is well-planned and directed. This understanding can moreover mean that there are no unplanned pauses and that the transition from one item to another runs smoothly. The introductions given by the television presenter are planned and wellformulated. There is moreover an element of control. The television presenter knows the programme well and what is going to happen. She is thus prepared to handle the unexpected.

By saying that this metaphor can be misunderstood in a liturgical context and being explicit that he wanted to be a television presenter in *the best meaning* of the word, Jon suggested that the metaphor can have some negative connotations as well. Using such a metaphor can have diverging connotations. For some, the metaphor could possibly have connotations of a person chatting and making people comfortable, using humour, and talking about everyday matters. It is also possible that such a metaphor could lead to an understanding of a commercialization of the liturgy and the worship services. At its worst, the television presenter thus becomes someone who only introduces the next element in the liturgy trying to make it as 'tasty' as possible. As if liturgy can be compared to introducing a guest or a common question or problem.

Jon wanted moreover to be perceived as 'a reliable and steady person¹⁹⁰³ and the one in control. He moreover did not want to have to look at the book to ensure that what he was saying or doing was correct, as what he did *was* correct. Jon also wanted to come across as cheerful, and he characterized himself as expressive, informal, and having a twinkle in his eye. It was important for him 'that it is *me* there, that I do not have a characteristic pastoral voice or strange gestures or things like that'.⁹⁰⁴

Speaking as he normally did was also important to Lars. He noted, 'If my wife had experienced me not doing that, she would have let me know...⁹⁰⁵ When Lars presided, he wanted to be calm, clear, and present. He wanted to be in the liturgy and give life to the different liturgical elements, so that everything he said or sang came from his heart. He strived for excellent services with quality and flow, and he wanted them to be moving. Lars

⁹⁰³ trygg og stødig.

⁹⁰⁴ 'at det er *jeg* som er der, at jeg ikke liksom har prestestemme eller har sånne formidlingsfakter eller sånne ting'.

⁹⁰⁵ 'Hadde kona mi opplevd at jeg ikke gjør det så får jeg høre det i hvert fall...'

wanted to be used by and to honour God with his gifts: to communicate and get the message across while also stepping aside. However, as he emphasized, the service is not solely dependent on him.

I interpret Jon's and Lars' intentions in presiding to be a struggle for moral authenticity and charismatic authority. They expressed the importance of being themselves in the liturgy, letting their personality shine through and the liturgy come from their heart. They intended to be true to themselves and made some value-based choices as to how they wanted to appear. These elements could contribute to their moral authenticity.⁹⁰⁶ Moreover, I also claim that this was a way of building their charismatic authority. By using their charisma or personality, and emphasizing their personality in and through the liturgy, they emphasized building their charismatic authority. The charismatic authority, though, is dependent upon and must be recognized by other people.⁹⁰⁷

Gunnar and Astrid both emphasized a traditional liturgical position. These two pastors generally used different words than Jon and Lars to describe how they wanted to preside. However, Astrid also expressed that she wanted to be a clear leader of the service: 'clear, but not authoritarian'.⁹⁰⁸ Gunnar emphasized the symbolic dimension when he expressed that he wanted to emphasize the holy in presiding. He felt that, when he presided, he did so both on behalf of the congregation and on behalf of Christ. His main task as a presider was 'to tie a line of communication between the people present and God'.⁹⁰⁹ Astrid also expressed leading liturgy as doing something 'big':⁹¹⁰ being an instrument on behalf of God.

Both Gunnar and Astrid used the word 'properly¹⁹¹¹ to describe how they wanted to preside. Here, Astrid noted that she was using it in the positive sense of the word. Astrid also voiced her opinion that the pastor ought not to wander around,⁹¹² but rather stand in one place.⁹¹³ She also mentioned that the congregation should not wonder what the pastor was doing, nor take on any uncertainty from the pastor. Gunnar emphasized the importance of meeting

⁹⁰⁶ Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction', 261.

⁹⁰⁷ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

⁹⁰⁸ 'Ikke for å være sånn autoritær, men for å være tydelig'.

⁹⁰⁹ 'å knytte forbindelseslinjen mellom de menneskene som er der og Gud'.

⁹¹⁰ *stort*.

⁹¹¹ ordentlig.

⁹¹² å virre.

⁹¹³ samlet.

those in attendance with respect and presiding on their behalf politely and properly: 'I feel it is essential the congregation participate in the liturgy and that I do not hinder them from participating in it, and that I wish them to experience it as a meeting with the Holy and with Christ'.⁹¹⁴ As Gunnar expressed it, there was a certain level of seriousness to his role for him. Gunnar never wanted to explain the liturgy. Astrid expressed a similar position, as well, saying she never 'chatted' in the liturgy. On the contrary, she abhorred small talk during services. 'This may seem a bit harsh, but I feel sick if I am in a service with colleagues chatting'.⁹¹⁵ I interpret the words of these pastors to be a criticism towards some of their colleagues. According to them, some pastors 'chatter' in the liturgy. Both Gunnar and Astrid distance themselves from this practice.

It was important for Astrid to 'be on',⁹¹⁶ and she thought she could be present in herself and her body, voice, and appearance without chattering. Astrid used the word 'incarnation' to describe what she felt was a good presence: 'It is important for me with the good presence, I think it is, to use the word incarnation. That's what it implies. It is in a way when my body and my voice and my eyes and my gestures being involved in something more. In that sense, it is really lovely that we have some liturgical vestment'.⁹¹⁷ I interpret this as Astrid's way of acknowledging her personality and utilizing it as a resource when presiding, and at the same time relying on the idea that the meaning resides in the liturgy. It was important to be prepared and to lead with clarity⁹¹⁸ and presence,⁹¹⁹ she told me. 'I don't stand there talking about buying four cartons of milk and a *Dagbladet*⁹²⁰ yesterday. Instead, the message is, "Grace be with you and peace from God our Father"'.⁹²¹ This remark of Astrid's expresses a contrasting approach to Jon's use of the term television presenter. One interpretation of that metaphor is that a television presenter talks about ordinary matters or, using Astrid's

⁹²⁰ A Norwegian newspaper.

⁹¹⁴ 'Jeg opplever det som viktig at menigheten er delaktig i liturgien, altså at de, at jeg i hvert fall ikke stenger for at de] skal være med i den, og så ja så ønsker jeg at de skal oppleve at det er et møte med den Hellige og med Kristus'.

⁹¹⁵ 'Det er veldig spisst formulert, men jeg blir uvel hvis jeg er på en gudstjeneste med kollegaer som plaprer'.
⁹¹⁶ være på.

⁹¹⁷ 'Det er viktig for meg med den gode tilstedeværelsen. Jeg tror det rett og slett er, for å bruke ordet inkarnasjon, så er det det som ligger i det. Det er på et vis nå min kropp og min stemme og mitt blikk og mine gester eh som er med på noe mer. Så på en måte så er det veldig deilig at vi har noen liturgiske plagg'. ⁹¹⁸ tydelighet.

⁹¹⁹ tilstedeværelse.

⁹²¹ 'Altså jeg står ikke og snakker om at vi skal kjøpe fire melk og Dagbladet fra i går, liksom, men dette er "Nåde være med dere og fred fra Gud vår far".

words; 'buying milk and bread'. According to Astrid, being a presider is related to another sphere. It is about something holy. Her approach is thus more focused on the differences between ordinary talk and when she is presiding during the liturgy. The liturgy is something qualitatively different than the rest of the life.

Gunnar's and Astrid's remarks are accentuated as being different from Jon's and Lars'. I find Josuttis' use of the metaphor of the pastor as a cross-border commuter⁹²² pertinent when interpreting their approach.⁹²³ Josuttis emphasizes the pastoral task as leading people to 'the holy'. Religious rituals and symbols lead into the reality of the holy, a reality being both transrational and trans-subjective. In leading the rituals, the pastors guide people into this reality.⁹²⁴ They accentuate it slightly differently, however, I interpret Astrid's and Gunnar's remarks to be in line with this understanding. For them, their task is to guide people into another reality: the holy.

Gunnar emphasizes the symbolic dimension. This is moreover in line with Josuttis, who emphasizes the symbols in the service as well as the pastors themselves being symbols.⁹²⁵ As Skjevesland points out, this understanding correlates with the traditional authority of the pastor.⁹²⁶ By emphasizing the symbolic dimensions, the pastors implicitly emphasize their traditional authority. They carry the authority to guide people into 'the holy'.

When Astrid used the term 'incarnation' to describe what she felt was a good presence, this term indicates that she does not only rely on her traditional authority. There is an element of charismatic authority in her approach as well, although this is not as prominent as in Jon's and Lars' remarks.

Turning to the pastors in the middle position, I find they widen the perspective and highlight other perspectives when asked about how they want to preside. Sigmund had what I name a pragmatic position. Although he said he had found sustainability in the high church tradition,⁹²⁷ he expressed a different position when the topic arose as to how he wanted to preside. Here, he tended to be people-oriented in style. It seemed as if he was aware that

⁹²² From German 'grenzgänger'

⁹²³ Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn', 125.

⁹²⁴ Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn', 123.

⁹²⁵ Akerø, 'Prest - en veileder inn', 123.

⁹²⁶ Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 115.

⁹²⁷ See 3.9.

his practice differed from his ideal. 'Maybe I'm too preoccupied'—here, Sigmund laughed— 'with the idea that it should be good for people to be at the service'. He continued:

And then maybe [I] don't believe enough in it that people want... So I have to go in and translate or explain the [liturgical] elements, being a kind of buffer and educating them. Give people a taste, but not dare to push the line all the way to the High church position and just live in the liturgy. So sometimes, I am going in, adjusting, and using my person and myself more than I really would have wanted.⁹²⁸

As I interpret this, Sigmund demonstrates several tensions here. There is a tension between relying on the liturgy as meaning, and the need to explain and translate it. As he expressed it himself, he does not fully rely on the liturgy and its inherent meaning. This tension moreover demonstrates a tension between relying on the traditional authority of the pastor on the one hand and complementing it with his personal elements and thus relying more on the charismatic authority on the other.⁹²⁹

Sigmund moreover characterized himself as someone with a tendency to 'take up a lot of space',⁹³⁰ and he noted this as a potential issue in his practice, as he wanted to lead steadily and securely, to 'show the way without standing in the way'.⁹³¹

By saying this, he highlighted what he described as a challenge between utilizing his personal resources, which I interpret as building his moral authenticity and charismatic authority, and not 'standing in the way' for the message. Highlighting this dilemma, I find it pertinent to include Gunnar's perspectives when he told me about how he related to the altar.⁹³² He expressed that when he did not have something to do by the altar, he was not there. For him, then, being 'invisible' and physically move away from the altar, a way of pointing to the altar. In this case, Sigmund seems to work on downplaying or restraining his personality. However, there is still a considerable gap between the two approaches.

⁹²⁸ 'Jeg er nok kanskje... jeg er kanskje litt for opptatt av (ler) at folk skal, at det skal være... godt for folk å være på gudstjeneste... Og så er jeg ka- og så er det nok sånn at kanskje [jeg] ikke tror nok på at folk vil... at jeg må på en måte gå inn og tolke eller forklare leddene ja og være en liten sånn buffer og være litt sånn pedagogisk... gi folk en smak men ikke tør å kjøre det helt ut til den der høykirkeligheten og bare leve helt sånn i liturgien at jeg går nok inn av og til og tilpasser litt og tar nok og bruker nok meg sjøl og min personlighet litt mer enn det jeg egentlig hadde villet'.

⁹²⁹ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 83-93; Skjevesland, *Morgendagens menighet*, 115.

^{930 &#}x27;ta stor plass'.

^{931 &#}x27;å vise veien uten å stå i veien'.

⁹³² See 5.3.1.

Comparing Sigmund's practice with his saying of the liturgy and his intended practice indicates the ambivalence he voiced when describing his position. In several of the categories I created, I placed him with the pastors who were the most functional.

Olaug expressed that, for her, it was most important to create a sense of security and to ensure that everyone knew what was happening. Or, to put it in other words, she wanted everyone to master the service and thus be able to make sense of what was going on. She wanted to be a pastor that people felt confident in. I find that these sayings complement her extensive practice of introducing the different elements in the service. She wanted to make sure everyone knew what was happening. Additionally, though she said she was not very charismatic, she wanted to come across as 'down to earth'.⁹³³

5.7. Summary – The Practice of Presiding

In this chapter, I have analyzed how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in presiding, and how these diverging practices can be understood.

I have focused on how the pastors presided and their intended way of presiding, on how they related to the liturgy and what they said about the liturgy, on how they interacted with artefacts in the room, and how they involved others. In all this, a focal point has been how the pastors have arranged for meaning-making. There are many nuances in the material, and the pastors do not fit into tiny boxes. However, in all of this, I argue there is a pattern.

Some of the pastors performed controlled and formal. These were the same pastors who seemed most loyal to the liturgy. They added less content to the liturgy, and they made the fewest changes to the liturgy. They hardly removed or moved any elements. When they did, the choices were intentional, and they argued for them. These pastors moreover related to the altar as a strong symbol, and one of them emphasized the altar as the most holy place in the church. Although the approach to involvement differed (one striving for it, while the other was reluctant), none of the controlled and formal involved others in the baptismal liturgy or in the intercession.

⁹³³ livsnær.

On the other hand, there were pastors performing loose and informal. They added, changed, moved, and removed elements in the liturgy. Some choices were intentional, and some unintentional. Most of them presided in churches/rooms where they stood versus populum all the time, and there was a tendency toward these pastors not emphasizing the altar as a strong symbol. These pastors related to another artefact, namely screens. However, the general impression was that the pastors had not reflected much upon how they related to the screens and the possible implications of their practice. In general, these pastors strived for involvement and involved others in the baptismal liturgy as well as in the intercession.

When I moreover analyzed the elements in the welcoming of the pastors, there were also marked differences between what and how much the pastors said in the welcoming. It thus seemed like some of them only used it for practical information, while others developed this element as an essential feature where they performed pastoral leadership by preparing for meaning interpretation by exploring the theme of the day and/or the liturgical year. I argue that the firm and formal tend to be mostly practical, although I also find elements pointing to the theme of the day and/or the liturgical year. The loose and informal, though had clearly relational and/or visionary elements in addition to the other elements.

When I have tried to understand and further analyze their practices, there seem to be some fundamental values and theologies marking their diverging positions. First, both their sayings and their doings point to diverging understandings of the liturgy. While some express that the liturgy conveys (enough) meaning in itself, others express that the liturgy needs some assistance from the pastor in order to be perceived as meaningful. Second, although not a dominant finding in this chapter, there are traces of diverging ecclesiological approaches. Gunnar expressed an ecclesiology with an explicit focal point, and where there is no emphasis on building additional Christian fellowships besides the Sunday services. I interpret several other pastors, though, as expressing an ecclesiology where the fellowship is not restricted to Sunday services. The Sunday service is, however, seen as a central element in building community and fellowship in the congregation. Third, there seem to be underlying diverging attitudes and valuing of history and tradition. Where some pastors explicitly value the liturgical tradition, get inspiration from the liturgical movement, and thus strive for type authenticity, I interpret other pastors as being more influenced by and valuing the tradition of the charismatic movement and the lay organizations and focusing on moral authenticity.

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These preferences can be traced back to the backgrounds of the pastors. Fourth, there seems to be a difference between the sources of authority the pastors rely on. While some pastors lean towards legal and traditional authority, and thus the symbolic role of the pastor, other lean more towards charismatic authority.

The suggested pattern in this chapter is important when I, in chapter 8.1, sum up the analysis of all the chapters, and present two main approaches of how pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services and discuss how these patterns can be understood.

Another finding in this chapter is a deeper understanding of how contextual factors contribute to how pastoral leadership in Sunday services is carried out. The way pastors preside does not only depend on their understanding of liturgy, on how to preside and their different values and theological approaches. In this chapter, we have also seen how contextual factors have affected the choices and practices of the pastors. The congregational context was decisive regarding the practice of involving, the church buildings and artefacts were significant when analyzing how the pastors related to them. Moreover, how, and how much the pastors interacted with other people involved in the service, was dependent on the competence and experience of the people being involved. I addition, I have suggested that the pastors are marked by a national culture where individuality and authenticity are valued. These findings will thus contribute to the coming discussion. In chapter 8.2, I will discuss and expand the understanding of the contextual elements in Askeland's model.

6. The Leadership Practice of Preaching

The official regulation of pastors states that 'In the administration of word and sacrament, all pastors carry out pastoral leadership'. ⁹³⁴ While I focused in the preceding chapter on how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in presiding, this chapter focuses on how they carried out pastoral leadership in preaching. Followingly, how their practice of preaching can contribute to the last half of the same official regulation of pastors, namely to '...contribute to the strategic and spiritual leading of the congregation'.⁹³⁵

Preaching in this chapter specifically refers to the sermon, and others of the pastors' sayings that could be defined as preaching are analyzed in chapter 5.⁹³⁶ As previously stated, this analysis is done from a pastoral leadership perspective. Therefore, little homiletic literature is taken into consideration. The empirical material informing this chapter consists of the participatory observations, the video- and audio-recordings of the sermons, the transcribed sermons, the interviews, and the manuscripts of some of the sermons.

The theoretical lenses utilized in this chapter are the adapted version of Carroll's pastoral leadership theory, complemented with a sensitizing device from Lathrop: How do the pastors do 'meaning interpretation' and 'community formation', and how do they 'invite to bread and forgiveness' in the sermon? Moreover, how do they 'empower the congregational members individually and collectively to live as the people of God in the world'?⁹³⁷

When analyzing how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in the sermons, I approach the preaching from three angles. First, I analyze how the pastors carry out pastoral leadership in the performance of the sermon (6.1). Second, I analyze the content of the sermons and how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in and through the sayings in the sermons (6.2). Third, I present what the pastors said about the sermon as an arena of pastoral leadership (6.3). I argue that all three perspectives are of relevance to understanding their pastoral leadership. Throughout the chapter, I argue that the pattern I have argued for in the leadership practice of presiding also can be argued for in the

⁹³⁴ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁹³⁵ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

⁹³⁶ See 5.2.1.

⁹³⁷ For an elaboration of the theoretical perspectives utilized, see 2.2.4.

leadership practice of preaching. Moreover, I argue that the context of the sermon, as well as the background, theology, and values of the pastors mark how they carry out pastoral leadership in preaching.

6.1. Pastoral Leadership in Performing the Sermon

As stated earlier, in this study I adhere to Danermark et al. in their understanding that meaning is not only communicated in and through language. It is to a large extent also communicated 'by means of traditions, rites, rules, gestures, specific actions etc'. ⁹³⁸ Carrroll, too, understands meaning interpretation as being far more than a cognitive enterprise. Amongst other things, he argues that in symbols of the worship space and in priorities, pastors communicate meaning.⁹³⁹

I argue that the use of the pulpit or not, is an example of a priority with symbolic implications. In their priorities, the pastors communicate meaning. The pastors' staging expresses how they relate to the symbolic dimension of the pulpit. Moreover, it demonstrates their sources of authority. I also argue that the pastors' use of body movements and gestures, language and voice can contribute to an understanding of how they do meaning interpretation, and thus how they carry out pastoral leadership in the sermon. The analysis of these elements also adds to the importance of considering the church building and artefacts when understanding pastoral leadership in Sunday services. Moreover, it adds to the development of the two patterns suggested in chapter 5, the pastoral leadership practice of presiding. In the following, I first focus on the pastors' staging (6.1.1) before I look at how they use body movements and gestures (6.1.2), and language and voice (6.1.3).

6.1.1. Where Did the Pastors Stage Themselves in the Sermon?

In this sub-chapter, I present where the pastors stood when preaching. I present the different practices of the pastors, followed by how the pastors argued for them.

⁹³⁸ Danermark et al., *Explaining Society: Critical realism in the social sciences*, 27. See 2.2.3.

⁹³⁹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 98.

The traditional staging in preaching is to use the pulpit. According to the guidelines in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke,* the sermon is to be delivered from the pulpit, if possible. However, it can also be delivered from another place in the church if that is more appropriate to the context of the service and the format of the sermon.⁹⁴⁰ Analyzing the material, however, I identified three categories of practices: 1) 'using the pulpit', 2) 'standing in the chancel⁹⁴¹ and/or the floor'. Moreover, there was an example of a pastor 3) 'using both pulpit and chancel/floor' in one of the services. Gunnar, Astrid, and Olaug entered the pulpit for the sermon, as did Jon in the regular service. Sigmund, Elsa, and Lars, who all presided in modern buildings, stood in the chancel or on the floor and thus did not follow the general directions. Jon, in the confirmation services, used both the pulpit and the floor: He started by using the pulpit, then altered between standing on the floor in the nave and in the chancel. In the regular services, both Elsa and Sigmund used music stands that they had placed in front of the altar, however, they did not do this in the family services.

In analyzing the interviews, five main themes emerged regarding the pastors' arguments for their practice; as I will show, these arguments are intertwined. Several were used both as arguments for and against using the pulpit/lectern. However, the arguments and how they are used contribute to the understanding of the pastoral leadership of the pastors. First, there is the argument of being 'seen and heard'. This argument is closely related to the second, which concerned the 'architecture of the church', and the third, which was 'coming closer to people'. The fourth argument is 'improving communication', while the fifth argument relates to 'the pulpit giving authority to the word and/or the preacher'. Lastly, I show that some of the pastors expressed a 'functional or contextual approach' to the question of whether to use the pulpit or not. They argued that the context guides the use of the pulpit.

Sigmund, who did not use the pulpit or lectern, and Gunnar, Astrid, and Olaug, who did use the pulpit, all used the argument of 'being seen and heard' for their practice. Sigmund told me that he never used the lectern, as he wanted to be visible: 'Usually, I stand where I stood

⁹⁴⁰ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.34.

⁹⁴¹ In this context, 'chancel' is a broad term. The churches where these pastors were conducting services are not churches with traditional chancels, but rather more open areas like podiums. However, I choose to use the term chancel.

on Sunday. Not down on the floor, but up on the stairs. I want to be close to people'.⁹⁴² However, Astrid argued the other way around, saying: 'I preach from the pulpit, and it's like you're getting up and forward and become in some way visible'.⁹⁴³ Olaug also stated that, in order to be seen and heard when preaching, she used the pulpit. She referred directly to the 'architecture of the church' when arguing for the pulpit as the most visible place in the church: 'Because I've seen that's where I can see everybody, and everybody sees me. Yes, this I'm awake to, really. I think that when I'm standing on the floor, I'm maybe closer. At the same time, I'm far away from those sitting in the corners. They can't see me then'.⁹⁴⁴ If she had stood in the chancel, only those sitting in front of her would have seen her (i.e., not those sitting in the transepts).

Elsa and Lars used the architecture of the church as part of their explanation as to why they did not use the lectern/pulpit. As the services in Elvebakken were held in a community centre, Elsa explained that they had no lectern or pulpit. They had limited space for storing things, and besides, she said, there were so many other things to arrange before the service. One may thus argue that Elsa did not have the choice of using a pulpit: doing otherwise would have necessitated a change in the architecture and artefacts.

