

JULY 2018

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CHAMPAGNAT

AN INTERNATIONAL MARIST JOURNAL OF CHARISM IN EDUCATION

volume 20 | number 02 | 2018

Inside:

- Development of a Catholic Schools System in Greater Sydney
 - A New Generation of Church
 - Leadership by St Paul

Champagnat: An International Marist Journal of Charism in Education
aims to assist its readers to integrate charism into education in a way that gives great life
and hope. Marists provide one example of this mission.

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Champagnat: An International Marist Journal of Charism in Education, ISSN 1448-9821, is published three times a year by Marist Publishing

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An International Marist Journal of Charism in Education

Volume 20 Number 02

July 2018

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Viewpoint...

A Royal Wedding, A Good Homily, Pots and Pans and a difficult Brother for Champagnat...

“Some day, after we have mastered the winds, the waves, the tides and gravity, we shall harness the energies of love. Then, for the second time in the history of the world, man will have discovered fire.” (Pierre Teilhard de Chardin SJ, quoted by Bishop Michael Curry at the recent wedding of Prince Harry and Megan Marke”)

It seems to me that many of us spend a good part of our lives trying to be “in control” of ourselves and the world around us. This is often at a cost – physically, emotionally, spiritually and psychologically. We may well exhaust ourselves trying to keep ahead of everyone else; God often goes out the window, and we are busy with our mobile telephones, computers and other technological wonders all in the name of being more effective in our work, our relationships and in seeking success. While access to such gadgets can help our ministry, they are not meant to replace it. Often many of us become so distracted that we lose sight of the Sacrament of the Present Moment, we lose sight of the beauty and the effective ministry of the silence, of listening to ourselves, of listening to others without our minds being elsewhere. One of the most embarrassing and destructive forces in any encounter with God or with our neighbor is if we continuously take the phone call while speaking to someone else. In the good old days it was called ‘bad manners’.

Five hundred years ago, St Teresa of Avila, even though she did not have a mobile phone, was saying the same thing. She argued that even though one can find God in “the pots and pans” and the unplanned disruptions that we experience, we also need a balance: we need silence, not once a year or once a month, but each day. In such a moment we have the opportunity to enjoy the gift of the day, to enjoy the beauty of the world around us, and to experience God in the gentleness of the breeze. It is in this silence, it is in being with God in silence or in quality time with family or community that we nourish our whole sense of being. This is what the Bishop is talking about in his homily at the Royal Wedding: we learn to love first and foremost by way of listening. As I write this short reflection, I recall the First Reading for today’s Eucharist for

the Feast of St Aloysius Gonzaga: we are in God; for whoever “is born of God conquers the world” (1 John 5:4). You cannot do it the other way around. One has to learn to love in and through God; and this is the essence of Bishop Michael Curry’s homily. I sometimes think that we strive to conquer the world, to consume its resources excessively, and to secure our foothold on the planet, and once that it is done we might get to thinking about how to ‘love’. The problem with this process is the real danger that we will have forgotten what we are called to and probably how to spell “love” let alone understand what it is about.

St Marcellin Champagnat envisaged the same situation in his own lifetime. In the recorded letters of Marcellin we read of a troublesome Brother Dominique. Some of the letters are between Marcellin and Dominique. The central point in Dominique’s letters are his complaints about his appointments, the seeking of a transfer to another community, difficult classes, difficult Directors and so on. In other words everyone was at fault except Brother Dominique. His major complaint was really about himself: he wanted to control his life, he wanted to conquer; all the action was about being in command. Marcellin, a very patient man, was good to him, but steadfast. We commit ourselves to our Christian life otherwise it becomes a sham if we just ‘nest’. As Marists we have two courses: to put on Christ as Mary did, or get out of it. Such a commitment involves a Cross at regular intervals and this is what Dominique did not understand. He preferred to complain; and as a consequence failed to listen, failed to grow through the difficult experiences and so spent a lot of time writing letters to Father Champagnat. Marcellin’s famous line to Dominique is: “God will help you” (Letter 36, 6th March 1834). For God to help us we have to let him in. Marcellin did not have a Brother Ronald Fogarty or a Brother Eugene Dwyer to help him sort this troublesome brother out, but both of them would have said the same thing: stop thinking about yourself and listen.

This is what the Bishop in his excellent homily is telling us; it is what Teresa is telling us; it is what Marcellin is telling us. To let God in, we need to switch off the mobile telephone and listen. In such silence, a great fire will fill our hearts and nourish our ministry.