When I asked Elsa to reflect on not using the lectern in Fagereng and instead using a music stand, she started laughing, saying, 'I always do that. I don't think either of us [pastors] use the pulpit or the lectern'.⁹⁴⁵ As she continued to reflect, she combined the argument concerning 'the architecture of the church' with the argument of 'improving communication': 'It's about communication, because the room is made like it is. If we stand so far to one side, I feel I lose some of the eye contact, so I always do it like this'.⁹⁴⁶

There were also architectural elements in Lars' argumentation. He told me that he often dramatizes the sermon text, so he needed space to wander. He also told me that the congregation had applied for permission to remove the pulpit and rearrange the choir area.

⁹⁴² 'Jeg står som regel og preker der jeg stod på søndag. Ikke helt ned på golvet—men litt oppi trinna. Vil gjerne være nær folk'.

⁹⁴³ 'Jeg preker fra prekestolen, og det er også noe med at du kommer opp og frem og blir synlig, på en mate'.
⁹⁴⁴ 'fordi at jeg ser at det er der jeg ser alle og aller ser meg, ja, så det er jeg litt bevisst på, egentlig. Jeg tenker at når jeg står nede så er jeg kanskje nærmere, men jeg er lenger borte òg, for de som sitter på en måte i krokene, altså de ser meg jo ikke'.

⁹⁴⁵ 'Jeg gjør alltid det. Jeg tror ingen av oss i xxx bruker prekestolen eller lesepulten'.

⁹⁴⁶ 'Det handler litt om kommunikasjon, fordi kirkerommet er sånn laget at hvis vi står så langt på ene siden, så føler jeg at jeg mister litt av blikkontakten, så jeg gjør alltid det'.

That way they could have 'a slightly bigger stage',⁹⁴⁷ with a small offshoot, so the pastor could come close without standing on the floor.

It becomes clear that the design and architecture of the rooms affected the pastors' choices. It is therefore surprising that the guidelines for the pastors' practice do not take into consideration the architecture and design of the places in which they are presiding. According to the guidelines in *Gudstjeneste for Den norske kirke,* the sermon is to be delivered from the pulpit, if possible. ⁹⁴⁸ However, it can also be delivered from another place in the church if that is more appropriate to the context of the service and the format of the sermon.⁹⁴⁹ It should be noted that these are only guidelines, and not the regulations of the general order of worship.⁹⁵⁰ However, the guidelines concerning the suggested order of worship from 2008⁹⁵¹ state that it is vital to take into account the architecture when reflecting on the use of the pulpit.

Sandal argues that the function of the architecture of the church should be congruent with the liturgy, and she points to how different architectural structures emphasize and express various elements in Christian faith. As Sandal suggests, presiders are in many ways at the mercy of the architecture. Sometimes this means that the presider can take advantage of the architecture, but must at other times resist it in her way of utilizing it.⁹⁵² In other words, as Veiteberg emphasizes, the presider can choose how to interact with and use the architecture.⁹⁵³

^{947 &#}x27;En litt større scene'.

⁹⁴⁸ 'Prekenen holdes normalt fra prekestolen'. Den norske kirke, Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.34.
⁹⁴⁹ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 7.34.

⁹⁵⁰ January 2018, the Church of Norway National Council sent the order of worship out for comment to the diocesan councils, the bishops, the theological faculties, labour and employer's organizations and others. Kirkerådet Den norske kirke, Mellomkirkelig råd, Samisk kirkeråd, Justering av hovedgudstjenesten og alminnelige bestemmelser - høringsbrev, (Oslo: Den norske kirke, Kirkerådet, 2018). The National Church Council suggests changing the wording and changing the status from guidelines to rubrics. Suggested new wording: 'The sermon is normally delivered from the pulpit, the lectern or another central position in the church'. ('Prekenen holdes fra prekestolen, lesepulten eller et annet sentralt sted i kirkerommet'. Kirkerådet, 2018). After the hearing, the National Church Council cancelled the new formulation. *Hovedgudstjenesten - etter vedtak i Kirkerådet september 2018 (KR sak 47/18)*, (2018).

 ⁹⁵¹ Den norske kirke, Liturgi- Bokmål: Forslag til ny ordning for hovedgudstjeneste i Den norske kirke, 29.
 ⁹⁵² Margunn Sandal, 'Rom for gudstjeneste', in Gudstjeneste på ny, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 125-26.

⁹⁵³ Veiteberg, 'Kunsten å framføre gudstenester', 234; Kari Veiteberg, 'Gudstenesta som ei hending med handlingar', in *Gudstjeneste på ny*, ed. Geir Hellemo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2014), 84.

When preaching in the traditional churches, one may argue that most of the pastors took advantage of the architecture, entering the pulpit and thus attempted to emphasize God as holy and transcendent,⁹⁵⁴ the distance between the holy and the profane, the elevated and the ordinary.⁹⁵⁵ Jon was the only pastor in this context who negotiated or resisted the architecture by leaving the pulpit after a few minutes. In the modern churches, however, I argue that the pastors were taking advantage of a more flexible architecture, one that focused on fellowship and the immanence of God.⁹⁵⁶ However, the material does not demonstrate that the pastors themselves are conscious of these theological implications of their practice. Moreover, it is not evident that the people sitting in the pews interpret their practice in these directions.

The 'architecture of the church', closely related to the arguments of 'being seen and heard' and 'coming closer to people', made Gunnar use the pulpit. Gunnar pointed this out when he said:

Some people think they get closer to people who are sitting in the row of benches by going *down* from the pulpit. I'm of the opposite opinion. Because I experience it as well, I experience that if one is standing in the pulpit, everyone present can see the person standing there, and then you're close. If you stand in front, some can see and some not, and some are sitting behind someone else and things like that, so then really, one imagines being close but one is really more distant. This is the uncomplicated explanation regarding this question.⁹⁵⁷

Lars told me that the pastor who had had the position before him used the pulpit. Lars also used it in the beginning, however, he quickly concluded that he wanted to stop doing so when he received feedback that he preached better and seemed freer without using it. Moreover, he liked preaching without using the pulpit better, himself, as it allowed him 'to come close to people' and 'improve communication': 'It's communication. I feel I have, I want to get closer, and I get better contact... I feel I want to get closer, be able to see people,

⁹⁵⁴ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 6.20.

⁹⁵⁵ Sandal, 'Rom for gudstjeneste', 125.

⁹⁵⁶ Sandal, 'Rom for gudstjeneste', 125.

⁹⁵⁷ 'Jo, det er jo noen som tror at de kommer nærmere folk som er, sitter i benkeradene ved å gå *ned* av prekestolen, men jeg tror det akkurat motsatte, jeg. For det opplever jeg også, jeg opplever at når man står oppe på prekestolen, så ser alle vedkommende som står der, og da er man nær. Hvis man står fremme der so er det noen som ser og noen ser ikke og noen sitter bak noen og sånt noe, så da er man egentlig, man innbiller seg at man er nær, men man er egentlig fjernere. Det er den enkle forklaringen på det'.

so that they can hear me breathe or...'.⁹⁵⁸ He smiled and chuckled as he said this last. My understanding here is that he wanted to build a relationship with the listeners. Lars' approach is thus in line with one of Lilleaasen's findings, namely that the quest for intimacy and familial fellowship marked the two congregations in his study.⁹⁵⁹ It is, however, worth noticing that in Lilleaasen's study, this quest came from regular attendants, and that the two congregations in his study differ from traditional parishes in the Church of Norway. Maybe this finding tells us something about how Lars' background in and affiliation with charismatic strains and organizations had shaped him.⁹⁶⁰

Jon pointed to the pulpit as 'giving authority to the word and/or the preacher'. However, as I interpret Jon, he thought the pulpit gave the preacher too much traditional authority. In principle, Jon told me, he had never been very 'pro pulpit'.⁹⁶¹ This reluctance was because of the pulpit's history and the connotations related to the pastor's being elevated above the people. Historically, the pulpit helped make visible the centrality of the sermon in the service.⁹⁶² However, Jon was the only pastor who reflected upon the understanding of the pulpit as giving authority to the word: to Jon, the pulpit had a function, and could strengthen and give focus to the message. The other pastors did not reflect upon using pulpit or lectern as a way of focusing on the word and thus did not explicitly thematize the relationship between architecture, artefacts, and theology, and thus neither between traditional and charismatic authority.

Moreover, Jon was the only pastor who reflected explicitly upon the history of the pastor with the use of the pulpit. When some of these churches were built, there was not low power distance between the pastor and the congregation. Up until 1989, the pastors in the Church of Norway were senior government officials.⁹⁶³ Haanes emphasizes that this has strongly shaped the role of the pastor in Norway. From the seventeenth century, pastors in Norway have, along with officers, been part of the traditional official class in Norway.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁵⁸ 'Det er kommunikasjon, jeg føler jeg har, jeg vil nærmere, jeg får bedre kontakt...ja, jeg føler jeg vil komme nærmere, kunne se folk, de kan høre meg puste eller (smiler/flirer)'.

⁹⁵⁹ Lilleaasen, Old Paths, 362, 108-09.

 $^{^{\}rm 960}$ See the presentation of Lars in 3.9.

⁹⁶¹ 'for prekestol'.

⁹⁶² Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*, 6.22.

⁹⁶³ Staten og Den norske kirke. Utredning fra Stat-kirke-utvalget oppnevnt ved kongelig resolusjon av 14. mars 2003, (Oslo: Departementenes servicesenter. Informasjonsforvaltning, Avgitt til Kultur- og kirkedepartementet 31. januar 2006 2006), 44.

⁹⁶⁴ Knut Dørum, 'Embetsstanden', in *Store norske leksikon* (https://snl.no/embetsstanden, 2016).

While pastors were educated, laypeople were uneducated. As pastors were officials of the word and teaching,⁹⁶⁵ they were influential in their local communities. At this time in history, pastors in the Church of Norway could exercise authority, expertise, control of rewards, coercive power, and personal power, which also includes power related to the divine. This power was, amongst other things, exercised in and through the sermon.⁹⁶⁶

The architecture thus passes on a different understanding of the relationship between pastor and congregation than that implied by the current cultural trend of low power distance. Besides being a practical arrangement, it also reflects an understanding of the pastor as a person with power.⁹⁶⁷ According to Kilde, the church building indicates social power, and 'the elevated pulpit indicates the special knowledge and power of the preacher'.⁹⁶⁸ Following her argumentation, one may argue that the power of the pastor is reinforced by her standing two metres above the listeners, using her expertise, and delivering a 10- to 15-minute monologue.

However, Jon said, 'I think it's nice to preach⁹⁶⁹ and then he underlined that 'what [the congregation] comes for is not only my funny, creative contributions, but, in a way, yes, something God wants to give us as inspiration'.⁹⁷⁰ Along the same lines, he also noted: 'Often I think [the pulpit] also has a role in the presentation—making what's coming from there a bit more vital. There are many coming with expectations to get, yes, to get an important refuelling in their life of faith. So, therefore, I take great care by often using the pulpit'.⁹⁷¹

Whether it is the word and/or the pastor's having the authority because of the use of the pulpit depends on the listeners. Do the listeners acknowledge the authority of the word

⁹⁶⁵ Vidar L. Haanes, 'Fra hyrde- og læreembetet til trøste-og bæreembetet: Presterollen i Norge i 100 år', in Mellom embetsmyndighet og demokrati: Prestetjenesten i Skandinavia siden 1905; Fra en pastoralkonferanse i 2005 i Margaretakyrkan i Oslo i anledning 100-årsmarkeringen av unionsoppløsningen mellom Norge og Sverige, ed. Hans Arne Akerø, Den norske kirkes presteforenings studiebibliotek (Oslo: Den norske kirkes presteforening, 2006), 70.

⁹⁶⁶ Vidar L. Haanes, 'Det moderne gjennombrudd i Norge, frikirkeligheten og lavkirkeligheten', *Norsk tidsskrift for misjonsvitenskap*, no. 1 (2007), 7.

⁹⁶⁷ Kilde, Sacred Power, Sacred Space, 9.

⁹⁶⁸ Kilde, Sacred Power, *Sacred Space*, 9.

⁹⁶⁹ formidle.

⁹⁷⁰ 'Jeg synes der er fint å formidle, og også litt sånn understreke at det som de har kommet for å få her, er ikke bare mine artige, kreative innspill, men på en måte ja, noe som Gud vil gi oss som påfyll'.

⁹⁷¹ 'Ofte så synes jeg også at den har en sånn rolle i formidlingen som gjør at det blir litt mer, ja det blir litt mer *tyngde* i det som kommer derfra, sant. Det er mange som kommer med forventning om å liksom, ja få viktig påfyll i troslivet sitt, så derfor er jeg veldig nøye på at jeg *ofte* går på prekestolen'.

and/or do they acknowledge the authority of the pastor? This authority is then dependent on people's attending church. If, as Jon argued, they come to church expecting to receive the word of God, the pastor entering the pulpit can support and reinforce this expectation. However, living in a society marked by low power distance indicates that some people coming to church might react negatively to the use of the pulpit. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the pastors negotiate a cultural trend of low power distance each time they enter the pulpit.

Like Jon, Astrid indirectly pointed to 'the pulpit giving authority to the word and/or the preacher'. She described the process of entering the pulpit. She found that it took strength to have the courage to stand in the pulpit. 'To enter the pulpit, it has been like, do I have anything to say here? Many people have walked ahead before me, and I've made my way to this space'.⁹⁷² She referenced a childhood in which she received many 'red marks' on her writing, and noted that, although she studied theology, she never became confident in her writing. Her background has thus marked her process of entering the pulpit. Astrid also reflected on what she called the challenge of preaching with authority without becoming male in her way of preaching. When I asked her what she meant by 'male' here, she answered that some men become didactic and patronizing, and not very relational.⁹⁷³ She had eventually gained confidence in using the pulpit, and now did so regularly:

[I] have brought some of the self-confidence I have felt being the presider, and brought that to the pulpit, and [I can] think that 'I can stand here, and it is more than good enough, Astrid. So, it is many pastors preaching worse than you. For sure, although you have not heard them'. (laughs). No, but right—just to dare to step forward.⁹⁷⁴

It seems as if Astrid, before she was able to enter the pulpit, had some notions about how pastors who entered the pulpit were. On the one hand, she thus seemed like she did not feel that she was 'good enough', being used to all the red marks. On the other hand, it seems as if she did not want to identify with the pastors standing in the pulpit. Those pastors were

⁹⁷² '...Det har vært liksom å tre opp på prekestolen, litt sånn det, har jeg noe å si her liksom, her har mange gått foran meg og, jeg har banet meg denne plassen'.

⁹⁷³ This is a 'loose' translation of 'nei mannlig kan være veldig sånn, litt belærende ovenfra og ned, litt lite relasjonelt, så *kan* være, det er ikke alle mann som gjør det, men'.

⁹⁷⁴ '[Jeg] har tatt med noe av den selvtilliten jeg har kjent på som liturg, og [å] ta den med meg opp på prekestolen og tenke at "her kan jeg stå, det er mer enn godt nok, Astrid, altså det er mange prester som preker dårligere enn deg. Sikkert, uten at du har hørt dem" (latter). Nei, men ikke sant—bare å våge å tre frem'.

male, and she had clearly some experiences of pastors standing in the pulpit utilizing their authority in a way she did not want to identify. Thus, it seems as if Astrid, through handling her former experiences, has found her way of being a pastor entering the pulpit.

The other pastors entering the pulpit did not reflect directly upon the problematic aspects of entering a pulpit that was positioned one or two metres above the congregation. Neither did the pastors who did not use the pulpit; nevertheless, the relational argument they used in explaining their resistance to using the pulpit was arguably related to an understanding of the pastor as someone who works to minimize inequality between themselves and the congregation. That the pastors and the congregations are marked by the trend of low power distance⁹⁷⁵ seems evident.

Jon described himself as preoccupied with functionality, including his use of the pulpit. He told me that he used the pulpit whenever and wherever it worked to do so. He referred to his sermon on the day of confirmation as an example, explaining that the pulpit had a particular function in the message he wanted to communicate.⁹⁷⁶ Here, the point had been to go down and reach out to the people in communicating this message. As I interpret him, it seems as if he wanted to oppose the pulpit in the confirmation service. Walking down from the pulpit becomes the symbol of coming close, being relevant, and communicate. Standing in the pulpit thus implies being distant and not communicating well.

Jon moreover noted that, on many occasions, he preached in the aisle; in those instances, he said he did so because it functioned better than using the pulpit. As examples, he mentioned services involving Christian education activities, such as the 'Wide Awake'⁹⁷⁷ and 'Tower Agents',⁹⁷⁸ programmes or the tradition of handing out books to all four-year-olds in the congregation.⁹⁷⁹ 'It is much easier to come close to the children when I walk down'. He then laughed and said 'because it does not get more important for them if I stand up there'.⁹⁸⁰ In communicating with children, the symbolic dimension thus seems irrelevant. According to

⁹⁷⁹ Fireårsbokutdeling.

⁹⁷⁵ See 2.4.4.

⁹⁷⁶ formidlingen.

⁹⁷⁷ Lys Våken.

⁹⁷⁸ Tårnagenthelg.

⁹⁸⁰ 'Det er lettere å komme tett på barna når jeg går ned. For at de får jo ikke med seg noe mer (humrer) tyngde i ordene om jeg står der oppe'.

Jon, the children are not aware of the symbolic function of the pulpit, and there is therefore no point in using it to emphasize the word.

These examples demonstrate complexity in relating to the pulpit as a symbolic element. It seems like a contradiction when Jon, on the one hand, uses the pulpit to emphasize the word of God. On another occasion, he opposes the pulpit by going down from it demonstrating that the pulpit does not communicate well. Moreover, in other contexts, he presumes the listeners do not relate to the pulpit as a symbolic element. Followingly, the symbolic dimension of the pulpit is thus dependent upon the listeners. As I interpret him, Jon presumes the listeners' understandings of the pulpit, and acts accordingly.

Jon treated children differently from adults. In her study of preachers' actions and remarks of preaching for children, Rystad found that this was a pattern: Preachers treated preaching for children as something different than preaching for adults.⁹⁸¹ She interpreted their practice of not using the pulpit as being because they were thus closer to the children.⁹⁸² Jon's saying thus expands on the underlying assumptions on why some preachers don't use the pulpit when preaching to children. However, the following episode related by Astrid moreover adds nuance to and challenges these assumptions.

Astrid also told me she usually stands in the chancel when preaching in services with many children. However, she told of a recent episode when preparing a service where the scouts should participate:

Then I asked the girl scouts 'where do you want me to stand when I am preaching?' 'The pulpit', [they answered]. (I: Yes?) Yes, they wanted me up in the pulpit. I should stand there when preaching. Yes, then I was [experienced] clear. Yes, I should stand there. [...] Then I had thought that this is a kind of service I can stand in the chancel. No, I should stand there, it was unambiguous, and we are now talking [about] girls from first, second and third grade and up, who had been to church before, right.⁹⁸³

According to Astrid, these girls had been to church before. Maybe they had experienced Astrid preaching in the chancel and preaching from the pulpit. However, they made it clear

⁹⁸¹ Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated', 152-69.

⁹⁸² Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated', 163-64.

⁹⁸³ 'Så spurte jeg de speiderjentene "hvor vil dere jeg skal stå når jeg skal preke"?—"Prekestolen", [svarte de]. (I: Åja?) Ja, de skulle ha meg opp på prekestolen. Der skulle jeg stå da jeg prekte. Ja, da var jeg [opplevd] tydelig. Ja, så jeg skulle stå der. [...] Da hadde jeg tenkt at dette er den type gudstjeneste at jeg kan stå i korbuen, nei, jeg skulle stå der, det var entydig, og vi snakker da jenter fra første, andre, tredje klasse oppover, som også har vært litt i kirken før, ikke sant'.

they wanted Astrid to preach from the pulpit. This episode made Astrid reflect on her practice.

6.1.2. Meaning Interpretation by Body Movements and Gestures

In the analysis of how the pastors facilitated meaning interpretation by their use of body movements and gestures in the sermon, I have categorized the practice of the pastors into three groups: 'no body movements and limited gestures', 'no body movements but expressive gestures', and 'wandering around gesticulating'.

Those pastors who had 'no body movements and limited gestures' were the pastors who used the pulpit (Olaug, Astrid, Gunnar, and Jon in the regular service), in addition to Elsa in Fagereng. The pulpit naturally restricted the former from moving around, and in Fagereng, Elsa stood still behind the music stand. Regarding hand gestures, there were some variations among these four. With one or two exceptions, Olaug held her hands close to the pulpit and the manuscript. Gunnar, however, used his hands more actively. He used hand gestures both to underline and to illustrate his message,⁹⁸⁴ and these gestures seemed controlled; most of the gestures were rather small, with his hands not far from his body.

I have placed Sigmund's practice in the regular service in the second category: 'no body movements but expressive gestures'. Although he stood still, he used a wide variety of hand gestures, both underlining and illustrating his message. The hand gestures were often big, as he used his full arm length.

Within the third category, 'wandering around gesticulating', I found Lars and Elsa in the family service in Elvebakken, Jon in the confirmation service, and Sigmund in the family service. Except for Lars, these pastors interacted with others in the sermons: Jon and the catechist cooperated and had a dialogue, Elsa interacted with the four-year-old children and the musician, and Sigmund interacted with another staff member in addition to people in the congregation. All three were actively moving around, and using their whole body when they communicated. As I observed these three pastors twice, I claim their practice was

⁹⁸⁴ Jakobsen and Øierud distinguish between underlining and illustrating hand gestures. While the first involves moving one's hands in time with the rhythm of one's words, hand gestures can also have an independent semantic content and be used as a communicative resource. Øierud, 'Gudstjenesters kommunikasjon', 79.

contextual. This observation is moreover in line with the findings in the previous subchapter: pastors approach preaching for children differently than preaching for adults.⁹⁸⁵

Within the frame of an 'ordinary' sermon, however, Lars stood out clearly. After a short introduction, Lars performed the sermon text by heart, in which he took on the roles of the Centurion and Jesus in the story of the Centurion of Capernaum.⁹⁸⁶ He depicted the different roles by moving from one spot to another when changing roles, and by using his body to express the different characters: for example, straightening up when he was in the role of the centurion, talking about the soldiers under his command. In the rest of the sermon, Lars had a loose style. Although space was restricted, he tended to wander around during the sermon—a few steps forward, and sometimes a few steps to one side and then to the other. Most of the time, this practice seemed incidental. However, at one point, when he was addressing the families having a baptism—who were sitting in the first and second rows—he walked closer to them and addressed them directly. He used hand gestures to underline his message, and sometimes also to illustrate it. At one point, he turned toward the crucifix above the altar, and pointed to it while saying, 'Believing is to come to Jesus'.⁹⁸⁷

6.1.3. The Use of Language and Voice when Interpreting Meaning

In the analysis of how the pastors facilitated meaning interpretation by their use of language and voice, I do not go into detail regarding how each pastor used language and voice. The following analysis is, therefore, somewhat superficial. However, I classify the pastors' general use of language and voice into two categories. In the first category, which I have termed 'precise and formal', I have placed Olaug, Gunnar, Astrid, and Elsa in Fagereng. In the second category, 'oral⁹⁸⁸ and informal', I have placed Lars, Sigmund, Elsa in Elvebakken, and Jon in the confirmation service.⁹⁸⁹

Those pastors who were 'precise and formal' performed the sermon correctly. They could communicate with intensity and commitment, but with a relatively even—sometimes even monotonous—voice, with little variation in both volume and tempo.

⁹⁸⁵ Rystad, 'Overestimated and Underestimated', 83.

⁹⁸⁶ Matthew 8:5-13.

⁹⁸⁷ 'Tro er å komme til Jesus'.

⁹⁸⁸ When I use the term 'oral' in this context, I refer to the idea of preaching in an oral tradition.

⁹⁸⁹ In the regular service, I put Jon in a middle position.

Those who were 'oral and informal' were generally more informal than the others in their manner of speech. Although some of them used manuscripts (e.g., Lars), they performed the sermon using more of an oral tradition than the others. Their voices were natural, and several of them varied both in volume and expressiveness. Here, too, I notice that the practice of one of the pastors seemed contextual, as I placed Elsa in Fagereng in the 'precise and formal' category, while I put her in the 'oral and informal' category in Elvebakken.

I assert that the empirical material in these sub-chapters contributes to an understanding of how the pastors adapt for meaning interpretation, and thus for pastoral leadership, in their staging, their use of body movements and gestures, as well as language and voice. Moreover, I assert that how they stage themselves contributes to identifying their understanding of the symbolic dimensions of the pulpit, and the pastors' sources of authority. The analysis of these elements also adds to the importance of considering the church building and artefacts when understanding how pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services. Moreover, it adds to the development of the two patterns contributing to understanding the pastoral leadership of the pastors.

6.2. Analysis of the Sermons

The analysis in this sub-chapter was informed both theoretically and empirically. However, I characterize this chapter to be the most deductive part of this study, as the sermons were analyzed using the pastoral leadership perspectives established as theoretical lenses.⁹⁹⁰

Carroll argues the primary task of pastors is preserving the congregation's Christian identity.⁹⁹¹ This is in line with Selznick, who argues that the area of maintaining the identity and values of the organization is crucial.⁹⁹² In the analysis of the pastors' sermons, I found it pertinent to operationalize this perspective by what I name affirming elements in the sermons. Moreover, Carroll finds the three core tasks of pastoral leadership as interrelated ways of fulfilling this primary task. In this chapter I thus analyze how the pastors do 'meaning

⁹⁹⁰ See 2.2.4.

⁹⁹¹ Carroll, As one with Authority, 92-93.

⁹⁹² Selznick, Leadership in Administration, 63, 119.

interpretation', 'community formation', and how they 'empower the congregational members individually and collectively to live as the people of God in the world'.⁹⁹³ These perspectives are supplemented by Lathrop's 'inviting to bread and forgiveness'.⁹⁹⁴ Below, I give an overview of the context and a summary of the 10 sermons in the empirical material (6.2.1). Then, in the following sub-chapters, I operationalize the theoretical lenses by first focusing on what I name affirming elements (6.2.2). Second, I present findings concerning elements in the sermons that I find particularly relevant in the process of meaning interpretation (6.2.3). Third, I present elements that may contribute to community formation focusing (6.2.4) before I reflect upon how the sermons can contribute to empowering the congregation (6.2.5).

6.2.1. An Overview and Summary of the 10 Sermons

In Table 2, I give a short presentation of the sermons, including a summary of the sermon, what I determined to be relevant information from the day, and the Bible text used. This presentation then enables me to refer to the different sermons in the following sub-chapters.

Relevant	Bible text	Summary
information		
of the day		
Sigmund family service		
Kick-off in	Exodus	The sermon was an 18-minute dialogue/play between
August.	18:13–27.	Sigmund and the Christian education worker. The point
Children's choir,	The story of	of departure was that, although the Christian education
Eucharist	how and	worker was looking forward to a new semester, she had
	why Moses	begun thinking about everything she had to do. Stones
	distributed	placed into her rucksack represented the different tasks

Table 2: An overview and summary of the 10 sermons

⁹⁹³ Carroll, As one with Authority.

⁹⁹⁴ For an elaboration on the theoretical perspectives, see 2.2.4.

	tasks. They	(e.g., registering the children, playing with them, making
	referred to	things, night watch). The rucksack became burdensome,
	the story	and Sigmund offered to help with other tasks, such as
	and read	cleaning, singing, playing the piano, and making food.
	some	However, they found that they needed more (and
	passages.	competent) people to help. They used the story of
		Moses, who also needed people to help him manage
		many tasks. Sigmund and the Christian education
		worker asked who in the congregation could help with
		the different tasks, and people came forward. In the
		end, they asked one of the people who had come
		forward how it felt to contribute. She said it was nice
		and that it was more fun to take part in services when
		she contributed. They then kicked off the semester by
		counting down from 10 to 1 together with the
		congregation.
Sigmund, regular	service	I
Pentecost,	John 14:23–	Sigmund started by telling a story about his route to
baptism (1),	30. Jesus	school as a child. He had to walk through a forest to
Eucharist	promises the	reach the school, and he was afraid to do this when it
	disciples the	was dark. Sigmund used this as a metaphor for life in
	Holy Spirit.	general: All are wandering—sometimes in darkness. This
		life in darkness is part of the setting of Pentecost, he
		said. He then plotted out the line from the Old
		Testament with Egypt, slavery, and the Ten
		Commandments to Easter and Pentecost in the New
		Testament. Pentecost did not invalidate the law, but
		instead fulfilled it; and, after Pentecost, the disciples
		had changed. Sigmund told the congregation that, as a
		child, he sometimes walked through the forest with his
		father. He then described the time after Pentecost as

		similar to walling to the forest with his failers. Th
		similar to walking in the forest with his father. The
		ground was the same, and it was just as dark, but it was
		different: He was not alone. Finally, Sigmund elaborated
		that the Spirit is and operates without borders and that,
		in baptism, the Holy Spirit is received.
Lars		
Baptism (3),	Matthew	Lars started by stating that he liked sports and
Eucharist	8:5–13. The	competition, and he referred to many different and
	story of	unique world championships. However, when he
	when Jesus	searched on the internet, he could not find a world
	healed a	championship in faith. And he wondered how might this
	Centurion's	have even been measured. However, he stated that he
	servant.	believed that there was a possible candidate in the text.
		Then Lars performed the text. The centurion went to the
		only person he thought could help. He was used to
		giving orders and asked Jesus to say just one word, as
		that would be enough. According to Jesus, this man was
		an "Israeli master of faith", and he was a good example
		of the importance of having faith. Lars emphasized that
		candidates for the world championship in faith are
		needed, but pointed out that the point of faith is, of
		course, not competition. Faith is to move on to come to
		Jesus; it does not have to be bigger than that. He then
		referred to his own life, in which faith had become
		important. Lars addressed the families bringing their
		children to be baptised and validated their choice. He
		then invited the congregation to take part in the Holy
		Communion.
Olaug		
The Day of	Luke 18:9–	Olaug started by referring to an article in the Christian
Penance and	14. The	newspaper Vårt Land, which reported on a survey in

Prayer, baptism	parable of	which 1000 Norwegians and 1000 Swedes had chosen
(2), Eucharist	the Pharisee	the worst personal qualities they knew. The Norwegian
	and the Tax	list contained oppression, falseness, ruthlessness,
	Collector.	hatred, xenophobia, fanaticism, and vindictiveness.
		Olaug pointed out that this list was a massive contrast to
		the seven deadly sins in the Catholic tradition. She told
		the congregation: The seven deadly sins focus on
		ourselves rather than on everyone else, as the
		Norwegians' list did. We blame others, Olaug said—and
		emphasized that, although the confession of sins may
		seem outdated, it is essential to remind ourselves to
		come before God and ask for forgiveness. She explained
		that God can forgive us, but not simply because we want
		Him to: We must partake in the Eucharist, through
		which he comes to us and we can receive forgiveness.
		Olaug finished by saying that God looks at us with grace
		and goodness, and will lift his face upon us and give us
		peace.
Astrid		
The day of a	Luke 16:19–	Astrid started by referring to the fundraising efforts by
national	31. The	the Rainforest Foundation Norway996 before she moved
fundraising	parable of	on to the text of Lazarus and the rich man. She
campaign by	the rich man	explained that Lazarus was poor, while the rich man
the Norwegian	and Lazarus.	lived in luxury and ignored what he saw. After death,
Broadcasting		the roles were switched. Astrid explained that, through
Company		this, we are reminded that God sees and does not want
(NRK), ⁹⁹⁵		to overlook. God sees how we are treating our
baptism (3),		neighbours, and He refuses not to see it. The story also
Eucharist		gives hope. A glimpse into the heartbeat of God, who
		says all the suffering will one day end. God never

995 TV-aksjonen.

⁹⁹⁶ Regnskogfondet.

	1	
		overlooks us, and He never forgets what He has
		promised to give us: His loving presence all our days.
Elsa, Fagereng		
Såmannssøndag	Luke 8:4–15.	Elsa focused on the good seed and how people,
(a day in the	The parable	especially in Central Asia, long for the Bible. She talked
liturgical year in	of the	about the Norwegian Bible Society's project supporting
Norway	sower.	the distribution of the Bible in Central Asia, and referred
focusing on the		to what some church leaders in Central Asia had said of
word of God),		the text of the day and what it means for them to
Eucharist		receive Bibles. She also the same morning let a man in
		the congregation speak about a project in another
		country. She told the congregation: We take the Bible
		for granted, and the story of the sower challenges us to
		be more active receivers of the word and to help more
		people receive the word.
Elsa, Elvebakken	I	
Family service,	Mark 4:35–	Elsa introduced the sermon by saying that many stories
distribution of	41. The story	in the Bible tell of Jesus and his disciples being by the
books to four-	of Jesus	lake or at the lake: That morning, she and the four-year-
year-olds, large	calming the	olds would tell one of these stories. She found a blanket
children choir	sea.	and told the congregation to pretend that it was a boat.
		She explained that Jesus was tired after meeting many
		people, so he asked his disciples to come with Him and
		go by boat to the other side of the lake. She invited the
		four-year-olds to come forward and sit in the boat, and
		she involved them when she told the rest of the story of
		Jesus calming the sea. The four-year-olds and the
		musicians helped her by making the sounds of the
		storm, and by making waves with a piece of fabric. After
		telling the story, Elsa said that although Jesus does not
		calm the storm, in the same way, today, he is always

		with us. She closed by praying, and she thanked God for
		caring for and being close to us.
Gunnar		<u> </u>
The last day of	Matthew	Gunnar started by addressing the family having a
the liturgical	25:1–13. The	baptism and establishing the day as unique and
year, baptism	parable of	extraordinary. Afterward, he referred to the text by
(1), Eucharist,	the 10	saying he strongly sympathizes with those who close
	bridesmaids.	their ears. He referred to the Bible text as "a wedding
		with a sharp edge", explaining that Jesus spoke of the
		Kingdom of Heaven in a way that implied that not all will
		take part. Gunnar felt this to be painful—and he noted
		that, although Luther said he would be surprised of all
		the people who will be present in heaven when he
		comes there, that does not take away the pain. Gunnar
		asked the congregation: What does this parable mean?
		What does the oil mean? Gunnar said that he had
		reminded himself of the story of the father welcoming
		the prodigal son when he came home. Then he asked:
		What makes us wait for the groom and keep the faith
		alive? Isn't it the story of the good father or the good
		shepherd? These stories, he explained, are the good oil
		giving hope. He told the congregation: Refill your lamp
		with Christ, who looks for you and will give you joy and
		courage. As Christ received the baptized child, we too
		can come as we are.
Jon		·
Confirmation	John 15:4–5.	The sermon was a play/dialogue between the catechist
service	Jesus telling	and Jon. After a few general words regarding the
	the story of	confirmation class schedule, Jon started to read the text.
	the vine and	The catechist interrupted him, and Jon went down from
		the pulpit. The catechist challenged Jon to explain what

	the	he was reading, and Jon then asked him to get a tree. He
	branches.	came back with a tree, and Jon used that to elaborate
		his point. When the catechist turned on a drill as though
		he was going to drill a hole for a rose, Jon showed him
		that there was already a hole in the tree into which the
		rose fit perfectly. Jon said that, when one is baptised,
		one is grafted into Jesus—and the fellowship. To be a
		Christian is to choose to remain in the fellowship with
		Jesus. Jon said: God loves us and rejoices over us; he will
		always be with us.
Jon	1	
Baptism (1),	Matthew	Jon started by asking: Have you ever thought it is
Eucharist	6:7–13. The	possible to show off in prayer? To impress people? He
	Lord's	then told the congregation that this was common when
	Prayer with	Jesus was alive. According to Jon, Jesus tried to explain
	the	to people what prayer is. By naming God as Father,
	introduction.	Jesus challenged the position of the disciples. They
		could pray to God as a father. As Jon explained, human
		parents are not perfect. The image of God as a father or
		as a mother is, however, perhaps the closest that
		humans can get to understanding what God is like. To
		pray is to come before God just as one is. The Lord's
		Prayer covers everything it is natural to bring to God in
		prayer. Prayer is not a list of orders, nor is it an
		achievement. Jon asked: What is prayer when God
		already knows what I need? He then drew on the idea of
		he and his wife serving dinner to their children because
		they know what they need. All the children need to do is
		to sit down at the table. Jon used this as a metaphor,
		saying that those present could literally sit at the table
		with Christ. In the Eucharist, one could come with one's

	whole life as one is—bringing everything to him and
	receiving all he can give.

As the overview in Table 2 shows, the pastors preached in distinct contexts. The days of the liturgical year on which the pastors preached were also different, as were their texts. These differences are critical to keep in mind in the following analysis.

6.2.2. Affirming Elements

Carroll argues the primary task of pastors is preserving the congregation's Christian identity.⁹⁹⁷ The area of maintaining the identity and values of the organization, is crucial. As we have seen, Selznick asserts that 'This is at once one of the most important and least understood functions of leadership'.⁹⁹⁸ It is necessary to preserve the values, competence, and role of an organization.⁹⁹⁹

When I analyzed the sermons, I noticed that all but one of the sermons had what I have defined as 'affirming elements', where the pastor affirmed the love of God and his promises to us. Besides elaborating on this leadership task, I argue that the findings in this sub-chapter can provide insight into the understanding of the ecclesiologies of the pastors.

Elsa concluded her sermon on the story of Jesus calming the sea by stating, 'Jesus is here together with us today. He does not calm the storm the way he did then. However, he walks with us and stays with us forever'.¹⁰⁰⁰ Astrid referred to the baptism and to God's promise of being with his children forever: 'God never ignores us and never forgets what he has given us: his presence in love all our days'.¹⁰⁰¹

Lars was also explicit when he affirmed the faith and choice of the parents who had brought their children to be baptised: 'You came to Jesus with them. You probably do not feel like

⁹⁹⁷ Carroll, As one with Authority, 92-93.

⁹⁹⁸ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63.

⁹⁹⁹ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 119.

¹⁰⁰⁰ 'Jesus er her sammen med oss i dag. Han stiller ikke stormen på akkurat samme måten, men han går sammen med oss og er hos oss bestandig'.

¹⁰⁰¹ 'Gud overser aldri og glemmer aldri det han har lovet og gir oss: Sitt kjærlighetsnærvær alle våre dager'.

world champions in faith. Despite that, you came. With your great joy, with the most precious thing you have. In faith, in doubt, in wonder, in thanksgiving. Wishing for all the best for your boys. I think—yes, I know—you have come to the best place'.¹⁰⁰²

Gunnar also referred to the baptism in his concluding sentence: 'Just like little Aleksander¹⁰⁰³ was received by Christ in baptism—without achievements, unconditionally, just by coming as he is—this applies to all of us'.¹⁰⁰⁴ In this sentence, it is possible to sense an invitation. The combination of affirming and inviting was, however, more marked in parts of Jon's speech on the day of confirmation. Still, I argue that it fits into this category because of its strong emphasis on affirming that the confirmands belong to the fellowship of Jesus: 'We do not have to fight our way into the fellowship of Jesus. We do not have to drill a place for ourselves in the tree. It is—if we look carefully—here that there is actually a place in the tree just for this branch. It is a spot in this tree just for you. A place there with Jesus—in the Jesus tree—in his fellowship'.¹⁰⁰⁵

When the pastors included affirming elements in their sermons, specifically when they affirmed the love of God and the promises given in the baptism, I interpret them to be emphasizing the congregations Christian identity¹⁰⁰⁶ as well as maintaining the identity and values of the organization. ¹⁰⁰⁷ These elements may moreover be characterized as formative, as they focus on affirming the congregation in their status and thus as being Christians and belonging to the church. These findings thus have ecclesiological implications. They all affirm that the children baptised belong to Christ, and thus also to the church.

Still, there are nuances. When Astrid focuses on God's presence in 'all our days', I interpret this as focusing on the everyday lives people live. This presence is not only in church or in Christian fellowship. It is 'all our days'. The metaphor used by Jon and the catechist, though, implies another focus. They emphasize fellowship, a fellowship where each person has a

¹⁰⁰² 'Dere kom til Jesus med dem. Dere føler dere kanskje ikke som verdensmestere i tro, akkurat. Men dere kom. Med deres store glede, med det mest dyrebare dere har. I tro, i tvil, i undring, i takk. Og med et ønske om alt godt for gutta deres'.

¹⁰⁰³ Fictive name.

¹⁰⁰⁴ 'For slik som Aleksander i dåpen ble mottatt av Kristus—uten prestasjoner, helt betingelsesløst, bare ved å komme akkurat slik han er—slik gjelder det for oss alle'.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 'Vi trenger ikke å kjempe oss vei inn i fellesskapet hos Jesus. Vi trenger ikke borre oss plass i treet. Det er – hvis vi ser nøyet etter her, så er det faktisk en plass på treet her som akkurat denne grenen. Det er en plass på den treet her akkurat til deg. En plass der hos Jesus—på Jesustreet—i fellesskapet med ham'.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Carroll, As one with Authority, 92-93.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, 63.

place. I suggest that these nuances imply differences in their ecclesiological approaches. Astrid does not focus on building close Christian fellowships. However, this is a central element in Jon's ecclesiology. Despite the differences, though, these and the other pastors focus on different aspects of the fellowship with God. Several of the pastors thus explicitly state that this also includes everyone else in the congregation.

The only sermon where I could not find affirming elements, was in the sermon given by Sigmund and the Christian worker in the family service. As I will demonstrate, this sermon had both challenging and formative elements.¹⁰⁰⁸

6.2.3. Meaning Interpretation

In this sub-chapter, I look at some elements displaying how the pastors engaged in meaning interpretation in the sermons. As Carroll emphasizes, 'meaning interpretation' is 'assisting the congregation and its members reflect on and interpret their life, individually and corporately, in light of God's purposes in Jesus Christ'. ¹⁰⁰⁹ In the sermon, the pastor has a clear role as an interpreter. As Carroll moreover points out, the aim is 'to provide language, symbols, rituals, actions, and stories that help others to make connections between these resources of faith and the often trying events and experiences that come in their lives'.¹⁰¹⁰

As I have not interviewed the listeners to these sermons, I cannot answer the question as to whether the pastors managed to make connections for the listeners between the biblical texts and the lives of the listeners.¹⁰¹¹ I can, however, analyze how the pastors emphasized language and stories that I interpret to be helpful for those present in making connections to their lived lives.

In the following, the main focus is on how the pastors used the Bible text and connected it to the lived life of the listeners. Analyzing this part, I looked for stories and elements where the pastors explicitly addressed how the message in the Bible text could be a resource in the

 $^{^{\}rm 1008}$ See 6.2.5 and 6.2.6.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93.

¹⁰¹⁰ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 98.

¹⁰¹¹ As Gaarden emphasizes, meaning is not transferred from the preacher to the listeners but is instead created in a dynamic interaction between the preacher and the listener. Gaarden, Marianne 'Prædikenen som subjektiv meningsproduktion', in *En gudstjeneste - mange perspektiver*, ed. Kristine Helboe Johansen and Jette Bendixen Rønkilde (København: Forlaget Anis, 2015).

daily lives of the listeners. Additionally, I look at how some used humour and personal elements.

Elsa was the only pastor who started the sermon with the Bible text, and she did so in both Elvebakken and Fagereng. The other pastors, in different ways, gave a small introduction before they turned to the Bible text. While Jon (in the regular service) had only one sentence introducing the theme by asking a rhetorical question, Lars spent some time talking about the different world championships. In doing so, I interpret him as relating to a topic he assumed being of interest for many in the congregation: 'I like sports and competitions. I know I am not the only one in here [being that]'.¹⁰¹² After mentioning several traditional and unconventional sports and competitions, he introduced the possibility of a world championship in faith: 'But one thing I could not find when I searched the net, and that was a World Championship in faith'.¹⁰¹³ I interpret this introduction by Lars as a way of establishing the ground for his message. In this way, he also contributes to establish his charismatic authority.¹⁰¹⁴

When analyzing the rest of the sermons, I detected that the pastors related to the Bible text in diverging ways. While Elsa stayed close to the text in the sermon in Elvebakken, Olaug took a thematic approach and did not relate much to the Bible text during the sermon. In the regular service, Jon stayed close to the Bible text when he explained and talked about the different elements in the Lord's Prayer. At Pentecost, Sigmund had a sermon with a biblical- systematic theological approach, but did not focus explicitly on the text of the day. In the family service in Lia, Sigmund, and the Christian education worker introduced the Bible text halfway into the sermon, referring to it and quoting some verses.

It thus differed as to how and to what extent the pastors related the text to the lived lives of the listeners. There were few examples of sermons being directly connected to people's lives and how the message might be used as a resource in the daily lives of the listeners. This finding aligns with Enggaard's study of how the Sunday service is perceived by churchgoers in Denmark. She found that some of the people coming to church had expected the pastor

¹⁰¹² 'Jeg liker sport og konkurranser. Det er jeg ikke alene om her inne vet jeg'.

¹⁰¹³ 'Men en ting jeg søkte om på nett og ikke fant noe på var VM i tro'.

¹⁰¹⁴ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

to make the sermon relevant to their daily lives. They were moreover disappointed that the pastor did not address contemporary and important issues in society.¹⁰¹⁵

Although I did not find many elements in the sermons relating the text to the lived lives of the listeners, it is important to note the elements that I did find. The most notable sermon in this sense was in the family service in Lia. There, Sigmund and the Christian education worker encouraged the congregation to take part in the daily life in the church and to contribute through a range of activities. Moreover, when Olaug thematized sin and forgiveness with the use of surveys presented in an article in a newspaper, and encouraged the congregation to confess their sins, I interpret her as assisting the congregation to reflect on and interpret their lives.¹⁰¹⁶ Moreover, some of the pastors used stories or other means to relate their message to the lives of the listeners. I found that Sigmund, Lars, and Gunnar each introduced personal elements in different ways. While Sigmund told a story from his childhood, Lars briefly touched on the fact that he had experienced faith and hope during a time of illness. In both examples, the pastors were attempting to assist the congregation 'to reflect on and interpret their life, individually and corporately, in the light of God's purposes in Jesus Christ'.¹⁰¹⁷

Finally, although Gunnar's style of being personal was different from the others, I perceived him as introducing personal elements into his sermon when he noted several times that the text was difficult and painful: 'It is painful—it is unbearable painful—to think of. It is the deepest point of pain in faith. A deep and painful point. Because we know so many who apparently don't want anything to do with Jesus, Christianity, God, church, and all such things. At least—they show no interest. It can be our neighbours, workmates, our friends. Someone in the family'.¹⁰¹⁸ Here, his underlying question was, 'Is the door going to be closed for them?'¹⁰¹⁹ By making it concrete and personal, Gunnar expressed a close relationship

¹⁰¹⁵ Nete Helene Enggaard, 'Højmessen set fra kirkebænken - Frederiksberg Provsti', in *Tradition og fornyelse: Teologiske perspektiver på gudstjeneste og liturgi*, ed. Nete Helene Enggaard and Rasmus Nøjgaard (København Eksistensen, 2018), 48. Enggaard, 'Højmesse og dåb - Helsingør Stift', 119–20.