Br Tony Paterson

CONTRIBUTORS:

Kelvin Canavan has been a Marist Brother for more than sixty years and still works full-time on a number of projects particularly at Notre Dame University, The Australian Catholic University, and in the Diocese of Bathurst.

In the early days of his career he taught at Dundas, Eastwood and Parramatta. In 1968 he commenced a long association with the Sydney Catholic Education Office and was appointed Executive Director of Schools in 1987. He held this position until April 2009. During his tenure he influenced many premiers and prime ministers with regard to the ongoing agenda associated with funding Catholic Schools. A report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* at the time of his 'retirement' in 2009 suggested that he was instrumental in securing more than \$3.4 billion in annual funding for Catholic Schools (SMH: 23rd March 2009).

Brother Kelvin's paper traces the development of the Catholic Schools System and Catholic Education Offices primarily during his tenure as a key leader in the system over the past fifty or more years.

Bishop Vincent Long Van Nguyen is the Bishop of Parramatta. In 1984 he was professed as a Conventual Franciscan Friar (OFM Conv) and was ordained in 1989. Following further studies in Rome, he was appointed Parish Priest of Kellyville in the Parramatta Diocese, followed by an appointment as Parish Priest at Springvale in

Melbourne. He was then elected Provincial Superior of his order in Australia in 2005, and was then elected as an Assistant General in Rome in 2008. In 2011 he was appointed an Auxiliary Bishop in Melbourne, and his appointment as Bishop of Parramatta followed in 2016.

Bishop Long's paper in this journal is based on the recent talk he gave at the Annual Marian Lecture organized by the Australian Marist Province. The lecture is titled: "A New Generation of Church in the Way of Mary". The lecture is very uplifting, hope-filled, and reflects the great gift God gave us in Bishop Vincent Long.

Christopher Roga is a highly valued teacher and member of the Leadership Team at Lavalla Catholic College Traralgon in the Diocese of Sale. He is the Director of Catholic Identity and Mission at the college. The pioneers in Catholic Education in Traralgon: the Brigidine Sisters, and the Marist Fathers followed by the Marist Brothers, would be proud of Chris Roga's commitment to their respective charisms, his commitment to his post-graduate studies, and his enthusiasm for his current ministry. His paper titled: "The Apostle Paul as Servant and Transformational Leader" is food for thought for anyone seeking to be an authentic Marist school leader.

THANK YOU

Our gratitude to those who have contributed papers to this edition, and to the proof-readers and to those who have assisted with the peer-review process. The Management Committee.

Development of a System of Catholic Schools in Greater Sydney

This is an edited version of a talk given to the Australian Catholic Historical Society at St Patrick's Church Hill, Sydney on 18 March 2018. The occasion was the 50th anniversary of the reintroduction of direct government funding to Catholic schools in NSW. The 1968 grants were the first since 1882.

While the coming of 'State Aid' in the 1960s has been thoroughly researched and publicised, this talk adopted a broad brush approach to what Kelvin Canavan witnessed, initially as a young teacher, then as an Inspector of Schools, as Director of Primary Education and Deputy Director of Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney.

* * *

The NSW Colonial government paid the salaries of approved teachers in Catholic and other Church schools until the Public Instruction Act of 1880 sponsored by Sir Henry Parkes, ceased funding for all Church schools, effective 31 December 1882. Most of the teachers in Catholic schools were subsequently reassigned to public schools.

To continue Catholic schooling, Religious Sisters, Brothers and Priests were "found" in Europe (Ireland and France in particular) and Australia and for the next eighty years Catholic schools continued with these pioneering Religious women and men with support from a small band of lay teachers including Marjory Cantwell, my mother.

Let me jump ahead to the 1960s. Catholic schools, parish primary and regional secondary, were stand alone, relatively independent, with zero government funding.

In Sydney WWII immigration resulted in large (and some very large) classes. Still demands exceeded supply and between 1965 and 1971 there was a significant decline in the proportion of

students attending Catholic schools. Accelerating retention rates in secondary schools exacerbated the problem. Increased school fees and parish assessments helped a little.

Table 1

Students in Catholic Schools

% of all students enrolled in Australian schools

1961	1965	1971	2017
19.6%%	19.5%	17.6%	20%

ABS Schools, Australia

These were precarious times and questions being canvassed included:

are Catholic schools justifying themselves?

should we focus on primary OR secondary schools?

should we think more about Catholic children in State schools?