¹⁰¹⁶ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93.

¹⁰¹⁷ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93.

¹⁰¹⁸ 'Det er troens dypeste smertepunkt!'

¹⁰¹⁹ 'Og det er vondt—uutholdelig vondt—å tenke på. Det er troens dypeste smertepunkt! Et dypt og vondt smertepunkt. For vi kjenner så mange som tilsynelatende ikke vil ha noe med Jesus, kristendom, Gud, kirke... alle slike ting—å gjøre. I hvert fall viser de ikke interesse for det. Det kan være våre naboer, våre arbeidskamerater, våre venner. Noen i familien'. Quote from manuscript.

between the Bible text and existential questions related to the future of family and friends. This emphasis thus seems to have an intention of assisting the congregation in interpreting their lives 'in light of God's purposes in Jesus Christ'.¹⁰²⁰

In particular, Gunnar and Astrid both had what might be considered difficult Bible texts as a starting point. However, they chose two different approaches to these texts. While Astrid chose to present her interpretation of the text without bringing the listeners into her work with the text of Lazarus and the rich man, Gunnar thematized and brought the listeners into the struggles and difficulties in approaching the text of the 10 bridesmaids. In doing so, he pointed out how this text challenged him at a deep level and was relevant to his life.

In addition to how the pastors related to the Bible text and used personal elements, it is worth noting that three of the pastors used humour as an element in their communication. Humour was an element in Lars' introduction, and although it did not prompt laughter from the congregation, his introduction likely made many smile. Moreover, humour was an essential element in the sermon performed by Sigmund and the Christian education worker at the family service, and in Jon and the catechist's sermon in the confirmation services. Here, the congregation laughed several times during the sermon, and humour and laughter appeared to be essential elements in their communication. It is also worth noting that Sigmund and Jon used artefacts both to create laughter and to support their message.

I interpret the pastors' use of humour as a way of establishing their charismatic authority.¹⁰²¹ By utilizing humour and making people smile and laugh, they used their personality to create a good atmosphere and to demonstrate their qualities and their right to be heard.

6.2.4. Community Formation

How did the pastors carry out pastoral leadership by pursuing community formation in the services in the sense that they wanted to influence the congregation as a fellowship in one way or another? In this sub-chapter, I analyze this question from three angles. First, I present what I name inviting elements in the sermons. Second, I present what I name strategic and visionary elements: By 'strategic', I mean elements that were focused on moving the

¹⁰²⁰ Carroll, As one with Authority, 93.

¹⁰²¹ Weber, *Makt og byråkrati*, 89-93.

congregation from one place to another;¹⁰²² and by 'visionary', I mean elements that highlighted goals or visions for the future. Second, I present what I name challenging elements. By 'challenging', I understand elements inspiring or stimulating to some kind of change in—and thus a formation of—the listeners and thus the community. In all these categories, the differences between the pastors become evident. The two patterns can thus be developed further.

Inviting Elements

The findings presented in this sub-chapter have what I define as inviting elements. This category is informed by Lathrop's focus on 'inviting to bread and forgiveness'.¹⁰²³ According to Lathrop, '[t]he sermon should say in words from the texts the same thing the bread and cup say in sign: "The body and blood of Christ, given and shed for you. Take. Eat. Drink. Believe. Live". As elaborated in the analysis, inviting elements can be a way of encouraging people to move from one position to another and to receive the gifts of God. Thus, it can be a part of community formation.

Jon implicitly invited the congregation to participate in the Lord's Prayer, and Olaug indirectly invited the congregation to participate in the confession of sins. Olaug and Lars directly invited the congregation to take part in the Eucharist, while Gunnar encouraged the congregation to fill their lives with good stories and experiences of hope. Thus, there were some—however few—inviting elements to be found in the sermons. There are, however, distinct differences in how explicit the pastors were in their invitations.

When Jon preached about the Lord's Prayer, I interpret him as implicitly inviting people to ask for forgiveness. Implicitly, he invited the congregation to participate in the prayer:

I ask for forgiveness. To do so is so important and difficult. The way to God, which Jesus opened that time when he had to pay the penalty for my guilt—when he died and won over death on the cross. I ask for forgiveness because I can come with everything my life holds. God never turns his face away. I sometimes meet people who are afraid of that. That now it is enough. However, God does not turn his face away from you. I can come before him with everything life gives.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰²² Hull, *Strategic Preaching*, 2.

¹⁰²³ Lathrop, *The Pastor*. See 2.3.

¹⁰²⁴ 'Og så ber jeg om tilgivelse. Dette viktige og vanskelige. Veien til Gud som Jesus opna den gangen da han måtte sone for min skyld. Da han døde og vant over døden på korset. Jeg ber om tilgivelse for jeg kan få

I interpret Jon's use of pronouns as making this invitation less explicit. By using the first person singular, he expressed this as something he did—however, I understand this to be an implicit invitation to others to do the same.

Olaug indirectly invited the congregation to participate in the confession of sins. She referred to the liturgical text of the confession and said that, although the confession may seem old-fashioned and outdated, it is important to be reminded that if sin is not confessed it can 'lay a smokescreen over life'.¹⁰²⁵ She told the congregation: 'We need to come before God in humility and a true admission'.¹⁰²⁶ Furthermore, a few paragraphs later in the sermon, she said, 'God can forgive and cleanse us, **however not before we want to ourselves**. If we confess, then he is ready'.¹⁰²⁷

Gunnar was direct when he encouraged the congregation to fill their lives with good stories and experiences that give hope. 'Yes, this is what you need to fill your lamp with, over and over again: A Christ who looks for you and searches for you, a Christ who will raise you up when you fall, a Christ who will give you joy and zest for life, even if it seems dark'.¹⁰²⁸ However, Gunnar did not elaborate on this further, nor become more concrete regarding how people could fill their lamps.

In contrast, two of the other pastors were explicit and direct when they invited the congregation to take part in the Holy Communion. Olaug said: 'Welcome to the Eucharist table today. There you¹⁰²⁹ can kneel down—bow before God in genuine admission of who you are. There you can receive the body and blood of Jesus, which he gave in atonement for our sins. He forgives. He will raise you up, and you can walk free and forgiven into life'.¹⁰³⁰ Just as explicitly and directly, Lars told the congregation:

komme med alt det som livet mitt rommer. Og Gud vender aldri ansiktet sitt bort. Jeg møter av og til mennesker som er redd for det. At nå er det vel nok. Nå er vel Gud alt for skuffa over meg. Men Gud vender aldri ansiktet sitt bort fra deg'.

¹⁰²⁵ 'tåkelegge livet'.

¹⁰²⁶ 'Vi trenger å komme fram for Gud i ydmyket og i en sann erkjennelse'.

¹⁰²⁷ 'Gud kan tilgi og rense oss, **men ikke før vi selv vil**. Dersom vi bekjenner, da står han klar' (boldface type in the manuscript).

 ¹⁰²⁸ 'Jo, det er det du må fylle på lampen din med, stadig vekk: En Kristus som leter etter deg, en Kristus som vil reise deg opp når du faller, en Kristus som vil gi deg glede og livsmot, selv om ting kan se mørkt ut'.
 ¹⁰²⁹ In this paragraph, Olaug used the singular when she addressed the congregation.

 ¹⁰³⁰ 'Så velkommen til nattverdbordet i dag. Der kan du knele ned. Bøye deg for Gud, i sann erkjennelse av hvem du er. Der skal du få ta imot Jesu kropp og Jesu blod, som han ga til soning for alle våre synder. Han tilgir. Han vil reise deg opp. Og du kan gå fri og tilgitt ut i livet'.

We are going to celebrate the Eucharist afterward. No great faith is demanded. Or having attended many services. It is enough that you¹⁰³¹ have come now, today. If you, like me, have received it many times before, that is fine. However, the Eucharist is not a prize we deserve. It is about wanting to come to Jesus here and now—with life and faith as it is.¹⁰³²

Besides the explicit invitations already mentioned, the pastors, in general, did not directly address the listeners. This practice raises the question as to whether there is a tradition in the Church of Norway of not focusing on, or being reluctant toward, directly addressing the listeners. Are some pastors afraid of becoming too authoritarian and thus too much like the pastors in the Church of Norway 150 years prior, or as insistent as some contemporary charismatic preachers?

Strategic and Visionary Elements

For me, as an outsider unfamiliar with the congregations and their contexts, I may have overlooked strategic and visionary elements in the sermons. For example, it may have been of strategic importance that Elsa talked about and highlighted the use of the Bible in her sermon in Fagereng, and perhaps Olaug found it especially important to talk about the confession of sins in Øyra. However, neither pastor voiced this explicitly in the sermons or interviews. In his thesis, Saxegaard demonstrates the relationship between a pastor's vision and how he utilizes the sermon to address that vision.¹⁰³³ While the empirical material in this study did not allow me to identify such connections, I did identify three sermons with visionary and/or strategic elements.

The three sermons in the material that I identified as having clear 'strategic or visionary elements' were those of Lars, Jon in the confirmation service, and Sigmund (and the Christian education worker) in the family service. Lars had what I named visionary elements presenting the vision of Hagneset in the welcoming of the service; 'living faith and warm

¹⁰³¹ In this paragraph, Lars used the singular when he addressed the congregation.

¹⁰³² 'Vi skal feire nattverd etterpå. Det kreves ingen stor tro. Eller mange gudstjenestebesøk. Det holder at du kommer nå i dag. Har du som meg gått mange ganger før så er det fint, men nattverden er ikke en premieutdeling som vi har fortjent. Det handler om å ville komme til Jesus her og nå. Men livet og troen slik den er'.

¹⁰³³ Saxegaard, *Realizing Church*, 136-37.

fellowship'.¹⁰³⁴ When I heard his sermon, I therefore understood that it would be part of a strategy to affirm and increase the faith of the congregation.

Within the context of the service as a whole, Jon's sermon to the confirmands (and the rest of the congregation) in Nordbø appeared to be strategic. As I understood it, the sermon's core message was, 'Abide in me as I abide in you'.¹⁰³⁵ This sermon fits into a strategy interwoven across the service aimed at encouraging the young confirmands to continue going to church. There was a strong emphasis on involving young people throughout: Indeed, one of them gave information about and an invitation to continue coming to that church and join the youth club.

As I interpret it, the sermon in Lia was driven by a strategy aimed at encouraging more people to volunteer in the Christian education programme. Like Lars, Sigmund introduced this idea in the welcoming.¹⁰³⁶ Through the independent choice of Bible text, the emphasis placed on the different tasks in the congregation, and the need for people to contribute, I understood this to be a strategic choice, concerning both the topic and the emphasis. They were starting a new semester and wanted to highlight not just the extensive activity in the congregation but the correspondent needs for assistance.

The three pastors who had strategic and/or visionary elements in their sermons focused on the element of community formation. As I have pointed out, the element of community formation comes with ecclesiological implications.¹⁰³⁷ It implies that it is a goal to build Christian fellowships both within and besides the Sunday services. The strategic and visionary elements found in these three pastors' sermons can thus be interpreted as strong indications for their ecclesiological positions. They want to build and form the congregations. I cannot use the lack of such elements in the sermons given by the other pastors to argue that they did not want to contribute to community formation. However, I suggest that these findings can contribute to drawing a picture of diverging ecclesiological positions among the pastors.

¹⁰³⁴ See 5.2.1.

 ¹⁰³⁵ New Revised Standard Version, (https://www.biblestudytools.com/nrs/). John 15:4
 ¹⁰³⁶ See 5.2.1.
 ¹⁰³⁷ See 2.2.4.

Challenging Elements

The challenging elements I identified in the sermons can be divided into two categories. The first category I have named 'personal challenges': These challenges address the inner life and/or faith of those in the congregation. The second category, which I have named 'external challenges', is inspired by the understanding of the service as both a gathering/invitation and a sending into the world.¹⁰³⁸ Did the pastors talk about and challenge the congregation to contribute to church or society in their daily lives?

Here, my general impression is that most of the pastors did not explicitly challenge the congregation by including personal or external challenges in their sermons. However, even if the pastors did not voice a particular challenge, some listeners may have experienced the sermons as challenging, with regard to the choice of topic and/or the way it was performed. I presume this was the case in Nordbø on the day of confirmation, for example.¹⁰³⁹

However, I identified two explicit 'personal challenges'. At one point, Lars used the word 'encouragement'. This word is, as I interpret it, weaker than the word 'challenge'. Still, it is possible to interpret these sentences as a challenge: 'This is an encouragement to us to make room for faith. Let it grow, trust it, rely on it, dare to believe. A lot'.¹⁰⁴⁰ The most explicit challenge, however, was given by Elsa in Fagereng:

This challenges us to be active receivers. What is it we are letting influence us? How do we receive? Do we let worries, richness, pleasures¹⁰⁴¹—are we letting the good life shift our focus away from what is essential? Do we get enthusiastic, however, and quickly forget? Alternatively, do we receive as good soil? What kind of soil am I?¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁸ Johannes Nissen, 'Nadveren - fra bøn til handling', in *En gudstjeneste - mange perspektiver*, ed. Kristine Helboe Johansen and Jette Bendixen Rønkilde (København: Forlaget Anis, 2015), 214–15.

¹⁰³⁹ The explicit message 'abide in me as I abide in you' performed in a humoristic and informal way, could have the potential of being challenging for people not normally exposed to the Christian message.

¹⁰⁴⁰ 'Det er en oppmuntring til oss om å gi troen plass. La det vokse, stole på den, basere oss på at den hoder, våge å tro. Mye'.

¹⁰⁴¹ In the recording, it was difficult to determine what word she used here. Perhaps *glede*? In the manuscript, she had used *nytelse*.

¹⁰⁴² 'Det utfordrer oss til å være aktive mottakere. Hva er det som får prege oss? Hvordan tar vi imot? Lar vi bekymringer, rikdom, glede (?), lar vi det gode liv på en måte ta vekk fokus fra det som er viktig? Blir vi begeistret, men glemmer det fort? Eller tar vi imot som god jord? Hva slags jordsmonn er jeg?'

Moreover, if Jon had formulated his sermon differently by addressing the congregation directly in the regular service, I would likely have interpreted elements in that sermon as challenging, as well.¹⁰⁴³

Moving on to what I define as 'external challenges', I identified three instances in the 10 sermons. The most explicit was the challenge to the congregation from Sigmund and the Christian education worker to volunteer for the Christian education programme. They voiced this challenge implicitly by underlining all the different tasks that had to be done and by making it clear that neither the Christian education worker nor the pastor could—nor had the capacity—to do everything themselves. At the end of the sermon, the Christian education worker explicitly encouraged and challenged people to take part and contribute: 'Song and music then. Is there someone who could help me teach the children coming here some songs? Somebody who can help and who likes to sing and play or...?'When she was met with silence, she exhorted, 'Come on, come on...'¹⁰⁴⁴ This challenge comes with an implicit ecclesiology focusing on building a committed fellowship where the people in the congregation take part and contribute.

The two other challenges were not as explicit. In the sermon in Fagereng, Elsa referred several times to that year's project being the distribution of Bibles in Central Asia. She emphasized to the congregation that there were millions of people there 'longing for the word of God'. For the most part, Elsa simply provided information. However, I interpreted one of her statements as an encouragement or a challenge to contribute: 'We can contribute so that they get the word, get to meet Jesus, get knowledge about who he is'.¹⁰⁴⁵

The challenge in Astrid's sermon was also implicit. When Astrid referred to the national fundraising campaign that day, she said, 'Every year we are allowed to contribute to a good cause together'.¹⁰⁴⁶ Following this, she stated that the day's offering would be going to the Rainforest Foundation Norway, and devoted a few sentences to the importance of rainforests and the insecurity of those living in areas where the rainforests are being deforested. However, Astrid did not give a direct or explicit invitation or challenge to

¹⁰⁴³ In 6.2.4, I pointed out that Jon's use of personal pronouns made the invitation to participate in the Lord's prayer less explicit.

¹⁰⁴⁴ 'Sang og musikk da. Er det noen som kan hjelpe meg til å lære bort noen sanger til barna som kommer her?
Noen som kan hjelpe og som liker å synge eller spille og? *Stille i noen sekunder*. Kom igjen, kom igjen...'
¹⁰⁴⁵ 'Vi kan være med og bidra til at de får Ordet, at de får møte Jesus, at de får kjennskap til hvem han er'.
¹⁰⁴⁶ 'Hvert år får vi mulig [sic] til sammen å bidra til et godt formal'.

contribute. Besides being implicit, it is also worth noticing that although she says that the congregation can contribute to a good cause *together*, the focus is not on the fellowship doing something together. However, the focus is on the importance of the project. I moreover suggest that this focus supports an understanding of Astrid as not focusing on building a fellowship within the congregation, but rather inspiring those present to contribute to society.

6.2.5. Empowering

According to Carroll, empowerment implies that the pastor is supposed to help the congregation to reflect on the implications of their faith in their daily lives. It is the task of the pastor to equip people for ministry in 'their everyday roles in family life, work, civic affairs, and leisure activities'.¹⁰⁴⁷ How can their faith, its words, and symbols, be resources for acting? As Carroll states, both meaning interpretation and community formation contribute to empowering.¹⁰⁴⁸ In this sub-chapter, I thus reflect briefly upon how the sermons in this material have the potential to equip people for ministry.

First, I argue that the affirming elements in the sermons establish the ground to equip people for ministry. When Elsa emphasized God's presence all our days in the family service in Elvebakken, Lars affirmed the faith of the parents who had brought their children to be baptised, Gunnar emphasized that as the child baptised was received by Christ, the same goes for all present, and when Jon and the catechist underlined there is a place in the three for all, they all affirmed and reminded the listeners of the love of God. I argue that affirming the listeners' faith establishes the ground for them being able to reflect upon the implications of their faith in their daily lives. However, when Sigmund and the Christian education worker in Lia did not have any affirming elements in their sermon, it is reasonable to ask whether they were so focused on challenging the people in the congregation to act that they missed the foundation and thus the resources for acting?

However, as I have demonstrated when analyzing meaning interpretation, few sermons were directly connected to people's lives and how the message might be used as a resource in the daily lives of the listeners. When I analyzed how the pastors adapt for community

¹⁰⁴⁷ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 105.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 104.

formation, differences between the pastors became evident. While Jon and Lars had both inviting, strategic and visionary, as well as challenging elements in their sermons, Astrid had only one implicitly challenging element, and Gunnar had one inviting element. Consequently, it thus seems as if some of the pastors emphasize the empowering dimension of the sermons more than others. I argue that these findings correspond to the findings presented earlier in this chapter¹⁰⁴⁹ as well as in the pastoral leadership practice of presiding. Moreover, these findings support that the pastors' backgrounds as well as their ecclesiology contribute to how they carry out pastoral leadership in the practice of preaching. The pastors with a multifaceted background from both church and organizations were those who clearly had the most inviting, strategic and visionary, as well as challenging elements in their sermons. Their sermons moreover indicate an ecclesiology where they want to build fellowship and form the community.

In the analysis of the pastors' sermons, I detected that almost all of the pastors had affirming elements, and thus carried out pastoral leadership by seeking to preserve the congregation's Christian identity. However, when I analyzed how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership through meaning interpretation, community formation, and empowering, I identified that the pastors' leadership practice differed, and these findings adds to the development of the two patterns contributing to understanding the pastoral leadership of the pastors.

6.3. What Did the Pastors Say About the Sermon as an Arena for Pastoral Leadership?

In this sub-chapter, I present the pastors' responses when I asked them to reflect on how they understood the sermon as a practice in which they could contribute to leadership in and of the congregation. When some of the pastors answered, I got the impression that this was a new, or at least different, topic for them. While some were able to respond

¹⁰⁴⁹ See 6.1.

immediately (e.g., Astrid and Sigmund), I had the feeling others were reflecting on this question for the first time (e.g., Olaug and Elsa). Olaug was searching for words when she said:

Eh- (pause) No, I don't know what to say. I do want them to *grow* as Christians—I do—through preaching. If you're four or ninety, I want them to receive something from a sermon if it is simple or complicated (smiles—a hint of chuckling) in a way then (pause). And I am attentive to preach *understandable* in a way. Yes, so that people can understand what I am talking about. Can relate it to something in their lives. In that way I probably try to lead them—a (pause)—in that they get something for their faith.¹⁰⁵⁰

In preaching, Olaug aims at contributing that people grow as Christians. She emphasizes that preaching must be understandable, so that they can relate the message to their daily life. While Olaug hesitated, and it seems as if reflecting on the sermon as a leadership practice was new to her, Jon was enthusiastic when I asked if he in one way or another leads the congregation in the preaching:

I definitely think so, that one of my tasks is to walk some steps together with the congregation. It is like the old thinking of [being] the shepherd, which I am pretty much shaped by in my pastoral ministry. But also in a way to go a little like Philip and the official¹⁰⁵¹ in a way. [...] My role is to walk beside and, yes, point out a direction or clarify or add or. So, I am not afraid of putting much into it. I am not an eager follower of that ideal of making it as open as possible. I am rather preoccupied of being one who can contribute putting something on a peg, yes lead them. (I: yes, be a leader, be clear, yes) Yes, clear, and in a way know where I *want* with what the congregation gets from the preaching.¹⁰⁵²

Jon explicitly expressed that he wants to lead the congregation, and that this is deliberate.

He moreover qualifies this leadership by using the metaphor of the shepherd, and the story

¹⁰⁵⁰ 'Ehm (pause). Nei, jeg vet ikke helt hva jeg skal si. Jeg ønsker jo at de skal *vokse* som kristne det gjør jeg jogjennom forkynnelsen. Og om du er fire år eller om du er nitti da så ønsker jeg jo at de skal *få* noe ut av en preken om den er enkel eller komplisert (smil—antydning til humring), på en måte da. At (pause) jeg er litt sånn opptatt av å forkynne *forståelig* på en måte, ja sånn at folk skjønner hva jeg snakker om. Kan knytte til noe i livet sitt. På den måten så prøver jeg vel å lede dem inn på—ehm—på en (pause) ja—at de får noe for troen da'.

¹⁰⁵¹ Acts 8:26-39.

¹⁰⁵² 'Det tenker jeg absolutt, at en av mine oppgaver er på en måte å gå noen steg med menigheten. Det er litt sånn den gamle hyrdetenkningen, som jeg er ganske preget av i min prestetjeneste, men også det, på en måte, gå litt sånn Filip og hoffmannen, på en måte. [...] Min rolle er å gå ved siden av, og ja peke ut en retning eller tydeliggjøre eller legge til eller, altså jeg er ikke redd for å legge mye inn i det. Altså det der idealet om å gjøre det så åpent som mulig at det kan, det er jeg ikke så ivrig tilhenger av, men jeg er opptatt av heller å være en som kan bidra med å hekte noe på knaggene, ja lede dem og (I: ja, være leder, være tydelig, ja). Ja, tydelig, og på en måte vite hvor jeg *vil* hen med hva menigheten får med seg av forkynnelsen.

of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch. As Jon also said, the metaphor of the shepherd is an old biblical metaphor for the pastoral task of leading the congregation.¹⁰⁵³ However, he does not elaborate on how he interprets this metaphor. As I interpret him though, he uses the story of the Ethiopian eunuch to add nuance to the metaphor of the shepherd. Therefore, I interpret Jon implying that the main task of the shepherd is going in front and guiding the flock. A complementing interpretation could be that the shepherd also goes behind the flock, making sure everyone follows. However, Jon adds nuance to these perspectives by emphasizing Philip as being one going alongside the congregation. Explaining, clarifying, and pointing out a direction.

In this saying, Jon moreover distances himself from a position 'making it as open as possible'. I interpret this as a critique of open-ended preaching where much of the content is open for different interpretations by the listeners. For Jon, it is important to utilize the sermon to pass on a clear and intended message adapted to the people in the congregation:

My task is to know well enough where the congregation is so that the preaching can reach them. But not in a way that I put some main [objectives], not a serialising in a way, because that I feel becomes sometimes a side-track [...] It is rather about reaching [people] there and then, and be able to lead the congregation some steps further in important matters affecting [their] lives, but not with some main objective in a way... It is about leading them to heaven (chuckling).¹⁰⁵⁴

Jon emphasizes knowing the congregation and thus the contextual element of being able to preach in a given context, making it meaningful for those being in that context. In all this, 'it is about leading them to heaven'. Although the chuckling indicated that this remark was a bit pompous, I interpret Jon as vouching for the content. Moreover, I interpret this saying as being his 'main objective', although on another level than he talks about. In line with this saying, Jon told me that he was often characterized as a revivalist preacher. He wanted the sermon to be moving and heartfelt,¹⁰⁵⁵ and he focused on the performance.

¹⁰⁵³ The word 'pastor' is also derived from that metaphor.

¹⁰⁵⁴ 'Min oppgave er å kjenne godt nok til hvor menigheten er til at forkynnelsen kan treffe. Men ikke sånn at jeg setter meg noen sånne overordnede, ikke noen føljetong, på en måte, for det føler jeg heller at av og til blir litt avsporende [...] Det heller handler om å sånn treffe der og da, og kunne føre menigheten noen steg videre sånn i viktige ting som berører livene, men ikke med en overordnet agenda, på en måte... Det handler om å føre dem til himmelen'.

As he also indicated in the above quote, seeing the sermon as an important leadership arena does not involve his putting forward some main objectives for a semester or a year:

But when you ask a little of the *long* run, I am not sure that I am that much, at least not very preoccupied with it—if I in a way should walk through the liturgical year, in a way, during the year, or a little like from place to place. Because there I feel that we have too many, it is too many different arenas and too many things we are holding together at the same time here, this making much sense.¹⁰⁵⁶

Besides being sceptical towards the concept of making series of sermons, he moreover addresses the challenges in doing so. There are too many things going on at the same time, and different people attending the services and at different places. As I interpret him, it would not have made sense to try to make a series of sermons. Olaug expressed the same challenge:

I have felt it a little bit *intricate* that I have been to different places and different kinds of services and I have not—it's definitely not any themes, or any ongoing topics in what I say in a way. Because I am here and there and then I have *very* often the services being for children and youths. [...] But I think it still becomes an entirety because you follow the church year and you follow texts put up, right. So, it's a kind of rhythm in it, it becomes [a rhythm] for the congregation.¹⁰⁵⁷

While Jon expressed that he was not that preoccupied with the liturgical year, Olaug, on the other hand, points to the liturgical year as giving an overarching rhythm and holding the services together. In this sense—as I understand her—she argues that the liturgical year contributes to, or supports, the pastoral leadership task.

Sigmund asserted that the sermon is an important part of the pastors' spiritual leadership: 'We are a team of leaders in this congregation—the administrative leader, the leader of the parish council, and myself. However, the *spiritual* leadership is mine. In this matter, I think

¹⁰⁵⁶ 'Men når du spør litt sånn, i det *lange* løp, så er jeg ikke sikker på om jeg er så veldig, i hvert fall ikke så veldig opptatt av det, om jeg på en måte skal gå en vandring gjennom kirkeåret, på en måte, i løpet av året, eller litt sånn fra sted til sted. For der føler jeg at vi har for mange. Det er for mange ulike arenaer og for mange ting som vi holder i samtidig her, til at det gir så mye mening'.

¹⁰⁵⁷ '[Jeg har] følt det litt sånn *brokete* da med at jeg har vært forskjellige steder og forskjellige typer gudstjenester og at jeg har liksom ikke, det er absolutt ikke noe snakk om noe sånn temaer, eller noen lange linjer i det jeg sier på en måte. For jeg er her og der og sånn og så har jeg *veldig* ofte de gudstjenestene som er for barn og ungdom. [...] Men jeg tenker jo at, at det blir jo en slags helhet likevel da for at du følger jo et kirkeår og du følger tekster som er satt opp, ikke sant, så det blir jo en sånn rytme i det, det blir jo det for menigheten'.

the preaching has a central role'.¹⁰⁵⁸ Sigmund defines the spiritual leadership as his task. I did not ask him how he interpreted the relationship between his task as a spiritual leader, and the parish council's task of 'having their attention directed towards everything that can be done to waken and nourish the Christian life in the parish'.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, in his statement, I sense a possible tension between the two.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, Sigmund sees the sermon as a central element in performing his task. In doing so, my interpretation is that he puts the sermon into a broader context. Indirectly, he makes a connection between the sermon and Paragraph 10 in the official regulations of pastors in the Church of Norway, which states that pastors, in their administration of word and sacraments, contribute to the spiritual leading of the congregation.¹⁰⁶¹

Astrid was one of the pastors who offered immediate reflections upon the relationship between the sermon and leadership. When she answered on the question of preaching is part of the congregational leadership, she said:

Yes, because I actually think that there are many ethical areas where there is something to talk about. [...] Being a pastor is having a responsibility to guide. What does the ordination liturgy tell? It is written something about it, right, without me remembering exactly. I don't belong to those reading the ordination liturgy every week (Astrid and I laugh) But, I think it's important that I can contribute to help people interpret their lives. And I think it's funny if I can say something that is not that obvious, that I can come with a new approach, right.¹⁰⁶²

As I interpret Astrid, she intended to refer to the part of the ordination liturgy where the bishop instructs and admonishes the ordinand: 'That you faithfully guide and admonish to true repentance, a living faith in Christ and a holy life in love to God and the neighbour'.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁶⁰ Due to the scope of this thesis, I don't follow this further.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 'Vi er jo et lederteam her i menigheten—daglig leder, menighetsrådsleder og meg. Men det *åndelige* lederskapet er jo mitt. Her tenker jeg at forkynnelsen har en sentral plass'.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 'ha sin oppmerksomhet henvendt på alt som kan gjøres for å vekke og nære det kristelige liv i soknet'. 'Lov om Den norske kirke (kirkeloven). Lov 7. juni 1996 nr. 31',(1996), §9.

https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1996-06-07-31?q=Kirkeloven.

¹⁰⁶¹ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

¹⁰⁶² 'Ja, for jeg tenker faktisk at det er mange etiske områder som det er noe å si noe om. [...] Altså det å være prest er jo å ha et ansvar for å rettlede, hva er det det står i ordinasjonsritualet? Det står noe om dette ikke sant, ja, uten at jeg helt husker det. Jeg hører ikke til dem som leser ordinasjonsritualet hvert år... (A og I ler). Men jeg tenker at det er viktig at det jeg kan si kan være med på å hjelpe folk til å tolke livene sine, ehm, og jeg synes det er morsomt hvis jeg kan si noe som ikke er så opplagt bestandig, at jeg kan komme med en ny vinkel, ikke sant'.

¹⁰⁶³ 'at du trofast veileder og formaner til sann omvendelse, levende tro på Kristus og et hellig liv i kjærlighet til Gud og nesten'. *Del II Kirkelige handlinger*, 169.

Astrid's emphasis is put on the pastor's being a guide, and she highlights the ethical areas for such guidance. What kind of ethical questions, she did not mention. In her reflection on the question of her performing leadership in the sermon, Elsa too related her leadership to ethical questions, and she related them to how she wanted the congregation to be:

Yes, that is obvious. I am *me* when I stand there, and I want to pass on something to the congregation, both the message, but I wish to lead [with what I do]. I said something about that when I spoke about sometimes being frustrated that the congregation is not that good welcoming new people. Then I talk about integrating. Then I want—right how do we welcome. [...] In relation to ethical questions, in relation to welcoming strangers, it becomes clear that is leadership because I express clearly what I mean or what we as a congregation should do.¹⁰⁶⁴

Here, Elsa referred to her practice of welcoming people and trying to contribute to a change in the congregation.¹⁰⁶⁵ Her emphasis here, is that both her words and deeds are a way of leading. For her, it seems like an urgent matter to try to shape the congregation to be more welcoming.

Astrid moreover emphasized that leadership was about choosing a perspective: 'That is to lead, to *choose* one perspective. Don't bring in the *entire* liturgical year, [not] *all* the dogma *every* Sunday. That I find as a part of it'.¹⁰⁶⁶ Astrid pointed out how the different contexts shaped the sermon. She mentioned the other congregation where she preached, where they enjoyed learning and liked it when the pastor used and communicated her theological knowledge.

Both Lars and Olaug expressed the importance of preaching in a way that encouraged people to come and receive Holy Communion. Lars expressed this encouragement to often being his goal in the service; 'to (pause) preach so [that] people who want, who feel they—that they will have something to do with Jesus, have the courage to receive the Holy

¹⁰⁶⁴ 'Ja, det er jo klart det. Altså, jeg er jo *meg* når jeg står der, og ønsker å formidle noe til menigheten, altså både, altså budskapet, men jeg ønsker jo også egentlig å lede [med det jeg gjør], jeg sa jo egentlig noe om det, når jeg snakket om at jeg av og til er frustrert over at menigheten ikke er like flinke til å ta imot nye. Da snakker jeg om integrering, da ønsker jeg, altså hvordan vi tar imot også der. Jeg altså, jeg—i forhold til utfordringene, i forhold til etiske spørsmål, i forhold til, altså dette med å ta imot fremmede, så er det klart at det blir jo ledelse, fordi jeg gir klart uttrykk for sånn sett hva jeg mener eller hva vi som menighet bør gjøre'.

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Det er å lede. Det er liksom altså å *velge* seg et perspektiv. Ikke ta med *hele* kirkeåret, *hele* dogmatikken *hver* søndag. Det tenker jeg faktisk er en bit av det'.

Communion'.¹⁰⁶⁷ Olaug also wanted to deepen the understanding of the eucharist: 'Today, the angle was a bit serious, but I am pretty aware that if it is eucharist, and when it is baptism, then I try to say something about it in the sermon and [...] give a new approach or a new understanding or a deeper understanding of what it *is,* what we *get* or what it implies to be baptised or to receive the Holy Communion'.¹⁰⁶⁸

As I interpret these findings, most of the pastors reflected upon pastoral leadership in preaching as meaning interpretation; they wanted to relate the sermon to something in the listeners lives and make it understandable. Moreover, they wanted to give new perspectives and contribute with knowledge.¹⁰⁶⁹ However, none of the pastors expressed having a practice of a long-term strategic planning of the sermons.

Although I identified many similarities between the pastors, there were also differences and distinctions between them. Several of the pastors emphasized the formative element in preaching. However, their emphasis differed. Astrid and Elsa highlighted the ethical dimension, and thus how they wanted to guide the congregation. These perspectives can be interpreted as being in line with Carroll's focus on empowering as helping the congregation to reflect on the implication of faith in their daily lives.¹⁰⁷⁰ While Astrid did not give any concrete examples, Elsa gave an example pointing to how she wanted to contribute to an inviting culture in the congregation.

Other pastors used another language. They talked about growing in faith, inviting to Holy Communion, spiritual leadership, reaching people, leading them to heaven. This language thus focuses on other formative elements than the ethical. As I interpret these sayings, they imply a focus on leading people closer to God. Some of the sayings moreover express as an explicit goal guiding or moving people closer to Christian fellowship. These findings thus imply an ecclesiology focusing on the Christian fellowship.

When comparing the sayings of the pastors with the findings in their actual sermons, I found that what the pastors said about their intentions for their practice aligned well with their

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'Å (pause) preke så folk som vil ha, som kjenner at de—at de vil ha noe med Jesus å gjøre, har frimodighet til å komme til nattverd'.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'I dag og var vinklingen litt sånn aloverlig, men jeg er ganske bevisst på at hvis det er nattverd og når det er dåp, så prøver jeg å si noe om det i prekenen [...] for å gi en ny vinkling eller ny forståelse, en dypere forståelse av hva det *er* hva vi *får* eller hva det *innebærer* da, å bli døpt eller komme frem til nattverd'.
¹⁰⁶⁹ Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 93.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Carroll, As one with Authority, 105.

actual practice. Those being explicit about using the sermon to invite and challenge the listeners to come closer to God/the fellowship were the same pastors who had inviting, challenging and/or strategic and/or visionary elements in their sermons. While Astrid, who clearly had another language expressing her intentions in preaching, had no inviting, explicitly challenging, or strategic or visionary elements. However, she had an implicit external challenge, which was in line with her ethical approach. I moreover suggest that these findings support the idea that the pastors' backgrounds and experiences shaped their practice. Those pastors who were the most explicit in focusing on leading people closer to God and the Christian fellowship reflect influences from the laity and/or charismatic movement. I argue that these influences have also shaped them in this matter.

6.4. Summary – The Practice of Preaching

In this chapter, I have analyzed how the pastors carried out pastoral leadership in the practice of preaching by focusing on how they performed the sermon, and on the content of the sermons. Moreover, I have analyzed their sayings about the sermon as an arena for pastoral leadership.

When analyzing the performance of the sermon, I first focused on the staging of the pastors and their reasoning behind their practice. It seems as if most of the pastors had practical arguments for their practice. An essential element in their considerations was the architecture of the churches. The pastors who presided in churches with a traditional pulpit used it. Most of them expressed that this was the way they could be heard and seen. The pastors who preached in a church centre did not use the pulpit. These pastors argued they wanted to be close and communicate better. In 8.2, I thus argue that the architecture of the churches is a central contextual element necessary to implement in a theory of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

However, the analysis displays that it is more than architecture shaping the practice of the pastors. It seems as if the pastors moreover view the pulpit differently. While some of the pastors regard the pulpit as an important artefact in the room having symbolic value, others do not. One of the pastors explicitly expressed the understanding of the pulpit as a symbol emphasizing the word of God. He reflected also explicitly upon the question of authority and

power when utilizing it, and thus that the pulpit can contribute to the authority of the pastor. Moreover, he expressed that whether he used the pulpit or not depended upon whether it functioned in the setting. None of the pastors not using the pulpit reflected upon the pulpit as a symbolic element. This dimension seemed out of sight. As I interpret these findings, some of the pastors lean more towards the traditional authority of the pastors by utilizing the pulpit. Others do not relate to the pulpit as a symbol giving authority neither to the word or the pastor. Instead, they lean towards a charismatic authority.

When I analyze how the pastors did meaning interpretation by body movements and gestures, and how they used language and their voicel argue there are two patterns corresponding with the two patterns identified in the leadership practice of presiding. Although the empirical material demonstrated there are nuances and exceptions in the material, I argue that the main tendency is that pastors who used the pulpit had no body movements and limited gestures. These were the same pastors who performed the sermon using a precise and formal language. On the other hand, the pastors who were wandering around gesticulating, used an oral and informal language. However, the practice of some of the pastors was context-dependent.

In the sermons, there are obviously many contextual elements in the sense that both the church year and listeners affected how the pastors preached. However, contextual elements have not been the focus in the analysis. The focus has been on pastoral leadership through how the pastors do meaning interpretation, community formation, invite to bread and forgiveness and empower the congregational members to live as the people of God in the world.

It differed as to how and to what extent the pastors related the Bible text to the lived lives of the listeners. There were few examples of sermons being directly connected to people's lives and how the message might be used as a resource in the daily lives of the listeners. However, some of the pastors used stories or other means to relate their message to the lives of the listeners. Some pastors had personal elements in their sermons, and some used humour.

Few pastors addressed the listeners with explicit invitations, a few more with implicit invitations. Most of the pastors did not explicitly challenge the congregation by including what I respectively have named personal and external challenges in their sermons. However,

there were a few examples of both. The most explicit challenge was put forward by Sigmund and the Christian education worker in the family service. They challenged the people present to contribute to activities, and thus to building fellowship within the congregation. Moreover, this sermon, as well as two others, had what I identified as strategic or visionary elements.

The pastors' sayings about the sermon disclose that not all of them had reflected upon the sermon as an arena of pastoral leadership. When asked, they moreover emphasized diverging approaches to this leadership arena. While some pastors expressed that the sermon was an arena for ethical guidance, others utilized another language, implying a focus on leading people closer to God. Some of the sayings moreover expressed an explicit goal to guide or move people closer to the Christian fellowship. These findings thus imply an ecclesiology focusing on building a Christian fellowship.

I argue there is a pattern in the findings in this chapter. With a few exceptions, it was the same pastors who did not use the pulpit, were oral and informal, who wandered around gesticulating and who had personal elements, strategic and/or visionary elements, explicit invitations, personal challenges, and who used humour as an effect in their sermons. Some of them were clearly formative and utilized the sermon to shape the congregation. These pastors emphasized the sermon as an arena of leading people closer to God and Christian fellowship. These pastors thus emphasize elements contributing to building fellowship in the congregation. On the other hand, there were other pastors who did not have explicit invitations, personal challenges, strategic and/or visionary elements, and who did not use humour in their sermons. Most of them used the pulpit, had no body movements and limited gestures, and were precise and formal. These pastors do not focus on building a fellowship in the congregation.

The suggested pattern in this chapter is connected to findings in the previous chapters, and this chapter thus contributes to the pattern presented in chapter 8.1, summing up the analysis of all the chapters.

7. The Leadership Practice of Concluding

In this chapter, I present the analysis of the empirical material related to the time following the services. When I conducted the fieldwork for this project, I was not aware that the practice of concluding would prove important—and indeed would need its own chapter in this thesis. Therefore, I did not focus on this practice in my participatory observations. Moreover, there were also practical obstacles that inhibited my observation of the pastors' practice of concluding. In some of the churches (Øyra and partly in Indrevik, Nordbø, and Hole), I could pay attention to what the pastors did while I put away my technical equipment; in others, I could not, so I missed the opportunity to observe their concluding practices (Hagneset, Lia, Fagereng, and Elvebakken). Additionally, I did not touch upon this theme in my interviews with Sigmund and Lars.

Nevertheless, I argue that the empirical material presented in this chapter complements the main findings in this thesis. It contributes to develop the two patterns already argued for in chapter 5 and 6, and it moreover supports taking the pastors' personality into consideration when understanding pastoral leadership. Moreover, it complements and strengthens the argument that the pastors' ecclesiology must be considered.

The theoretical perspectives utilized in this chapter, are, besides Kemmis' understanding of practice as doings, sayings, and relatings,¹⁰⁷¹ Carroll's focus on community formation.¹⁰⁷² The empirical material focuses both on what the pastors do and how they experience the time immediately after the service, as well as what they do, how they experience it and what they say about the church coffee hour. However, since these elements are intertwined, I choose to present all of the empirical material in one sub-chapter (7.1).

7.1. A Pastoral Leader After the Service?

There was a church coffee hour after almost all of the services, in which coffee, juice, biscuits, and/or cakes were served. (The only exceptions were the confirmation service in

¹⁰⁷¹ Kemmis, 'Understanding Professional Practice ', 25-26. See 2.3.1.

¹⁰⁷² Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 100. See 2.2.4.

Nordbø and the service in Indrevik.) In Nordbø and Øyra, this took place in the church room, while in Hole, Hagneset, Fagereng, Elvebakken, and Lia, they had additional rooms in the church building where this took place. All of the pastors participated in the coffee hour and/or spent time talking to people after the service.

Jon explicitly expressed that the time after the services was an important part of leading services:

I often say that the coffee hour is a part of the service. There, I think I'm still the leader of the service, in the coffee hour, yes. (I: Yes, so then it's, then you consider it as an important part of?) Yes, oh yes, definitely, yes. It's a topic for discussion in my home why I never come home until after the church coffee hour. I could have left, but it (laughs), but I actually think it's a part of the task, yes. I mean that the fellowship in the service is such an important part of the service. [...] I think that the services are so interwoven in the rest of the congregational life, so that this is also connected to my way of being a leader.¹⁰⁷³

Jon expressed the importance of the fellowship dimension in the services, and that fellowship after the services is an essential element. For him, it was thus important to take part in this fellowship. As I interpret him, Jon understands himself having a symbolic role signalling that the gathering after the service is an essential part of the service, and he demonstrated that he was part of the fellowship. He moreover emphasized that he, as a pastor, has a role of being an intermediary between the Sunday services and the rest of congregational life. Jon thus understands the time after the service as an element where he, by being part of the fellowship and thus making connections between the services and the rest of the congregational life, contributes to pastoral leadership in and of the congregation.¹⁰⁷⁴ By this remark, he also expresses that this practice is an important element in community formation, and that he has an ecclesiology focusing on fellowship.

Most of the pastors walked down the aisle and stood by the door greeting the congregation on their way out. For Elsa, this was an essential practice:

¹⁰⁷³ 'Jeg pleier ofte å si at kirkekaffen er en del av gudstjenesten. Sånn at der er jeg fremdeles gudstjenesteleder, tenker jeg, på kirkekaffen, ja. (I: ja, så da er det, du ser det som en viktig del av?) Ja, å ja, ja absolutt, ja. Det er jo en type sånn diskusjonstema i heimen her, hvorfor jeg aldri kommer hjem før etter kirkekaffe. Jeg kunne jo bare dra, men det (ler), men det tenker jeg er faktisk en del av oppgaven, ja. Jeg mener at gudstjenestefellesskapet er en så viktig del av gudstjenesten. Jeg tenker jo at gudstjenestelivet er så tett flettet sammen med det som ellers er menighetsliv, at jeg føler at det også henger sammen med min måte å være leder på, at det skal gjenspeile at det henger tett sammen'.