The Wyndham scheme extended secondary schooling from five to six years and required among other things, enhanced knowledge and laboratories for the teaching of a Science Curriculum. Principals of all Catholic schools were Religious. Payment of lay teachers' salaries was a continuing struggle as principals and parish priests negotiated salaries or in-kind payments with individual teachers. A \$1 million overdraft with the Commonwealth Bank was another concern.

As an individual, I was involved in Catholic schooling in Sydney, so let me take a personal tone. After completing a one-year teacher training program at the Marist Scholasticate, I was appointed in 1960 to Parramatta Marist to teach sixty boys in fourth class. The training program was recognized by the Council of Public Instruction of Victoria. In my second year I began a BA degree as an evening student at the University of Sydney. At Parramatta, I was also responsible for the school

canteen, (staffed by the mothers of the students) the profits from which helped pay salaries for three lay teachers. The annual fete and various concerts were also important fund raisers as were the raffles and bottle drives. With the help of parents, the 18 classrooms were repainted during Saturday working bees. Each year many students were turned away as class sizes at Parramatta were limited to 60. Subsequently, I also taught at Marist Brothers Dundas and Eastwood and then came a very different kind of involvement.

In 1968 Cardinal Gilroy approved my appointment as Inspector of Schools, at the age of only 31 and I was to spend the next 40 years in the management and leadership of Catholic schools in this Archdiocese.

1965 – 1975

During my very early years in the Sydney Catholic Education Office (CEO) I witnessed four developments that permanently changed the structure, organisation and face of Catholic schooling, but not the mission. Namely:

- Financial control of schools by the Archdiocese.
- Employment of lay principals by the Archdiocese.
- Government financial assistance for Catholic Schools.
- Establishment of administrative and accountability structures to utilise government funding for systemic schools.

Each, in turn, contributed to the emerging central administration of the Greater Sydney Catholic school system, which as early as 1975 was beginning to exhibit characteristics of a bureaucracy.

Let me explain each of these four developments.

FINANCIAL CONTROL OF SCHOOLS BY THE ARCHDIOCESE

In response to a desperate situation and serious questioning about the survival of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney, Cardinal Gilroy established the Catholic Building and Finance Commission (CBFC) early in 1965. This body took immediate financial control of income and expenditure of all Parish primary and Regional secondary schools in the Archdiocese. The Cardinal

chaired the meetings which lasted one hour! At the fifth meeting of the CBFC held on 26 May, 1965, Cardinal Gilroy is reported in the Minutes as saying:

“It is my intention that all decisions on matters relating to education which result in financial demands on parishes, and/or in the construction of new buildings, shall be made by the Commission, and recommended to me, so that I may give the required authority”. (Minutes of Meeting, 1965-1968.)

Parishes, schools and Religious Congregations were informed of this decision to centralise income and expenditure. There was no consultation. Twenty five years later a dissertation on these changes was entitled: *You've Taken Our Schools*.¹ Another early decision of the CBFC was to establish a scale of tuition fees for Parish and Regional schools from the start of 1966. Fees collected by schools were to be remitted to the CBFC where they were banked in a common account from which salaries for lay teachers and stipends for Religious were paid. Principals were pleased to be relieved of the responsibility of ensuring sufficient cash was available for the weekly pay envelopes for teachers.

Procedures for Capital Works and Building Loan repayments were put in place. Expenditure was tightly controlled and proposals for additional buildings were submitted to the CBFC and parish priests and principals could not proceed without formal authorisation from the CBFC.

Geoffrey Davey, a retired engineer was Executive Commissioner until June 1967 when he stepped down to begin studies for the priesthood. He was replaced by Bernie McBride who served as Executive Secretary of the CBFC from 1967 until 1986. An annual budget for the school system was approved by the CBFC and the Diocesan Director of Schools, Fr John Slowey would be informed as to the number of teachers to be employed. Subsequently, the Sydney CEO began establishing staffing levels for each school. The new authority, the CBFC was separate from the CEO and eventually located on a different site. Each Director reported independently to the Archbishop and communication between the two was minimal and

1 Luttrell, John (1992). *You've Taken Our Schools: The Role and Development of the Catholic Education Office, Sydney*. M.Ed (Hons) thesis University of Sydney.

confusion about responsibilities soon characterised the emerging school system. I was appointed to the CBFC in 1977. By that time the financial urgency had passed and meetings were less frequent. I am not aware of any evidence that Cardinal Gilroy and his advisors foresaw the inevitable consequences of the implementation of this policy decision to centralise the finances of the System. Their immediate priority was the very survival of the schools. The first seeds for the development of a System of schools in Greater Sydney had been sown.