I am really conscious. You saw me standing there. I usually stand by the door both *before* the service and after the service. [...]And I am, I don't know if you have noticed, but I am walking *straight out* to the coffee hour wearing the alb. Because I won't miss anything. (I: Yes, right, so that's the reasoning.) Yes, because if I walk down and undress, then they are on their way out before I have managed to arrive, yes. [...] In Fagereng I manage to walk out before people start walking. I am not able to do that here [in Elvebakken], because it's in a way like, people start walking when I have said: 'Go in peace. Serve the Lord with gladness'. Then it is like 'tsjt'!, but then I'm like 'tsjupp' out, and that's about—I am trying to catch, I greet people in general, but if I see there are others I have not greeted before—There were many people on Sunday, so then I am not able to do *that*, but in a regular setting I would manage to notice if there are newcomers, yes.¹⁰⁷⁵

Elsa was consciously using the time after the service to greet people. Because of the congregational culture in Elvebakken by leaving the room straight after the last greeting, she had to hurry in order to be able to greet people before they leave. For her, greeting people was important. In particular, she was attentive to newcomers, and wanted to approach them. She emphasized that this practice of greeting people in the congregation was not because she wanted or needed feedback: 'It's not *me* being seen, but I shall see *people*. And that I find important after the service. It's obvious that it's maybe *there* I also receive some feedback. But, this [practice] is most about, as far as I am concerned, that I want to see people—in order to possibly catch—or greet new people or talk a little'.¹⁰⁷⁶ She too, emphasizes the fellowship.

Gunnar too told me that he always went to the entrance of the church, to say goodbye to people at the end of the service. However, he was more ambivalent to his own practice: In principle, he characterized this as an unfortunate practice: 'I really would like to walk out and then walk in the back door or something'.¹⁰⁷⁷ He moreover said that this practice was

¹⁰⁷⁵ 'Jeg er veldig bevisst. Du så at jeg stod, jeg står som regel ved døren, både *før* gudstjenesten og etter gudstjenesten. Jeg vet ikke om du har registrert det, men jeg vandrer jo *rett* ut til kirkekaffen i prestekjolen. Nettopp fordi jeg ikke skal "misse ut" på noe. (I: Ja, stemmer, så det er det som er begrunnelsen mhm) Ja, for hvis jeg går ned og kler av meg, så er de liksom på vei ut før jeg har kommet meg dit, ja. [...] I Fagereng klarer jeg å gå ut før folk begynner å gå. Det gjør jeg ikke her [i Elvebakken], fordi vi har på en måte litt sånn, men folk begynner å gå når jeg har sagt "gå i fred, tjen Herren med glede", så er det "tsjt!", men da er jeg ganske sånn "tsjupp" ut, og det handler rett og slett lite grann om det, at jeg prøver å fange opp, altså jeg hilser på folk generelt, men viss jeg ser at det er andre jeg ikke har hilst på før nå, nå var det mange der på søndag, så da klarer jeg ikke *det*, men en vanlig setting så vil jeg kunne klare å fange opp hvis det er nye folk, ja'.

¹⁰⁷⁷ 'Jeg skulle egentlig bare ha likt og gått ut og så gått inn bakveien eller sånt noe'.

absurd: '[I]t is an absurdity. I think we should greet each other (chuckles) and not necessarily the pastor. The pastor—they must all get the impression that they are visitors in the church—and like 'here the pastor lives, like he has welcomed you'. Everything hinting to (such an understanding), I think is an absurdity'.¹⁰⁷⁸ When I asked him if this ambivalence was rooted in his personality, he denied that, laughing, and said that, on the contrary, his personality destroyed his principles. My interpretation is that, while Gunnar enjoyed talking with people following the service, he did not want to contribute to an atmosphere in which, as he described it, those attending church felt like they were guests in his (i.e., the pastor's) house. The symbolic role of the pastor thus becomes problematic as it could contribute to what Gunnar would name a wrong interpretation of the role of the pastor—and of the service.

Gunnar moreover told me that he had experienced 'a wealth of emotions'¹⁰⁷⁹ after the service I observed. He enjoyed meeting some people who had not been to that church before, and he tried to make them feel welcome. Moreover, seeing that two confirmands had come to this church together with their father made him glad, and he thought that perhaps this meant they would assist in Indrevik rather than the other church. He was also happy that a man who characterized himself as an atheist came over and spoke with him. However, meeting a faithful elderly woman made him feel guilty. He explained: 'Being a pastor is, among other things, living with continuous guilt whilst driving through a neighbourhood'.¹⁰⁸⁰ It reminded him of all of the people he should have visited, and all the people in pain, and experiencing sorrow. This elderly woman was such a reminder.

Gunnar's saying expresses his pastoral responsibility and leadership outsides of the Sunday services, and demonstrates the close relationship between what happens in the Sunday service and the rest of his role as a pastor.¹⁰⁸¹ He emphasizes all the relationships, and the

¹⁰⁷⁸ 'Det er blant annet en uting fordi at jeg, av flere grunner synes jeg det er en uting. Jeg synes vi skal hilse på hverandre (humrer), ikke nødvendigvis på presten. Presten, de er jo—de må alle få en følelse av at de er på besøk i kirken og liksom 'her er det presten som bor, liksom, og han har ønsket dere velkommen' mens alt det som kan tyde på det synes jeg er en forferdelig uting'.

¹⁰⁷⁹ 'Et vell av følelser'.

¹⁰⁸⁰ 'Det å være prest er jo blant annet å ha konstant dårlig samvittighet når man kjører gjennom et boligområde'.

¹⁰⁸¹ 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester.', §10.

hopes and dreams that he as a pastor carries. Hopefully someone has received something vital for life.

Astrid and Olaug were the only pastors who stayed at the front of the church after the service was finished. Astrid joined the families who had a baptism and lined up with them for pictures. According to Olaug, the families sometimes asked her to be part of the pictures. On the day I observed her, however, she stood for approximately 20 seconds by the entrance to the sacristy, waiting, and watching. She then went into the sacristy, where she took off the chasuble, stole, and alb. It took some time before she came out of the sacristy, at which point she went to the altar and retrieved her things. As I interpreted Olaug, she did not know what to do. She did not want to come on strong to the families having the baptism. However, she wanted to be available if they wanted her to take part in the pictures. Eventually, Olaug came down to where the church coffee hour was taking place, and she began talking to people.

Olaug described meeting people after the service as 'demanding'. Generally, after a service, Olaug felt vulnerable, especially if she felt the sermon had not gone well, or she had not been adequately prepared. She told me that, in those instances, it was difficult to walk back out from the sacristy. When I asked her how she felt about the church coffee hour following the service, she replied that she enjoyed talking to people and listening to them, as most of them she only met on Sundays. At the same time, she felt a bit uncomfortable, as she worried that people might feel obliged to say something nice to her about the service. Although she wanted to receive feedback, she did not find this to be a pleasant feeling.

I work a bit with myself. Sometimes I think I should stand by the door saying goodbye to people, or greeting them, and so on, and then there are three doors and then... Yes, that doesn't work very well, and the families who had a baptism [are there] and [it's] narrow in the entrance, and so I feel it's hard to get down there and greet people. However, it's probably what I want the *most*—to stand there saying goodbye to people and shaking their hands. Then it becomes more that I just enter the office there or the sacristy and then walk to the coffee hour. Then it's a kind of wall.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁸² 'Jobber litt med meg selv. Jeg tenker sånn som av og til så bør jeg liksom stå ved døren og si ha det til folk, eller hilse på folk og sånn, og så er det tre dører og så. Ja, så det funker så dårlig og dåpsfamilier og trangt i gangen og liksom, ja at jeg kommer meg liksom ikke ned, føler jeg, og får hilst på folk, men det er vel egentlig det jeg har *mest* lyst til, å stå og si ha det til folk der ute, og ta dem i hånden ehm, så da blir det mer at jeg bare stikker inn på kontoret der (kort humring), eller på sakristiet og sånt og så går jeg ut til kirkekaffen, og da er det *litt* sånn mur'.

In Øyra, there were practical challenges involved in standing at the door because there were three doors. Although she wanted to say good-bye to people before they left the building, she had not found any practical way to do so. As I interpret Olaug, she spent energy both on thinking about what to do following the service and on pushing through her discomfort so she could talk to people during the church coffee hour.

Astrid, too, expressed that, as she felt quite tired after the service, the subsequent socializing could be draining. Astrid wondered if this was also due to her introverted personality. She explained: 'So first you have to take photos with the children who have been baptised and then you have to have coffee with different, you know—there are so many different needs. Sometimes I just feel like leaving and not talking to very many people, and... But, I feel like I have to make myself take a deep breath'—and here, Astrid took a deep breath in—'because I know it's essential that I stay for the coffee hour'.¹⁰⁸³ Although Astrid experienced it as demanding to take part in the church coffee hour, she prioritized it because she knew it was essential that she be there. Both Olaug and Astrid expressed the importance of being present at the church coffee hour. However, it seems as if both to some extent had to negotiate between their personalities and their understanding of their role following the service.

While Olaug and Astrid both told me that they found the time after church to be demanding, I had the impression that both Lars and Elsa enjoyed the socialization following the services. Moreover, it was essential for Lars to talk with people from the congregation after church. On the day I interviewed Lars, he had a tight schedule: The interview was to take place following the service, and he had an appointment directly after the interview, however he also wanted to participate in the coffee hour. Lars was therefore several minutes late for our interview. He commented that it had been difficult to leave before all the others had left. He said that he would have liked to stay longer because he would have liked to have talked to as many of the people present as possible.

Although Astrid felt the church coffee challenging, she also noted that the gathering after the service was vital for many of the churchgoers in the congregation: It was a part of their

¹⁰⁸³ 'Så skal du altså ta bilde med dåpsbarn og så er det litt kirkekaffe med ulike, altså det er veldig mange sånne behov, og noen ganger så kan jeg bare hatt lyst til å bare dra min kos og ikke snakke med så mange og liksom bare sånt, ikke sant, men kjenner nå at jeg må liksom (puster fort inn) ta meg litt sånn trekke pusten sammen, fordi jeg vet at det er viktig at jeg også er på kirkekaffe'.

'rhythm of life'.¹⁰⁸⁴ She told me that some of the regular churchgoers sometimes stay until 13:30-14:00. In one sense, I interpret Astrid to have been also negotiating her ecclesiology by prioritizing and recognizing the coffee hour. She saw the importance of this fellowship. However, she feared that the gathering could contribute to building a fellowship from which some might feel excluded. I interpret Astrid's fear as the same kind of fear Modéus refers to when he argues that congregations in Sweden are too afraid of being exclusive. This position is thus in line with a traditional folk-church position.¹⁰⁸⁵ However, Modéus acknowledges that, in focusing on relations and fellowship, there is always a danger of creating a closed fellowship that may feel unwelcoming to others.¹⁰⁸⁶

From another angle though, Elsa expressed the challenge for newcomers to be included in the church coffee hour. She was attentive to the challenge that the church coffee hour can pose by becoming too cosy and internal:

People are sitting for a *long time* at the coffee hour. (I: Yes?) The only thing we are not always good at, or I will not say 'we', because I'm good at it; it is to welcome newcomers. It's a nice fellowship for those being insiders. However, it's not always as easy to come from outside, but that's a kind of general observation I've done in many congregations. (I: Yes, you're conscious) I think that is important, but I also try to admonish my congregational people that it's not only my responsibility (laughs). No, that is one of the things I've worked on a bit. [...] People think it's nice being there when they talk to people they know. Then it's not always easy to sit down. Some are better than others, but that is *part* of the challenge. People come and think it's nice being at the service, but if they're not met afterwards, it does not help. Almost. Yes, I think so. This is an overall thing.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁴ *livsrytme*.

 ¹⁰⁸⁵ Sevat Lappegard, 'Folkekyrkjeteologi ', in *Folkekirken: Status og strategier*, ed. Bjørn Sandvik,
 Presteforeningens studiebibliotek (Oslo: Den norske kirkes presteforening, 1988), 130; Bjørn Sandvik,
 'Folkekirken- folkets kirke? Streiflys over religionssosiologien ', in Folkekirken - *status og strategier*, ed. Bjørn Sandvik,
 Presteforeningens studiebibliotek (Oslo: Den norske kirkes presteforening, 1988), 24.
 ¹⁰⁸⁶ Modéus, *Längta efter liv*, 113-117.

¹⁰⁸⁷ 'Folk blir *sittende lenge* på kirkekaffe. (I: Ja?) Det eneste vi ikke alltid er like flinke på, eller jeg skal ikke si vi, for jeg er flink på det, det er å plukke opp nye. Det er et hyggelig fellesskap for de som er innenfor. Det er ikke alltid like lett å komme utenfra, men det er jo en sånn generell observasjon som jeg har i veldig mange menigheter. (I: Ja, men der er du jo veldig, du er bevisst.) Det synes jeg er viktig, men så prøver jeg å legge inn over mine menighetsfolk at det er ikke bare mitt ansvar (ler). Neida, nei, det er en av de tingene som jeg har jobbet litt med. [...] Folk synes det er kjekt å være der når de prater med folk de kjenner, så er det er ikke alltid like lett å sette seg ned. Noen er flinkere enn andre, men det er *noe* av utfordringen og det folk kommer og synes det er kjekt å være på gudstjenesten, men hvis de da ikke blir møtt etterpå, så hjelper det ikke, nesten. Jammen, jeg tenker det. Det er en sånn helhetlig greie, der'.

Elsa expresses the importance of the fellowship after the services. For her, it seemed crucial that people are met and included in this fellowship. As I interpret her, if people are not included, it does not matter how 'good' or 'meaningful' they experienced the service as being. Thus, for Elsa, to contribute to meaning interpretation in the service, is not enough. Her task of being a pastoral leader contributing to an including fellowship is vital. She, as a pastor, must contribute to making people feel welcome and included. Elsa told me that she was confident in herself—as well as being an extrovert—so, for her, it came naturally to meet and talk to people after the service. She also knew from where she had worked before that people missed it when the new pastor had not talked to them them following the service. This comment suggests she understands the symbolic role of the pastor's greeting people, as essential. She moreover expressed this as a task that came easily to her. However, she also expressed that welcoming and greeting newcomers was not only her job. She wanted to hold the regular churchgoers accountable as well. Thus, she had 'worked on' this matter trying to form the community into being welcoming and inclusive. While Astrid thus was afraid of focusing too much on the fellowship aspect, Elsa worked on how she could contribute to make the fellowship more inclusive.

7.2. Summary – The Practice of Concluding

In this chapter, I have analyzed how the pastors contributed to pastoral leadership in concluding the service.

The pastors emphasized the time after the service and the church coffee hour as an important element included in carrying out pastoral leadership in the services. In doing so, they emphasized the symbolic dimension implicit in participating in the church coffee hour. One pastor, however, problematized this symbolic dimension pointing to the danger of implying the pastor as the host and 'owner' of the service. He thus experienced taking part in the church coffee hour as ambivalent.

While some pastors enjoyed taking part in the church coffee hour, others experienced it as demanding. It thus seemed like some of the pastors had to negotiate their personalities taking part in the church coffee hour, while others had personalities that matched this part of the pastoral leadership task well, and thus emphasised the element of welcoming and

including. In 8.2, I argue that personality should not be neglected as an element when understanding the leadership practice of the pastors.

There were, moreover, differences between the pastors' attitudes towards and understanding of the church coffee hour. One of the pastors (Elsa) told me that she took an active role in welcoming and including people in the fellowship after the services. By being alert, present, seeing, and by welcoming newcomers, she wanted to contribute to more people feeling included in the fellowship. If people were not included after the services, she asserted that the meaning interpretation she had contributed to in the service was almost useless. Moreover, this was not only her task. She wanted the community to be welcoming and tried to create a welcoming and inclusive culture. For her, building a community of belonging where people could feel included was crucial.

On the other hand, one of the other pastors (Astrid) was reluctant to a close fellowship after the services. She, however, realized the importance of this fellowship for people attending church regularly, and thus also the importance of her taking part in this fellowship.

These findings contribute nuance and extend the understanding of how diverging ecclesiologies is part of the pastors' approaches to pastoral leadership in Sunday services. In 8.2, I argue that ecclesiology must be an element when doing research on pastoral leadership.

PART III:

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

8. Concluding Discussion

This thesis has asked: 'How do pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how can this practice be understood?' I have endeavoured to answer this research question by conducting a case study with several sites. Participatory observation of seven pastors' practices during the hour before the services started, during the services, and for a period after the services ended were followed by qualitative interviews with each of them. The analysis of the empirical material in the four leadership sub-practices of preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding of the seven pastors together has provided knowledge on how these pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how this leadership practice can be understood.

Although the research design and sampling of this thesis was put forward with a focus on pastors with diverging leadership practices in Sunday services, it was not evident that the main findings would focus on these differences. The theoretical framework for this thesis was Askeland's model for church leadership. When I started the analysis of the empirical material, I aimed at ending up with a deeper understanding of the role of the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services, and how the pastors executed institutional leadership in Sunday services. Throughout the analysis, the pastors' diverging practices became more prominent along the way. The differences between the pastors seemed to be more than single differences between concrete practices. Followingly, when I tried to put all of the single practices together, it was possible to see a pattern including more than the isolated practices. The differences, moreover, seemed to be at a deeper level, including the values and theologies of the pastors, their backgrounds, as well as their approach towards different contextual elements.

When I had identified these two patterns, the next question was: How can these patterns be understood? I did not find that Askeland's model could contribute to an understanding of the patterns. However, after getting an input suggesting the patterns could be understood as two different logics,¹⁰⁸⁸ I investigated the theoretical perspective of institutional logics. I

¹⁰⁸⁸ Thanks to Fredrik Saxegaard and Gry Espedal who suggested this approach.

found this perspective resonated well with the patterns identified, and will thus argue that this perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of the two patterns.

In this chapter, I first (8.1) summarize how the analysis of the empirical material of the leadership practice of preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding of the seven pastors together can be understood by putting up two patterns of pastoral leadership in Sunday services. Having presented the two patterns, I suggest that theoretical perspectives from the institutional logics' perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of the two patterns.

Second (8.2), I point to how the findings in these logics challenge existing theory in church and leadership studies. In this sub-chapter, I argue that, in some ways, the model put forward by Askeland must be adjusted and expanded. Then, I suggest a complementary model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

Finally (8.3), I conclude the thesis by summing up how this thesis contributes to the field of pastoral theology and organization and leadership studies.

8.1. Identifying Two Logics of Pastoral Leadership in Sunday Services

Although there are many similarities between the practices of the pastors, I have focused on presenting elements where they differed. Throughout the analysis, I have summarized the findings in each chapter. By bringing these findings together, I have been able to put forward a pattern of two main approaches to pastoral leadership in Sunday services. It is important, however, to notice that there are practices where I have not been able to trace any pattern. Those are therefore not included in the table.

I argue that focusing on the differences, and thus being able to put forward the two patterns, gives a better understanding of pastoral leadership in Sunday services. The two patterns contribute to an understanding of how deeply interwoven the practices of the pastors are in their backgrounds, theologies, and values. Moreover, they also contribute to a deeper understanding of how the contextual elements affect their leadership practice, and how the pastors sometimes negotiate contextual elements. In the following, I present the two patterns before I present the table. First, I present the two patterns of concrete practices (8.1.1), before I introduce the fundamental findings complying with the two patterns (8.1.2). Subsequently, I present the table (8.1.3) before I suggest institutional logics as a possible lens for interpreting the findings and thus get a deeper understanding of the pastoral leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday services (8.1.4).

8.1.1. Two Patterns of Concrete Practices

In Table 3, I start by putting up the concrete practices that diverged throughout the leadership practice of the pastors in preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding. By putting up dimensions where the pastors' practices differed in the left column, and the different associated practices in the following two columns, it is possible to see how the practices of the different approaches follow a pattern.

The analysis of the pastors' preparation displayed two dimensions where they had diverging practices. The first dimension encompasses how the pastors related to the people involved in the services. While some met them individually, others met them in teams. The second dimension includes the focus of the pastors when preparing the last minutes. While one pastor had personal preparations in the sacristy, other pastors met the team and/or the congregation.

In the analysis of the presiding, I identified six dimensions forming two patterns. These dimensions were elements of welcoming, performing the liturgy, relating to liturgy, relating to central artefacts, involving others in the intercession, and relating to text in the baptismal liturgy. The first pattern displays that these pastors, in rough terms, only gave practical information in welcoming, they performed the liturgy controlled and formal, did not add content or change, move, or remove elements in the liturgy, related to the altar as a strong symbol, did not involve others in the intercession, and were dependent upon books and papers when conducting baptism. The second pattern discloses how these pastors tended to, in addition to practical information, explore the theme of the day and/or the day of the liturgical year as well as having relational and visionary talk in their welcoming. They performed loose and informal, and they added content, changed, moved, and removed elements in the liturgy. When relating to the altar, it was not emphasized as a strong symbol.

However, these pastors also related to a new element, namely screens. They involved others in the intercession and left aside books and papers in the baptismal liturgy.

In preaching, the performance displayed two patterns in how the pastors interpreted meaning for the listeners by their staging, body movements and gestures, and language and voice. While some of the pastors used the pulpit, had no body movements and limited gestures, and performed their sermon with precise and formal language and voice, other pastors did not use the pulpit, wandered around gesticulating, and were oral and informal.

In analyzing the content of the sermons, the theoretical framework of Carroll and Lathrop were used as lenses. I assert there are four dimensions adding to the pattern. While the first pattern displays that some pastors did not use humour or personal elements to contribute to meaning interpretation, they had implicit inviting elements, but did not endeavor to form the community by any challenging, strategic and/or visionary elements. The other pattern displays pastors using humour and personal elements, having explicit inviting elements as well as challenging, strategic and/or visionary elements.

In concluding the services, I identified all the pastors taking part in the church hour after the service and thus contributing to community formation. However, they experienced it differently from each other. While some pastors prioritized the church hour despite experiencing it as demanding, others enjoyed it.

Putting all these findings in the separate practices together in one table, two patterns can be argued to be running through preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding. These patterns thus display that there is a relationship between concrete practices in preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding. Amongst other things, there is a relationship between being controlled and formal and emphasizing the altar as a strong symbol in presiding, and using the pulpit and having no challenging, strategic and/or visionary elements in the sermon. On the other hand, there is a relationship between having relational and visionary talk in the welcoming and adding content, change, movement, and removing elements in the liturgy when presiding, and enjoying the church coffee hour when concluding.

8.1.2. General and Fundamental Findings

Besides the patterns of concrete practices, I have identified what I have named fundamental findings pervading the practices. I separate these fundamental findings into three categories. The first category is what I name personal background. I use the broad term context to name the second category. The third fundamental finding is theologies and values of the pastors.

Personal Background

Throughout the analysis of the empirical material, it became evident that the pastors' personal church backgrounds and spirituality influenced their practices in diverging ways. The pastors closest to pattern 1 have what can be named a churchly background, where the Church of Norway and familiarity with the liturgical movement has been central. The pastors closest to the other pattern, however, have a more multifaceted background. They have taken part in lay organizations and free-churches and have received impulses from the charismatic movement.