EMPLOYMENT OF LAY PRINCIPALS BY THE ARCHDIOCESE.

Traditionally principals were appointed to Catholic schools by the relevant Religious Congregation which would also notify the Archbishop of Sydney. For many decades all principals were Religious Sisters, Brothers and Priests. In 1972 the Provincial of the De La Salle Brothers informed the parish priest at St Vincent's, Ashfield that the Congregation was no longer in a position to appoint a Brother as principal. This took both parish and Archdiocese by surprise. There were no established procedures to engage a lay principal. It was not on our radar. In 1973 a similar situation arose at St Bernadette's primary, Dundas Valley and more were to follow. Two obvious questions were "Where will we find a lay principal?" and "Who will be the employer?"

While some preliminary discussions considered School Boards, the Sydney CEO soon emerged as the employer of lay principals and subsequently of teachers and support staff. Salary scales and conditions of employment were progressively developed for lay principals and teachers. The first Award for male teachers in Catholic schools in NSW (effective 1 January 1970) set salaries at 80% of that for NSW government school teachers, with full parity to be phased in over four years. The Award for female teachers was 70% of that paid to government school teachers. Equal pay for female teachers was to be phased in over the same four year period. From 1 January 1974 male and female salary differences ceased and salaries for Catholic school teachers were similar to those paid to

government school teachers.² A Superannuation scheme was established a decade later. Ambrose Roddy and Tom Daly were central to the development of this Award. Fortnightly teacher pay cheques were delivered to selected schools by couriers on motor bikes and school secretaries would collect their satchels. Concurrently, stipends for religious were regularised, with significant increases phased in over three years, including the equalisation of stipends for female and male religious. Cost of living was the underlying principle. Gerry Gleeson as Chairman of the NSW Public Service Board played the dominant role in the systemisation of stipends.

For the 1976 school year 22 new lay primary principals had to be found. At this stage the demand for lay principals was clearly ahead of supply. Within the decade 102 lay principals had been appointed in the Sydney Archdiocese. Leadership development programs were quickly implemented, assisted by an innovations program grant from the new Australian Schools Commission. Communication to parents that a lay principal was to be appointed to replace Sister was challenging. Initially parents were slow to accept the concept of lay leadership in their schools. "This is unthinkable ... it will never work!" To help smooth the transition at the Parish level I would attend a meeting of parents to explain the change – sometimes with the relevant Congregational Leader, generally in the Parish Church on Sunday evenings. There were some fiery exchanges. History, however, shows the transition to lay leadership was quickly accepted by parents and had nil impact on school enrolments. Seeds for a future school System continued to be sown.

GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The NSW Budget 1967-1968 contained a modest allocation for a direct payment to non-government primary schools based on enrolments. The Expenditure allocation was listed as \$900,000 for the Financial Year and initial per capita grants of \$6 per student were made in the first half of 1968.³ This was the first financial support Catholic

2 *Teachers (Assistant Masters and Mistresses in Non-Governmental Schools) (State) Award* from 1970. NSW Industrial Gazette, [Vol. 178] 30 September 1970

3 NSW Budget Papers 1967-1968, p.144

schools had received from a NSW Government since 1882 (excluding “Free milk”, access to Government Stores and modest assistance with interest payments on approved building projects). After decades of waiting, a little State Aid had arrived and suddenly the future looked brighter.

Primary student grants for 1968-1969 were \$24 and for the 1969-1970 financial year were \$30 and for 1970-1971 the grant was \$36 rising to \$75 for 1973-1974. Further grants for primary students in non-government schools had been foreshadowed by Premier Askin. “Reasonable aid to independent schools is now a generally accepted principle ... The burden on the taxpayer as children leave the independent schools and enrol at State schools is immeasurably heavier than if they had been assisted to stay at the independent schools. ... Our view on State Aid, briefly, is that parents who elect to send their children to independent schools must be prepared to pay a reasonable share of the cost, but under today’s conditions it is too much to expect them to pay all the costs.”⁴

Table 2
NSW Government Student Grants to Non-Government Schools 1967 – 1974 *

	Primary	Secondary **	
1967-1968	\$12	\$18	i
1968-1969	24	28	i
1969-1970	30	34	ii
1970-1971	36	42	iii
1971-1972	50	59	iv
1972-1973	61	71	v
1973-1974	75	88	vi

* Slight variations in published amounts explained by financial/calendar year differences.

** Means-tested secondary student allowances initially paid to parents. Students in senior classes attracted higher allowances.

i Financial Statement, RW Askin 25 September 1968 p.11

ii NSW Hansard, 30 September 1969, p.1385

iii NSW Hansard, 17 September 1970 p.6075

iv NSW Hansard, 29 September 1971, p.1641

v NSW Hansard, 27 September 1972, p.1111

vi NSW Hansard, 25 September 1973, p.1221

At the secondary school level initial grants (scholarships/allowances) were paid to parents of eligible students in non-government schools in 1963-1964. These were means-tested and restricted to those in the third and subsequent years. The program was extended in 1964-1965 to include eligible students in all secondary classes. In 1968 these allowances were increased from \$18 to \$28 a year.⁵ The means-test for secondary school allowances to parents was progressively phased out as a prelude to paying allowances direct to the schools. When this occurred all systemic schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney were directed to forward the government cheques to the CBFC which had responsibility for paying salaries and stipends. This procedure continued until August 1983 when Premier Wran, following a request from Archbishop Clancy, the recently appointed Archbishop of Sydney, instructed NSW Treasury to stop sending cheques to schools and to send a consolidated payment direct to the appropriate systemic authority.

The gradually increasing per capita grants could be seen, in part, as a response of the major political parties to the relentless campaign conducted by Catholic parents. In Sydney the Federation of Parents and Friends’ Associations employed a variety of strategies culminating in a series of public meetings. For example, on 7 August 1968 some 700 parents with children in Catholic schools in Sydney gathered at Lewisham. This was the first of eight public meetings called to demand government financial assistance for Catholic schools. The Lewisham meeting was successful and more meetings followed at Manly, Rockdale, Miranda, St Marys (near Penrith), Lane Cove and Eastwood. Most of the venues were packed to

4 Policy speech, RW Askin 9 February 1968 p.10

5 NSW Hansard, JB Renshaw, 25 September 1963, p.5300
Financial Statement, RW Askin 25 September 1968, p.11

overflowing and parents put considerable pressure on political leaders, who had little option but to attend. Parents were very specific in their questions. They demanded justice and they wanted it immediately. Patience had long gone.

I well remember the meeting in the Odeon Theatre, Rowe Street, Eastwood on Sunday evening, 20 April 1969. Some 2,000 packed the venue and those unable to get in were asked to remain on the footpath until all ten Members of Parliament had arrived. The function was brilliantly stage-managed and the State and Federal MPs faced a passionate and well informed audience calling for specific commitments to future funding: “How much and when?” MPs had nowhere to hide. Preselected parents were given prepared questions and sat in designated seats. When the MC invited questions they immediately queued at the two microphones effectively excluding all others. After the function most MPs accepted the invitation to join the organisers for supper in the Catholic Presbytery in Hillview Avenue. More politicking occurred until midnight. I came away believing that the major parties were heading down the road of accepting the legitimacy of the demands by parents for some direct financial support for their schools. There was an increasing confidence among Catholic parents that their demands for financial assistance were being heard. The Sydney Town Hall meeting six weeks later confirmed this belief.

Gough Whitlam, Leader of the Federal Opposition, spoke at 7 of the 8 public meetings. His message was always the same:

“If a Labor Government is elected we will establish immediately an Interim Australian Schools Commission to examine the need of all Australian schools and if elected a Labor Government will fund all schools “according to need”.

The eighth and final Sydney meeting was held 1 June 1969, a wet Sunday evening, when 5,000 crowded into the Sydney Town Hall and the lower hall (days before Health and Safety Regulations for public buildings). Proceedings were broadcast live on Radio 2SM. There was extensive coverage on television and in the press, including some scuffles with anti State Aid protestors. The meeting

concluded with a motion asking Commonwealth and State governments to each provide \$50 to every student in a non-government primary and secondary school and that this amount be increased progressively. While these amounts were modest they certainly consolidated recent gains and were not likely to be opposed. Central to the motion was ‘that this amount be increased progressively’.