When Astrid said she did not want to gather people and pray in a pious way before the service, she distanced herself from traditions where prayer meetings are a central element. Thus, pastors emphasizing prayer in the meeting before the service were familiar with and encouraged elements that are more prominent in lay organizations and the charismatic movement.¹⁰⁸⁹

In some of the pastors' sayings of liturgy, they themselves pointed to how their backgrounds had shaped their practices. When presiding, the background of some of the pastors moreover became evident. Those being firm and formal had backgrounds only in the Church of Norway, while the loose and informal had a multifaceted background. ¹⁰⁹⁰ In involving, I suggested that Lars' background made him encourage and challenge people in the congregation to sense the atmosphere and pray spontaneous prayers in the intercession.¹⁰⁹¹ In preaching, I interpreted Lars' background as being important when trying to understand his quest for intimacy and familiarity with the listeners.¹⁰⁹² Moreover, I have suggested that

¹⁰⁸⁹ See 4.5.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See 5.1.1.

¹⁰⁹¹ See 5.4.1.

¹⁰⁹² See 6.1.1.

the two patterns identified in preaching support that the backgrounds and experiences of the pastors shaped their practice. Those pastors who were the most explicit in focusing on leading people closer to God and the Christian fellowship through inviting, challenging, and formative elements reflected influences from the laity and/or charismatic movement.¹⁰⁹³

Context

Several contextual elements seem inevitable in order to understand the leadership practice of pastors in Sunday services. In the analysis, however, I have identified a distinction between the contextual elements, separating them in two categories. In category A, I put the local congregation and the church buildings. In category B, I put history and tradition, regulations, and national culture.

In the empirical material presented in this thesis, there are only a few findings suggesting that the pastors negotiated the church building and the local congregation.¹⁰⁹⁴ It is possible that the pastors were negotiating other contextual elements than I was aware of. However, I interpret the absence of negotiation with these elements as an expression of an established interplay between the pastor, the church building, and the local congregation. One possible interpretation of this interplay might be that pastors had adapted to the local congregation and the church buildings. Another, or complementary interpretation, might be that when pastors are applying for jobs, they choose a congregation they identify with, and a church building they can thrive in. The empirical material could thus indicate that the pastors who align most with pattern 1 prefer a traditional church building and a congregation that can be named a traditional folk church. And followingly, that the pastors in pattern 2 prefer newer church centres with screens and congregations that are influenced by lay organizations, free churches, and the charismatic movement. These contextual elements thus seem conditional for the leadership practice of the pastors.

The contextual elements in category B are what I have named regulations, history and tradition, and national culture. These elements differ from the elements in category A in the sense that the pastors seem to be marked by and/or relate to these contextual elements in

¹⁰⁹³ See 6.3.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Some of the pastors negotiated the use of the lectern/pulpit. See 6.1.1. If empirical material from the preparation of the pastors the week before the services had been included in the thesis, we would have seen that some of the pastors in different ways negotiated the local congregation when preparing the services.

more diverging ways. The regulations are similar for all the pastors. They all work in the Church of Norway with the same laws, regulations, and guiding documents in force. The analysis has, however, displayed that the pastors relate to them differently. While some pastors do not negotiate the regulations, and value them, other pastors negotiate and explicitly challenge them.¹⁰⁹⁵

History and tradition are broad terms including a multitude of eras, currents, and movements. However, there seems to be a pattern in how the pastors value diverging aspects and parts of history and tradition. While some pastors are marked by and value the liturgical tradition and history, other pastors value impulses from lay organizations and the charismatic movement.¹⁰⁹⁶

National culture is another broad term. However, in the analysis, I have focused on how all the pastors seemed to be strongly marked by individualism to some extent. However, a strong focus on the liturgical tradition seemed to be able to counteract this tendency for the pastors most affiliated with the liturgical tradition. These pastors seemed to focus on type authenticity, while other pastors were clearly marked by the cultural trend of moral authenticity and low power distance.¹⁰⁹⁷

Theologies and values

I argue that there are four theological dimensions that are particularly important for understanding the leadership practices of the pastors. These dimensions are foundational liturgical approach, sources of authority, emphasis on the symbolic, and ecclesiological approach. I assert that these fundamental dimensions pervade and guide the practices of the pastors.

First, the pastors have diverging foundational liturgical approaches. While some value the liturgy and emphasize the liturgy as meaning/theology, other pastors have a functional approach to liturgy. For them, it is not evident that liturgy contributes to meaning-making. The foundational liturgical approach of the pastors is evident in many of the elements in the leadership practice of presiding.¹⁰⁹⁸

¹⁰⁹⁵ See 5.1, 5.2, 5.5, and 5.6.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See 5.2, 5.5, and 5.6.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See 5.2 and 5.5.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See 5.5 and 5.6.

Second, the pastors moreover emphasize the symbolic elements in the church building differently. While some pastors value the pulpit and altar as strong symbols, other pastors neither emphasize traditional strong symbols nor the symbolic dimension of the artefacts.¹⁰⁹⁹ Followingly, they do not relate to the screen as a symbol.¹¹⁰⁰

Third, the pastors seem to lean towards diverging sources of authority. While some of the pastors value and are marked by legal and traditional authority,¹¹⁰¹ other pastors are marked by and value charismatic authority/authenticity.¹¹⁰²

Fourth, the pastors' ecclesiology seems inevitable in understanding their leadership practices in Sunday services. The pastors' ecclesiology is visible in, and clearly influences, the practices of preparing,¹¹⁰³ presiding,¹¹⁰⁴ preaching,¹¹⁰⁵ and concluding.¹¹⁰⁶ While some pastors are skeptical towards and do not value intimate and close fellowships, other pastors emphasize and value fellowship and community formation.

By putting these findings into the same table as the concrete practices, the personal backgrounds of the pastors as well as the contextual elements, it is possible to see that these theologies and values also follow the two patterns.

8.1.3. Presentation of The Table

It is important to notice that none of the pastors fit perfectly into any of the approaches. However, some of the pastors (Astrid and Gunnar) are mostly associated with the left column, and other pastors (Lars and Jon) are closest to the right column. As the empirical material has displayed, there are findings where a pastor, who, for the most is identified in one of the approaches, has a practice more in line with the other approach. The picture is thus more complex than this table demonstrates. The danger of putting the findings into a table like this is thus to make oversimplifications. Moreover, the table does not demonstrate how the pastors 'in the middle' are positioned. However, I argue that by putting the findings

¹⁰⁹⁹ See 5.3 and 6.1.

¹¹⁰⁰ See 5.3.2.

¹¹⁰¹ See 4.1.2, 4.4, 4.5, 5.6, and 6.1.

¹¹⁰² See 4.1.2, 5.2.1, 5.5, 5.6, 6.1, and 6.2.2.

¹¹⁰³ See 4.1.3 and 4.2.1.

¹¹⁰⁴ See 5.2.1, 5.4.2, and 5.5.

¹¹⁰⁵ See 6.2.3, 6.2.5, and 6.3.

¹¹⁰⁶ See 7.1.

into this table, and making the differences distinct, the pattern made visible can give a deeper understanding to the pastoral leadership in Sunday services and how the different practices and fundamental dimensions interrelate.

Dimensions	Pattern 1	Pattern 2	
	PRACTICES		
	Preparing		
Relating to the people involved	Meeting them individually	Meeting them in teams	
Focus preparing the last minutes	Personal preparations in the sacristy	Meeting the team and/or the congregation	
	Presiding		
Elements of welcoming	Practical information	Practical information Exploring the theme of the day and/or the day of the liturgical year Relational and visionary talk	
Performing the liturgy	Controlled and formal	Loose and informal	
Relating to liturgy	Do not add content or change, move, or remove elements in the liturgy	Add content, change, move, and remove elements in the liturgy	
Relating to central artefacts	The altar as a strong symbol	The altar not emphasized/utilized as a strong symbol. Relates	

Table 3: Two patterns of pastoral leadership in Sunday services

		moreover to a new artefact: Screen
Involving others in	Not involving others in the	Involving others in the
the intercession	intercession	intercession
Relating to text in	Dependent upon books and papers	Leave aside books and papers
the baptismal		
liturgy		
	Preaching	
	Performance:	
Staging	Use the pulpit	Do not use the pulpit/lectern
Body movements	No body movements and limited	Wandering around
and gestures	gestures	gesticulating
Language and	Precise and formal	Oral and informal
voice		
	Content:	
Meaning	No use of humour	Using humour
interpretation		
	No use of personal elements	Using personal elements
Community	Implicit inviting elements	Explicit inviting elements
formation	No challenging, strategic and/or	Challenging, strategic and/or
	visionary elements	visionary elements
	Concluding	
Community	Prioritize the church hour although	Enjoy the church hour
formation	experience it as demanding	

	GENERAL AND FUNDAMENTAL FINDINGS		
	Personal background		
Personal church	The Church of Norway, liturgical	Lay organizations, charismatic	
background and	movement	movement	
spirituality			
	Contextual elements category A		
Local congregation	Traditional 'folk church'	Influences from lay	
		organization, free churches,	
		charismatic movement	
Church buildings	Traditional churches	'Arbeidskirker' with screens	
	Contextual elements category B		
Regulations	Do not negotiate them (value them).	Negotiates them	
	Implicit: Agree.		
History and	Valuing the liturgical tradition and	Valuing impulses from lay	
tradition	history	organizations and the	
		charismatic movement	
National culture	Not strongly influenced by	Marked individualism, moral	
	individualism and low power	authenticity and low power	
	distance. Type authenticity.	distance.	
	The actor's values and/or explicit or implicit theology		
Foundational	Value the liturgy. Emphasize the	Value the functional. Not	
liturgical approach	liturgy as meaning/theology	evident liturgy contributes to	
		meaning-making	

Sources of	Value and marked by legal and	Value and marked by
authority	traditional authority/the pastor as a	charismatic authority
	strong symbol	
Emphasis on the	Value the pulpit and altar as strong	The traditional strong symbols
symbolic	symbols	not
		emphasized/utilized/valued.
		Not relating to the screen as a
		symbol
Ecclesiology	Scepticism towards/does not value	Emphasizing/valuing fellowship
	intimate and close fellowships	and community formation

8.1.4. Institutional Logics as a Possible Lens for a Deeper Understanding of the Two Approaches

I do not find that any of the theoretical perspectives drawn upon in the thesis so far can give a sufficient contribution to the understanding of the patterns identified in the empirical material. In the following, I thus argue that elements from the institutional logics' perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of the two patterns by giving an overall perspective and theoretical understanding of the findings.¹¹⁰⁷

Since this theoretical perspective is introduced at this stage, it is neither possible nor expedient to give a thorough presentation of the theory. The following presentation is thus brief and limited to what I find necessary to be able to point to this perspective as a possible way of interpreting the findings.

¹¹⁰⁷ The institutional logics' perspective is a metatheoretical framework. P.H. Thornton and W. Ocasio, 'Institutional Logics', in *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood et al. (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), 2. It can thus seem hazardous to introduce this perspective at this stage. However, since this theoretical framework also is found in the broad category of institutional theory, the main ontological and epistemological position complies with the theories utilized. See 2.2.1.

The Institutional Logics Perspective

Thornton and Ocasio build on Jackall¹¹⁰⁸ and Friedland and Alford¹¹⁰⁹ when they define institutional logics as 'socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity'¹¹¹⁰ This definition integrates both the structural, normative, and symbolic dimensions of institutions.¹¹¹¹ Moreover, it reflects what Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury define as key principles of the institutional logics' perspective.

The first principle or premise is the embedded agency of actors.¹¹¹² As stated in the theory chapter,¹¹¹³ institutional theory builds on the premise that organizations are systems open to and strongly influenced by their surroundings. At the same time, organizations are understood as made by thinking and acting actors, and thus become a product of what the individuals in the organization say or do.¹¹¹⁴ The institutional logics perspective bring to the forefront the partial autonomy of the actor.¹¹¹⁵ They moreover state that societal actors are not only culturally embedded in institutional logics, but individuals are also involved in the reproduction and transformation of institutional logics:¹¹¹⁶ 'From an institutional logics perspective, social actors are key to understanding institutional persistence and change'.¹¹¹⁷

 ¹¹⁰⁸ Robert Jackall, *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 ¹¹⁰⁹ Roger Friedland and Robert R. Alford, 'Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions', in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaccio (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹¹¹⁰ Their definition is first found in Patricia H. Thornton and William Ocasio, 'Institutional Logics and the Historical Contingency of Power in Organizations: Executive Succession in the Higher Education Publishing Industry, 1958-1990', *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 3 (1999), https://doi.org/10.1086/210361, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.vid.no:2048/stable/10.1086/210361. This quote is from the definition presented in Patricia H. Thornton, William Ocasio, and Michael Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 51.

¹¹¹¹ While I have built on Scott's understanding of institutions, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury regard Scott as a precursor of the institutional logics' perspective. They address Scott's three pillars of institutions (the regular, the normative, and the cultural-cognitive pillars). Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 36-40. They argue that where he intended to 'develop a typology of literature on institutional approaches and carriers' the institutional logics perspective is achieving 'a theoretical integration among them'. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 40.

¹¹¹² Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 6-10.50. ¹¹¹³ See 2.2.1.

¹¹¹⁴ Askeland, 'Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet', 93.

¹¹¹⁵ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 6-10.

¹¹¹⁶ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 80.

¹¹¹⁷ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 76.

The second principle is that both symbolic and material elements are part of each of the institutional orders in society, and that they are intertwined and constitutive of one another.¹¹¹⁸ The third key principle is that institutions are historically contingent,¹¹¹⁹ while the fourth principle is that 'institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis and that actors are nested in higher order levels-individual, organizational, field, and societal'.¹¹²⁰

Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury present 'assumptions, values and beliefs' as central elements in institutional logics. Although 'assumptions and beliefs' can capture theological aspects, I argue, in line with the earlier argumentation,¹¹²¹ that it is important to make theology an explicit category. 'Assumptions and beliefs' do not equal theology, and in the study of ecclesiastical practices, I suggest expanding the definition by making theology an explicit category in addition to values, assumptions, and beliefs.

Regarding methods, Reay and Jones state that logics 'are revealed through language, practices, and manifested in symbols and materials'.¹¹²² 'Pattern inducing' has been used as a method to study diverging logics of key actors within an organizational field.¹¹²³ The term pattern is thus used 'to describe a set of symbols and beliefs expressed in discourse (verbal, visual, or written), norms seen in behaviours and activities, and material practices that are recognizable and associated with an institutional logic or logics'.¹¹²⁴

Friedland and Alford hold that the influence of multiple institutional orders within organizations leads to conflict between their logics,¹¹²⁵ and many scholars have studied competing logics within an organization or field.¹¹²⁶

A Symbolic and a Functional Logic

In this section, I argue that the two patterns identified can be named institutional logics. Then, I argue that this understanding contributes to a deeper insight into the leadership

¹¹²¹ See 2.2.2.

¹¹¹⁸ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 10-11.

¹¹¹⁹ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 12-13.

¹¹²⁰ Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 13.

¹¹²² Trish Reay and Candace Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', *Strategic Organization* 14, no. 4 (2016), 441, https://doi.org/10.1177/1476127015589981.

¹¹²³ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 449-51.

¹¹²⁴ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 442.

¹¹²⁵ Friedland and Alford, 'Bringing Society Back In', 235.

¹¹²⁶ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 442.

practice of pastors in Sunday services. Third, I argue for naming the logics, the symbolic, and the functional logic. Last, I reflect upon the pastors identified in a middle position between the two logics.

I did not design this study looking for diverging logics, and I have not used 'pattern inducing' as a method. Pattern inducing is a technique to capture logics by an inductive bottom-up approach.¹¹²⁷ This study has not been inductive in its design, and I did not analyze the empirical material looking for institutional logics.¹¹²⁸ However, in retrospect, when I see what I did when I started to identify the pattern between the concrete practices within each sub-practice, and later the patterns across the four sub-practices, it has become evident that much of what I have done resembles what Reay and Jones describe as pattern inducing. According to them, 'Researchers capture logics by showing as much of the raw data as they can'.¹¹²⁹ I argue that, in the analysis, I have displayed much of the raw data of this project, and that the elements in the patterns are accounted for. Moreover, when Reay and Jones describe how researchers try to convince the readers that the patterns identified can reflect a guiding logic, they suggest a table 'with examples of explanations, behaviour, or practice grouped to show that collectively they give a convincing picture of an institutional logic'.¹¹³⁰ I started to put forward a table when I began to identify the patterns, however, it was after I had constructed the table that I started to inquire whether the two patterns could be interpreted as two diverging logics. The table presented displays both practices and explanations.

As elaborated upon and displayed in the table, the two patterns demonstrate that there is a relationship between concrete practices in preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding. Moreover, the patterns reveal that there is a relationship between these practices and the personal backgrounds of the pastors, their values and theologies, and how they thus relate to different contextual elements. In retrospect ,looking at what I have done and what I have identified, I argue that the two patterns in the empirical material can be interpreted as two diverging logics to pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

¹¹²⁷ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 443.

¹¹²⁸ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 450.

¹¹²⁹ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics'. 449.

¹¹³⁰ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics', 450.

By interpreting the two patterns as two diverging logics to pastoral leadership in Sunday services, I argue that we get a deeper understanding of the two patterns and the relationship between them.

First, the institutional logics perspective gives an overall theoretical concept to understand the two patterns. The patterns thus become more than patterns. The concept of institutional logics implies that the different elements in the patterns interrelate and correlate with each other.

Second, the institutional logics perspective contributes to a deeper understanding of the relationship between the concrete practices and the general and fundamental findings. As both the name and the definition suggest, the logics perspective puts into words the interrelatedness between the practices and the values, assumptions, and beliefs of the actors. As Reay and Jones point out, this perspective helps 'to show values and beliefs that may guide practices'.¹¹³¹Moreover, it considers the historical, material, and symbolic aspects of the institutions.¹¹³² As presented above,¹¹³³ historical, material, and symbolic aspects as well as values, assumptions, beliefs—and theologies—are detected to be fundamental in the two patterns.

Third, I argue that the institutional logics perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between the two patterns and thus to a deeper understanding of possible tensions and conflicts between the two. The empirical material presented in this thesis does not reveal explicit conflicts between the logics. However, the empirical material still indicates conflicts between the logics on different levels. Sigmund expressed an inner conflict between his understanding of liturgy and how he performed.¹¹³⁴ This inner conflict can be interpreted as an inner conflict between the two logics. Astrid referred to and distanced herself from concrete practices of other pastors. She did not think much of gathering and praying before the service,¹¹³⁵ and she could not stand pastors chatting in the liturgy.¹¹³⁶ These remarks displayed not only that she distanced herself from their practice, but as I interpret her, this was also a way of distancing herself to another

¹¹³¹ Reay and Jones, 'Qualitatively Capturing Institutional Logics',451.

¹¹³² Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, *The Institutional Logics Perspective*, 6-13.

¹¹³³ See 8.1.1-8.1.3.

¹¹³⁴ See 5.6.

¹¹³⁵ See 4.1.3 and 4.5.

¹¹³⁶ See 5.6.

logic. According to her logic, gathering and prayer before the service is both the wrong focus and not according to her ecclesiology. Moreover, talking or chatting in the liturgy does not fit her fundamental understanding of the liturgy.

Moreover, I argue that the institutional logics perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of tensions and conflicts within and between the different institutional levels of the Church of Norway. In this thesis, I have focused on the leadership practice of the pastors and thus on the individual level of the institution. However, by doing so, tensions and conflicts with other institutional levels in the Church of Norway have become visible.

The most striking tension detected is the discrepancy between one of the logics and the Church of Norway's official understanding of the Sunday service. When some pastors move, remove, and change elements in the liturgy, and thus don't follow the regulations for the Sunday services, they are in conflict with the regulations given by the Church of Norway general synod. The fundamental findings moreover demonstrate that the tensions and conflicts are deeper rooted. The functional logic can thus be interpreted as a critique of and conflict with the Church of Norway general synod's understanding of the Sunday service and how they want it to be conducted.

Although not detected in the empirical material included in this thesis, it is reasonable to argue that the concept of institutional logics can contribute to an understanding of conflicts between pastors, and between pastors and other staff members. Hence, it is reasonable to ask if the two logics of the pastors reflect diverging logics among staff members, within the congregations, and in the Church of Norway on an overall level. Is the congregation or staff dominated by one of the logics, or are the logics competing? Is there tension or conflict between the functional and the symbolic logics? How do the pastors manage these diverging logics? In this thesis, I chose to exclude the empirical material from the week(s) of preparation before the services. If this material had been included, these questions could have been elaborated upon.

I name the two logics 'the functional logic' and 'the symbolic logic'. Both names are empirically grounded and represents fundamental differences between the two logics. I argue that they represent the two logics in a credible way. The functional logic has a foundational functional understanding of liturgy. Moreover, one of the pastors argues for using the pulpit when it functions. I thus argue that this term represents this logic in a

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credible way. The symbolic logic is not expressed as explicitly by the pastors representing that logic. However, it is a fundamental finding that this logic values the pulpit and altar as strong symbols, and that the pastors lean towards traditional authority and thus toward seeing themselves as strong symbols. This logic is thus in line with Saxegaard, who emphasizes the symbolizing role of the pastor in presiding, preaching, and administering the sacraments.¹¹³⁷ He argues that emphasizing the symbolizing role can contribute to the pastor's being able to manage the distinction between the role as a pastor and presider, and her person and the quest for 'being oneself'. The symbolizing understanding can contribute to the pastor's neither become too subjective nor too objective in her pastoral practice.¹¹³⁸

The functional understanding of pastoral leadership resembles more the understanding that managers should attend to diverging functions or roles.¹¹³⁹ Or, as Askeland emphasizes, the leader must be both the director, the service-developer, the integrator, and the mediator.¹¹⁴⁰

While some of the pastors almost fit into one of the two logics, there were two-three pastors I often identified as being in a middle position, and I am not able to say that they fit into either the symbolic or the functional logic. I do not think there is *one* explanation for this. However, one possible interpretation is that these pastors do not identify with either of these logics. They find themselves in a middle position where they, in one way, pick and choose from both logics. Another, however related interpretation might be that the two logics are in play at the congregational level, and that some of these pastors thus work in a constant tension between the functional and symbolic logic and must manoeuvre between them. If empirical material from the preparing of the pastors during the week(s) before the services had been included in this thesis, this interpretation could have been supported.

In this section, I have argued that the institutional logics perspective can contribute to a deeper understanding of the two main approaches to pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and I have argued that the two patterns identified can be interpreted as a functional and a symbolic logic.

¹¹³⁷ Saxegaard, 'Presten som symboliserende', 19.

¹¹³⁸ Saxegaard, 'Presten som symboliserende', 23.

¹¹³⁹ Strand, *Ledelse, organisasjon og kultur*, 249-50.

¹¹⁴⁰ Askeland, 'Managerial Practice in Faithbased Welfare Organizations'.

8.2. An Empirical and Theoretical Contribution to the Field of Church Organization and Leadership Studies and Pastoral Theology

Askeland's model was the theoretical framework for this thesis. In his model, Askeland builds on and integrates two diverging theoretical perspectives. Besides institutional leadership theory represented mainly by Selznick,¹¹⁴¹ he draws on the understanding of leadership as work and practice, MWB represented mainly by Mintzberg.¹¹⁴² Moreover, he includes contextual elements.¹¹⁴³ By integrating these perspectives, he aims at making an inclusive and overall model of church leadership.