At the Federal level the secondary Science facilities program began in 1964 to be followed in 1969 by secondary school Library grants. Direct per capita grants commenced in 1970.⁶

Table 3

Commonwealth Government Student Grants to Non-Government Schools 1970 – 1973

	Primary	Secondary
1970	\$35	\$50
1971	35	50
1972	50	68
1973	62	104

The campaign for school funding had had a long history. In 1962, for example, parents in Goulburn had drawn attention to their needs, when protesting against the financial impossibility of the upgrading of toilets demanded by Inspectors, they sought to enrol their children in local government schools. Catholic bishops, various parent organisations, clergy and parishioners, with the support of Religious Congregations, kept the needs of their schools before politicians. It was a long struggle, with countless magnificent campaigners. And I recall the particular contributions of Mrs Monica Turner (Federation of Sydney Parents and Friends’ Associations), Mrs Margaret Slattery (Australian Parents’ Council) and Archbishop James Carroll. Sadly but gratefully, I had the opportunity to attend the funerals of these great campaigners. By 1970, major political parties had agreed in principle to financial assistance to non-government schools. There was disagreement however as to the method of distribution (ie “per capita” or “according to need”).

The Liberal/Country Party policy was to fund schools on a “per capita” basis with all students attracting the same level of support. For the

6 Commonwealth payments to or for the States 1970-1971. Canberra 1970 p.36
 Commonwealth payments to or for the States 1972-1973. Canberra 1972 p.53
 Commonwealth payments to or for the States 1973-1974. Canberra 1973 p.44

electorate these two terms differentiated the policies of the major parties. Following the election of a Labor government on 2 December 1972 an Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission was established and immediately asked to “examine the position of government and non-government primary and secondary schools throughout Australia, to make recommendations on the immediate financial needs of these schools” and report by end of May 1973. The report, *Schools in Australia, May 1973*, identified a difficulty for Catholic systemic schools “which cannot be said to have governing bodies in the accepted sense”. “The Committee suggests ... the establishment by Catholic education authorities in each State of a Board of Trustees for Catholic systemic schools” to which the Australian government would pay the grants. This body would be legally responsible for ensuring government monies “were used for the purposes intended”.⁷

The Whitlam government lost no time implementing the directions of the *Schools in Australia* report (Karmel Report) and immediately National, State and Diocesan structures needed to be established as a prerequisite for Catholic systemic schools to access forthcoming grants. Catholic authorities were well placed to establish the required administrative and accountability structures in order to access the new *Schools in Australia* programs. Following the historic Conference on the Administration of Catholic Education, held in Armidale in August 1972, an expert committee was convened and reported in August 1973. In essence the committee recommended the establishment of a National Catholic Education Commission, State Commissions and appropriate Diocesan Catholic Education Offices. That these recommendations closely paralleled the *Schools in Australia* report could be explained by common membership – Fr Frank Martin, Director CEO Melbourne and Dr Peter Tannock, Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Western Australia who served on both bodies.

While recommending increased funding the Report was explicit ‘the (Schools) Commission should not be involved in the detailed operation of schools or school systems’ (14.9). The Catholic Education Commissions in each State readily accepted a request to distribute Federal recurrent grants to Catholic systemic schools “according to need”. This was a game changer, the equivalent of delegating key responsibilities from a government department in Canberra to Catholic education authorities across Australia.⁸ The Federal budget allocation for Catholic systemic schools for 1973-1974 was \$63m! The Allocation for 1974-1975 remained at \$63m. For 1975-1976 supplementation was introduced to assist with wage and other cost increases.⁹ These new arrangements, while restricting the direct involvement of the Commonwealth government in Catholic schools, increased significantly in a permanent manner, the responsibilities and spheres of influence of the NSW CEC, the Sydney CEO and CBFC.

The early 1970s in some ways, marked the end of the State Aid campaign, apart from the Defence of Government Schools, (D.O.G.S) challenge in the High Court. Perhaps it would be more correct to say, phase one of the campaign. In the decades ahead the campaign in Greater Sydney continued. An ongoing challenge was the education and support of the electorate on the justice issue of financial assistance to non-government schools and the rights of parents to choose the schools for their children. And we needed to nullify the continuing campaigns of the NSW Teachers’ Federation, the NSW Parents and Citizens’ Association and from the early 1990s, the Greens political party. In some ways these three organisations gave the Catholic Education Commission and the Catholic Education Office a ready platform to explain the “true facts” of government financial assistance. Messages were clear and concise, professionally printed and widely distributed. Effective use was made of the print and electronic media and prior

7 *Schools in Australia, Report of the Interim Committee for Australian Schools Commission (1973)* 13.19 p.136

8 *Schools in Australia (1973)* 14.9 p.141

9 *Payments to or for the States on the occasion of the Budget 1973-1974. Canberra 1973* p.44

Payments to or for the States and Local Government Authorities on the occasion of the Budget 1974-1975. Budget Paper 7. Canberra 1974 p.50

Payments to or for the States and Local Government Authorities on the occasion of the Budget 1975-1976. Budget Paper 7. Canberra 1975 p.44

to Federal and State elections, the distribution of a statement comparing policies of the major parties was a priority.