In this study, I have not utilized the entire model, as I have delimited myself from all but one of the managerial roles, and only focused on the pastor as integrator. However, in order to make the model applicable for the study of pastoral leadership in Sunday services, I found it expedient to incorporate Carroll and Lathrop in the theoretical framework. In one sense, the model thus became more extensive.

Based on the analysis of the empirical material in this study, I claim that Askeland's model in one sense becomes too extensive, as it aims at including too much. On the other hand, I claim there are still important elements not covered in the model. This statement can, by first glance, seem contradictory. In the following, I argue my claim.

First, I argue that Askeland's model becomes too extensive, as it aims at including too much. Throughout the analytical process, I found it hard to combine and include all the diverging theoretical perspectives simultaneously. Although I sometimes managed to employ most of the perspectives on the same material, I found it for the most part more expedient to utilize different elements in the model when analyzing different parts of the empirical material. For example, when analyzing the preparing of the pastors, it made sense to utilize the theoretical lenses found in the managerial role of the integrator. However, I did not find this theoretical lens that expedient when analyzing the presiding or preaching of the pastors. In

¹¹⁴¹ See 2.2.1-2.2.3.

¹¹⁴² See 2.3.

¹¹⁴³ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191.

these sub-practices, the perspectives from institutional theory and pastoral leadership theories were more applicable.

Second, I argue that there are important elements not covered in the model. The analysis of the empirical material has displayed that Askeland's model is not sufficient to understand pastoral leadership in Sunday services. The analysis displayed a need for expanding and nuancing the contextual elements in the study of pastoral leadership as well as emphasizing the backgrounds and personalities of the pastors. Moreover, the values and theologies of the pastors were vital in order to understand their pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

In the following, I point to perspectives I find insufficiently covered in Askeland's model and argue that the findings in this thesis can give an empirical and theoretical contribution to the field of church organization and leadership studies (8.2.1). Then, I argue that it does not seem fruitful to incorporate all these aspects into Askeland's model. Rather, I present a supplementary model for pastoral leadership in Sunday services focusing on the elements being most prominent in this thesis (8.2.2).

8.2.1. Expanding Existing Theory in Church Organization and Leadership Studies

Based on the analysis of the empirical material, I find several perspectives that are not sufficiently covered in Askeland's model. In his model, Askeland draws some factors affecting the leadership practice of church leaders. He groups them and names them:¹¹⁴⁴ 1) regulations, 2) context (national culture and the local community), 3) tradition and established structure, historical development.¹¹⁴⁵ However, Askeland neither elaborates on the content of these elements, nor are they explained or developed. Moreover, the relationship between them, and the relationship between them and the actor, is not elaborated.

In the following, I first utilize the empirical material and the two logics developed to expand and add nuance to this aspect of Askeland's model. Second, I argue that the fundamental findings of foundational liturgical approach, emphasis on the symbolic, sources of authority

¹¹⁴⁴ The numbering of them is mine.

¹¹⁴⁵ Askeland, 'Lederskapets kirkelighet', 191.

and ecclesiology must be taken into consideration in the study of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

Developing the Contextual Elements

Two of the elements set up by Askeland coincide with two of the fundamental findings in the grouping I named contextual elements category B.¹¹⁴⁶ Both Askeland and I have 'regulations' as an own category. Moreover, his category 'tradition and established structure, historical development' coincides with the terms 'history and tradition', which I use. However, I argue that the category Askeland calls 'context' (national culture and the local community) must be nuanced and developed.

In the following, I briefly elaborate on how this thesis contributes to the understanding of all these elements. However, I focus on nuancing and developing Askeland's 'context' category.

The general regulations for pastors in the Church of Norway together with the regulations found in the liturgies, rubrics, and general provisions, regulate the pastoral leadership practice of the pastors in carrying out Sunday services.¹¹⁴⁷ The analysis of presiding has thus contributed to an understanding of how the pastors must relate to these regulations, how some pastors followed almost all the regulations, while other pastors negotiated them by adding, changing, removing, and moving elements in the liturgy.

The analysis moreover displayed that tradition and history play an essential role in the pastoral leadership practice of pastors. What they do in presiding and preaching, other pastors have done for hundreds of years before them. The pastoral leadership practice in Sunday services thus constantly relates to tradition and established structures. Moreover, this thesis has demonstrated that tradition and history is not an unequivocal heading. The pastors thus relate to, identify with, and draw upon diverging elements in history and from diverging traditions. Not only the history of the Church of Norway or the liturgical tradition.

In the category Askeland names context, he grouped national culture and local community. I find this grouping too broad. Focusing first on the element of national culture, the analysis has displayed how different elements in national culture influence the practice of the

¹¹⁴⁶ See 8.1.3.

¹¹⁴⁷ Den norske kirke, *Gudstjeneste*; 'Tjenesteordning for menighetsprester'.

pastors in diverging ways. I have argued that national cultural trends of individualism, authenticity, and low power distance have had an influence on some pastors more than others in the choices they made. At times, some pastors negotiated these cultural trends.

When Askeland puts forward local community as the other contextual category, I find it vital to add nuance to this term. It is possible to interpret the term local community to include every aspect of the local context. However, as I read it, it refers to the local community the church is part of, geography, demography, and socioeconomic conditions. These factors are not prominent and highlighted in my study. If empirical material related to how pastors do the long-term planning of services had been included, I suppose the local community would had played a role. However, it is evident that other local contextual factors have become apparent in this study. I have identified two contextual factors as being particularly relevant. First, physical conditions: the church building and its artefacts. Second, characteristics of the congregations. Neither of these factors are explicitly found in Askeland's model.

First, this study demonstrates the significance of the physical for the leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday services. In preparing, we saw how the physical surroundings and equipment affected the practice of the pastors. For some of the pastors, practical issues in the church clearly affected what they spent their time on, and how they were able to prepare in other ways. In presiding and preaching, we saw how the design of the churches affected the pastors' practice. The pastors, in different ways, related to the altar, screen, and pulpit. However, the pastors' diverging practices when relating to the artefacts illuminates the different logics behind their leadership practice. This aspect manifested itself in whether the pastors related to the central artifacts as strong symbols, or not. Moreover, it contributed to an understanding of which authority the pastors leaned towards.

Second, the study has displayed the significance of what I name congregational characteristics. In particular we have seen that the practice of involving others, both in preparing and presiding, was affected by congregational culture or characteristics. I argue that both staff (number, experience and qualifications, substitute or not), the size of the congregation, and whether the congregation was marked by lay organizations or in other ways had a culture of participation was vital. Moreover, in preparing, we saw that the group of 'special attendants' played a decisive role, and particularly if the pastor involved them in the service. Then communicating and rehearsing with them characterized the preparation.

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The Actor's Personality, Background and Spirituality

Besides the before-mentioned contextual elements put forward in Askeland's model, he presents the actor as an element. Here, he names gender, education, and religious experience as elements in the actor category. Although Askeland's presentation of the model does not elaborate on the relationship between the actor and the other elements in the model, his approach can be traced through his writings.¹¹⁴⁸ However, in relation to this model, Askeland does not develop the role of the actor in other terms than stating background, experience, and gender as elements.

The analysis of the empirical material in this thesis has given some glimpses into how the diverging backgrounds and experiences of the pastors have marked their practice. Although I have been unable to go into detail—neither in the interview ,nor in the pastors' presentation—the analysis has displayed that the pastors who are familiar with lay organizations and the charismatic movement tend towards functional logic, while pastors not identifying with these strains, who have a more traditional folk church background, lean towards symbolic logic. I thus argue that the personal backgrounds of the pastors contributes to the understanding of the logics.

Another element closely related to their backgrounds is the pastors' spirituality. Their spirituality is also closely related to their theology and values. That some of the pastors' spirituality is more closely connected to the liturgy than other, is found to be implicit. However, a concrete example of how the pastors' spirituality diverge is explicit before the service. While Gunnar spent the last minutes in solitude praying and preparing himself in silence, other pastors prayed together with the people involved. In retrospect, I would have asked the pastors questions more directed towards their spirituality. However, the material I do have indicates spirituality to be of relevance in studying pastoral leadership. Askeland's model lacks this perspective.

I find the question of gender relevant in leadership studies. Although there are findings in the material that are possible to interpret from a gender perspective, I did not find any pattern related to gender when I constructed the two logics. I argue that the gender

¹¹⁴⁸ Askeland, 'Forskningsperpektiver på kirke og menighet'; Askeland, 'Leaders Should Be the Carriers of Institutional Values. An Account of How Leaders Contribute to the Value-Base of Diaconal Institutions'.

perspective needs to be addressed further. In this study, however, I cannot, based on the empirical material, put forward gender as a fundamental element in a theory of pastoral leadership in Sunday services.

An element not reflected in Askeland's model is the element of personality. Although the personalities of the pastors have not been a central element in the analysis, it has surfaced. Two of the pastors explicitly mentioned elements in their personality as a factor in how they presided, and the personalities of the pastors were, moreover, pertinent in concluding the services. When studying pastoral leadership, I argue this element must be taken into consideration.

The Actor's Theology and Values

The development of the two logics made it clear that the theology and values of the pastors were fundamental when trying to understand their pastoral leadership in Sunday services. I assert that there are four dimensions with regard to their theology and values essential for the understanding of their practice, namely foundational liturgical approach, sources of authority, emphasis on the symbolic, and ecclesiology. I argue that these elements are fundamental in understanding the pastoral leadership practice of the pastors in Sunday service, however, none of them are found in Askeland's model.

I find the foundational liturgical approach and the emphasis on the symbolic as two dimensions that are specifically relevant for studying the pastoral leadership in Sunday services. These two elements are also reflected in the naming of the two logics. The empirical material has displayed that the pastors diverge in their theological positions. While these two aspects are of relevance when studying pastoral leadership in Sunday services, I find sources of authority and ecclesiological approach relevant when studying pastoral leadership in general. Moreover, I suggest that both aspects should be considered when studying church leadership in general.

The question of authority and power 'has not been a major variable in theories of leadership'¹¹⁴⁹ in general. It is moreover disputed in leadership studies.¹¹⁵⁰ In pastoral

¹¹⁴⁹ Northouse, *Leadership*, 11.

¹¹⁵⁰ Northouse, *Leadership*, 11.

leadership and homiletics, the question of authority and power has moreover been disputed. Do pastors have authority and power?¹¹⁵¹ This study does not give an answer as to whether or how the people in the congregations perceive the authority of the pastors. However, the findings highlight that the pastors themselves relate differently to the question of authority, and that they lean towards diverging sources of authority. I argue that this finding suggests that the sources of authority should be considered in further research.

As the analysis and the two logics display, the ecclesiology of the pastors was a fundamental dimension in understanding both the preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding of the pastors. I thus argue that ecclesiology must be included in a model of church leadership. In one of their latest contributions, Sirris and Askeland tried to bridge and establish a dialogue between organization theory and ecclesiology.¹¹⁵² Timman-Mjaaland also argues for taking ecclesiology into account in order to try to understand leadership in church and processes of reorganization.¹¹⁵³

8.2.2. A Model for Pastoral Leadership in Sunday Services

In 8.2.1, I argued that the fundamental findings of foundational liturgical approach, sources of authority, emphasis on the symbolic and ecclesiology must be considered when studying pastoral leadership in Sunday services. Moreover, I argued that the fundamental findings of sources of authority and ecclesiology must be considered when studying church leadership in general. However, if these elements should be added to Askeland's model, I claim that the model becomes too complex. The model is complicated as it is, and I thus argue it is better and more fruitful to establish a new model based on the main findings in this thesis. This model does not replace the model by Askeland. However, it highlights other perspectives and supplements Askeland's model.

Based on the main findings in this thesis, I thus present a model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services. This model does not attempt to cover or include all elements in pastoral leadership in Sunday services. However, the model demonstrates the relationship between

¹¹⁵¹ Carroll refers to this debate in Carroll, *As one with Authority*, 1-24.

¹¹⁵² Sirris and Askeland, 'Kirken som organisme og organisasjon', 35.

¹¹⁵³ Timmann-Mjaaland, 'Endringsledelse i kirken'.

the pastor and her background and spirituality, her theologies and values, and the context she finds herself as a pastoral leader in Sunday services.

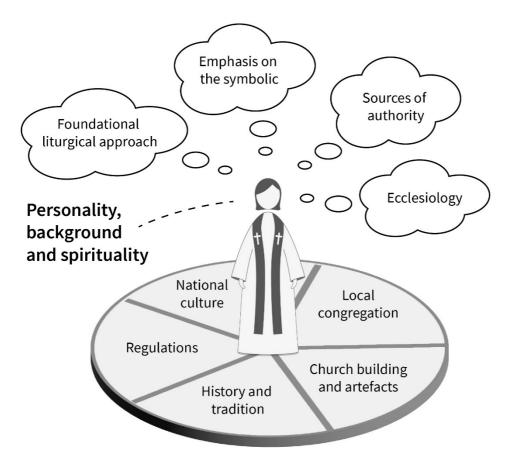


Figure 8: A model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services

Figure 8 illustrates a competent and capable actor in context. As the figure demonstrates, the pastor is situated in what I—with a broad understanding of the term—named context (illustrated by the pie diagram). It is the local congregation, church building and artefacts, history and tradition, regulations as well as national culture. In this model, I choose not to classify the contextual elements into different categories.¹¹⁵⁴ The distinction between the categories were mainly put forward in order to get a deeper understanding of the two patterns. Throughout the analysis, all the contextual categories were significant. I therefore do not find it expedient to make a distinction between them in this model.

It is important to note that, although the lines between the different categories put forward seem firm and straight, these are analytical dividing lines. The categories interrelate, some of

¹¹⁵⁴ See the categorization in the table in 8.1.3

them more than others. Moreover, history and tradition is not only a separate category alongside the other categories. It is also an important element within local congregations and when relating to church buildings and artefacts, as well as national culture and regulations. However, putting history and tradition up as an own category, as I have done in the analysis, contributes to highlight this dimension.

The model moreover demonstrates that the pastors bring and are marked by their backgrounds in their leadership practice of Sunday services. The elements that have been highlighted in this study have been their churchly backgrounds and spirituality. However, their personalities and other important life experiences have also surfaced. The use of the broad term background thus opens for both these and other elements.

The four fundamental findings related to values and theology are placed in bubbles indicating a thinking actor. The pastors bring their foundational liturgical approach, their emphasis on the symbolic, their sources of authority, and their ecclesiology to their pastoral leadership practice in Sunday services. A competent and capable actor has been one of the ontological positions guiding this thesis. Through the interviews, the pastors have explicated their positions, and I argue that most of their pastoral leadership was conscious and based on their explicit values and theologies. However, the analysis has also demonstrated that this was not always the case for all the pastors. It is therefore a simplification to say that values and theologies are always cognitive. They can be tacit, and not always thought through. Despite the danger of making an oversimplification, I choose to present values and theologies in these thought bubbles.

8.3. Summary

In this concluding discussion, I have presented the main findings in the thesis, and how I have used the findings to give contributions to both the branch of pastoral leadership in pastoral theology, as well as to the field of church organization and leadership studies. This summary of the concluding discussion of this thesis is thus also a summary of the contributions given in this research.

The research question for this thesis was: 'How do pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services, and how can this practice be understood?' Utilizing Askeland's integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice as a theoretical framework, this thesis gives an empirical contribution to how pastors carry out pastoral leadership in Sunday services by giving thick descriptions of the leadership practice of seven pastors in the Church of Norway in preparing, presiding, preaching, and concluding in Sunday services. Moreover, the pastoral leadership in Sunday services is understood by identifying two patterns consisting of concrete practices, contextual elements, the actor's personality, background and spirituality, as well as their theologies and values. I have interpreted these two patterns as two diverging institutional logics: a symbolic logic and a functional logic.

Although this study is located in the field of pastoral theology, I have argued that this thesis also contributes to the field of organization and leadership studies by arguing there are important elements not covered in Askeland's integrated model of management and institutional leadership in practice. I have thus argued for an expansion of Askeland's integrated theory by developing the contextual elements, the actors' personality, background and spirituality as well as the actors' theology and values. On the other hand, I have argued that Askeland's model becomes too extensive, as it aims at including too much. I have thus presented a model of pastoral leadership in Sunday services supplementing Askeland's model. I argue that this model represents important input to the field of church leadership and organization studies. Moreover, this model is also a theoretical contribution to the pastoral leadership branch in pastoral theology.

Appendices

- A: Sampling criteria
- B: Interview guide, translated to English
- C: Approval from NSD
- D: Letter to the pastors, asking for consent (in Norwegian)
- E: Letter to visible participants in the service, asking for consent (in Norwegian)

APPENDIX A, SAMPLING CRITERIA

The original document was written in Norwegian and sent to the possible dioceses. After a short introduction, I presented the following criteria:

I seek breadth in the empirical material by choosing pastors who:

- a) Lead by the choices they make in the liturgy in particular services:
 - Variation in the congregations; different ways they celebrate the Sunday services. High church/liturgical versus low-church/free.
 - Pastors working in congregations where they celebrate services in different rooms.
 - Pastors leading congregations where there are different interests regarding how to celebrate the services. Congregations where the pastors feel pressured.
- b) Involvement:
 - Pastors conducting in congregations/services where many are involved in preparing and carrying out the services.
 - Pastors leading congregations/services with few people involved in preparing and carrying out the services.
- c) Preaching:
 - Pastors who have a conscious relationship to preaching and leadership.
- d) Use of voice and body language/performance:
 - Pastors 'talking' in between the liturgical elements.
 - Pastors using dialect
 - Pastors being stringent/formal
 - Pastors using and being conscious of their body language.

• Pastors seeming not to reflect much on their body language.

In addition to these criteria, I seek breadth regarding the size of the congregations, and the age and gender of the pastors. It should be possible to find congregations and pastors fulfilling several of these criteria at the same time. A final number of participants will be set when I establish the inclusion criteria.

APPENDIX B, INTERVIEW GUIDE, Translated from Norwegian

This interview guide is formulated as notes and keywords, not complete sentences.

1. INTRODUCTION

A 'soft start'. Introduce myself and the project. Make explicit my role as a researcher. That I am not going to evaluate the service or the pastor. That I am genuinely interested in how the pastor conducts the service and how the pastor reflects upon her/his practice.

Turn on the sound recorder.

Confidentiality. Make explicit how the material will be anonymized.

2. BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The pastor

Can you tell me about yourself and your background—what you find relevant with regard to the celebration of services?

Childhood and adolescence in relation to the Christian faith—and Sunday services in particular.

Your theological training: Where? When?

In what (Christian) settings have you taken part/been active?

Earlier pastoral experience.

What do you think has shaped your relationship to Sunday services the most?

The congregation

Can you tell me about the congregation(s), and the way services are celebrated in the congregation?

Was this service we just celebrated a typical service in this congregation? In what way? In what way was it not?

For how long have you been here? Were the Sunday services celebrated the same way when you came? If something is different now: What? Do you think you have done something to change the services, or are there other circumstances influencing the services?

Has the introduction of the liturgical reform had any influence on the celebration of the services?

Has the Christian education reform influenced the celebration of the Sunday services? (When did your congregation become part of the reform?)

Other people's opinions on the celebration of the Sunday services:

What kind of 'culture' is it in the congregation—do people have and express opinions on the services?

Do you get comments after the services? What kind of comments? Do you also get feedback on how you preside?

Are the Sunday services a topic in staff meetings? In the parish council? How/what kind of topics?

Where are you in all this? How do you handle disagreement and/or conflicts—if any?

3. THE SUNDAY SERVICE

A typical experience of a Sunday service

We have now had a joint experience of celebrating a Sunday service. I will return to my concrete observations and ask questions related to them later. However, now I'm going ask you a more general question: Is there anything you want to say now regarding how you experienced the service and the way you conducted it?

'Good' and 'bad' service/experience of a service

What is, for you, a 'good' experience of a service? Can you describe a 'good' service or service experience?

What role have you had/what have you done when 'it all went well'?

And the opposite: If you could describe a 'bad' Sunday service experience, what would that be? What went wrong? If you have not felt good after a service, what happened? If that happens... Is it about you—or someone else? What have you done/might you have done wrong if the service was 'bad'?

The liturgy

What do think is the climax or peak in your Sunday service?

Today you chose that prayer/intercession/Eucharistic prayer: Can you speak about the choices you made in the service we just celebrated? Is this service representative—is this the way you usually do it, or was it anything special today?

I noticed that you followed the order/did not follow the order: Why? Why not?

Do you have an understanding that you are leading the congregation in the different choices you make? If so, how?

4. THE (LEADERSHIP) PRACTICE

Preparings

How do you prepare the services? What kind of role does the cantor/organist have? What about the catechist/Christian education worker?

Do you cooperate/come to a common understanding, or do you split who decides what? Do you sometimes experience conflicts of interest?

How do you prepare for services? What is the most important for you in your preparings? Why?

Preparing for presiding? Preparing the sermon? Preparing practical stuff? Preparing in relation to people involved?

The liturgy

How do you experience presiding?

How do you experience presiding after the liturgy reform compared with how you experienced it before the reform?

What is important for you when presiding and leading the congregation in the service?

Preaching

How do you reflect upon the role of preaching in the service?

(If not answered earlier: How do you prepare the sermon?)

In what way do you lead/do you reflect on whether you are leading the congregation in and through your preaching? How? Does this affect the way you preach/what you preach?

I noticed...

The use of the room

What kind of relationship do you have to the room where you are celebrating the services? Do you think the room affects the way you conduct services? How? What kind of experiences do you have conducting services in other rooms? How does that affect you? I noticed you... (did/did not use the pulpit, walked down the aisle when, looked at the screen when...)

Involvement

Today there were about (approximate number...) involved in the service. Is this typical? How many people are usually involved?

How do you think it is, to have many people involved (refer to contexts in which this happens)?

Advantages in involving? Challenges in involving?

How do you reflect on your role in relation to the other people involved in the service? During the service: how do you relate to your co-workers/the people involved? What is important for you in doing so?

I noticed...

Are more people involved after the introduction of the liturgy reform and/or the Christian education reform? If so—has this involvement affected the services? How? Has it affected you as responsible for the services? Can you tell if and how this has affected you and the way you lead the services? (Unless this question is answered earlier).

The Christian Education reform—involvement of other professions. Has this been the case here? How? Has there been any conflict/tension between you and other professions? If so, how have you handled that? What did you do?

Body language and appearance, use of language

I start with observations from the service.

Body language: I noticed that you...

Chanting or not: I noticed you chanted/did not chant... Why/why not?

Dialect: I noticed that you...

The pastor as a person and leader

How do you want to be perceived—as a presider? As a preacher?

Do you have any models/examples of how you want to be perceived?

What do you reckon is your role/your main tasks—as a presider? As a preacher?

How are you as a presider and a preacher compared to how you are in other contexts? Does something happen when you put on the alb or enter the church, or are you the same?

What do you do when the service is finished? After the service today, I noticed you... Is this what you normally do?

How do you feel afterwards? If it varies—why might this be?

5. CLOSING

Now we have talked through many topics related to the service and your role in leading the service. However, is there anything you want to tell me which I have not asked you? Anything more you want to say? Please, feel free...

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