Much use was made of school functions, in particular at the blessing and opening of new facilities, to explain to parents and MPs some particular aspects of government financial assistance to Catholic schools. The continuing contribution of parents including responsibility for loan repayments would be detailed along with Commonwealth and State contributions. As Executive Director I viewed these gatherings as an opportunity to cement community support for our schools. Building and maintaining relationships with major political parties was another on-going priority. It was important that we did not take government financial assistance for granted. Seeds for the development of a school System continued to be sown and for the decades ahead annual grants from government kept pace with rising costs.

Table 4

Combined Commonwealth and State Government Grants for Students in Catholic Systemic Schools in NSW 1979 – 2017

	Primary	Secondary
1979	\$479	\$745
1989	1,568	2,390
1999	3,358	4,631
2005	5,261	7,056
2006	5,580	7,312
2007	6,212	7,947
2017	10,689	12,280

Source: CEO, Sydney Archives/Catholic Schools NSW

Note: Slight variations in published amounts explained by financial/calendar year differences.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND ACCOUNTABILITY STRUCTURES TO UTILISE GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR SYSTEMIC SCHOOLS.

Let us consider again how this embryonic but now flourishing system had begun. Prior to 1965 Catholic schools in Sydney were relatively independent. Each raised its own funds and any lay teachers were paid by the principal or parish priest. The demands for administrative structures at an Archdiocesan level were minimal. Periodically a Priest Inspector would make a visit generally for a

half day. These visits were circumscribed by the *Catholic Schools Report Book* which contained a four-page pro-forma for the Inspectors to complete and sign. The principals were given duplicate copies of the written reports, which remained the property of the Parish. Following the establishment of the CBFC in 1965 as outlined earlier, financial controls and administrative procedures were developed and gradually implemented.

And now let me indulge in a little personal reminiscing. When I was appointed to the Sydney Catholic Education Office in 1968 as an Inspector of Schools, the staff occupied four small rooms at the end of the Housie Hall, Cusa House, 175 Elizabeth Street, Sydney. Fr John Slowey had been Diocesan Director of Schools since 1954. At the same time, he was Chaplain to the Sisters of St Joseph, Mount Street, North Sydney where he was also assisting with the development of the Catholic Teachers' College. From memory, the CEO and CBFC had a total staff of about 12-15, mostly priests, religious and semi-retired laymen and two young secretaries, Kay Renshaw and Christine Langton, with Florence Hull, as the office manager. Most of us worked part-time and on a voluntary basis. Housie regulars would begin taking up 'their' seats during the afternoon and were happy to assist stuffing envelopes for the occasional mailing to schools. I sold Lesson Registers, Student Report Forms and poetry anthologies – pre copyright legislation - to cover my running costs, primarily the car provided by the Marist Brothers.

At this time the CEO had a limited mandate:

- Religious Education Curriculum and knowledge of Catechism
- Primary Final examination for Year 6 students
- Catholic Teachers' Conference in May
- Circulars for Schools (occasional)
- Major Catholic gatherings including St Patrick's Day & Corpus Christi.

Survival was the key and reporting and accountability minimal. There was little System administrative experience or culture at diocesan level. The major asset was good will and a commitment to support the schools.

The development of the Sydney CEO/CBFC quickened with the election of the Whitlam Government and establishment of the Australian Schools Commission. Overnight, fledgling CEOs

and CECs were engaging staff to manage and deliver a plethora of new well-funded programs. Field and program specialist staff, including psychologists and social workers for the Disadvantaged Schools Program, Special Education, Innovation and Library specialists were employed. With strong support from the Dominican Sisters, a Hearing Impaired Program was established and the Child Migrant Program (ESL) was continued. Staff were also employed for Curriculum support, Teacher Development and Education Centres, Human Resources, Industrial Relations, Capital Works and the Leadership Development of Principals. Payroll Clerks, Accountants and Auditors were appointed.

The introduction of new national catechetical texts and related pedagogical developments required the employment of Religious Education specialists and the provision of major professional development programs. Catholic schools were now part of a developing network or System characterised by increasing government financial support with a sense of confidence and excitement – particularly in staff rooms. A rapidly expanding organisation of this size was a new phenomenon for the Archdiocese and staff were on a steep learning curve. Providing leadership programs for principals resulted in senior CEO staff becoming familiar with the rudiments of leadership and management best practice. And thanks to Monsignor John Slowey, in 1978 I attended an eight week intensive management residential course at the Australian Administrative Staff College, Mt Eliza Victoria.

More appropriate accommodation had to be found and in 1973 the CEO/CBFC moved to St Benedict's Broadway into spaces formerly occupied by the Marist Brothers school and now by the University of Notre Dame. This meant that we had 20-30 rooms across three floors of the building. The parish primary school and the parish occupied the rest of the building. A staff of perhaps 40-50 lay, religious and clergy received Award wages or stipends.

The growth in the staffing level at the CEO and the corresponding expansion of centralised activities was facilitated by the availability of Commonwealth funds for use by diocesan education authorities to administer their school

Systems according to government program guidelines. The early 1970s were hectic times as we scrambled to develop sufficient infrastructure to start accessing available funds and providing new programs as well as satisfying the accountability requirements of the Commonwealth. The bureaucratic seeds were germinating fast. There was no turning back.

1980 – 1985

Brother Walter Simmons, cfc was appointed Diocesan Director of Schools in 1982 and I was appointed the Deputy Director and Spokesman without any advertising of either position. Following the establishment within the Archdiocese of five pastoral regions, each under the care of an auxiliary bishop, the Catholic Education Office at Broadway was decentralised and five regional CEOs were established in January 1982. Regional Directors were appointed and staff drawn from the existing office. This development helped mitigate the impact of any unintended consequences of forming a bureaucracy. The new Regional CEOs were closer to schools and parishes and positively received.

While there was much excitement and growing confidence among Catholic School System Leadership personnel, by the early 1980s there was also a developing awareness that our major goal as Catholic educators was not primarily the effective implementation of Commonwealth programs. In a prophetic talk to the CEO staff in 1982, Fr Cyril Hally SSC, an eminent anthropologist reminded us that 'as an evangeliser the CEO must begin by being evangelised itself'.¹⁰ Hally continued 'in these days, a bureaucracy is needed to support and conduct a large organisation. When that organisation is directed to the spreading of the Kingdom of God, that must also be the goal of the bureaucracy. If the school has a vocation, so does the CEO. If there is a vocation, then there must be a distinctive spirituality. And for those who work in this bureaucracy the spirituality must be worked out and lived within that ministry. We should not seek a ministry' he said 'that ignores the workplace'. "The evangelisation of the CEO bureaucracy" became part of the CEO's lexicon for decades.

Working in the CEO was not immediately

¹⁰ *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (EN) 15, 1976

attractive to many experienced Religious principals who were still to be convinced that the arrival of the CEO was necessarily a good thing. School leadership was more valued, particularly at the secondary level. This created early problems in the recruitment of CEO leadership personnel. However, the role and function of the CEO continued to expand and in April 1983 more suitable accommodation was found in the St Martha's complex, Renwick Street, Leichhardt which the Archdiocese had purchased earlier from the Sisters of St Joseph. With extended responsibilities the school system required a different leadership structure and in 1983 Archbishop Clancy established the Sydney Archdiocesan Catholic Schools (SACS) Board, with Archbishop Carroll as the first Chairman. This was a more representative body than CBFC. A Catholic Schools Finance Office (CSFO) replaced the CBFC. The CEO and CSFO reported to the SACS Board. Bishop Geoffrey Robinson was appointed SACS Board Chairman in 1986 and presided over a major restructure of the school System. He served until 2004.

By 1985 the staff employed in the CEO and CSFO – had grown to about 200 women and men, most of whom were full-time professionals and moved over time from Cusa House to St Benedict's to St Martha's and into five regional offices. The CEO was now influencing most aspects of Catholic schooling in Greater Sydney ranging from the establishment of new schools to the distribution of resources, to the employment and appraisal of principals and teachers: finally to the development of curriculum and religious education materials and the implementation of programs to meet particular student needs.

1985 - 1986

The movement to coordinate Parish and Regional schools begun in 1965, was to continue inexorably and by 1985 the Archdiocese of Sydney had a highly centralised System of 264 Parish and Regional schools, educating 110 688 students.

Archdiocesan authorities were responsible in 1985 for the distribution to these schools of student grants from governments, exceeding \$A152 million, up from zero dollars in 1967.¹¹ The rapid growth of the CEO and CBFC/CSFO bureaucracy was a response to the four developments described in this paper. The growth had been accompanied by some System discontinuity and conflict as the new bureaucracy struggled to clarify responsibilities and mutual expectations.

As a means of improving the quality of Catholic schooling in the Archdiocese, there was a pressing need to clarify the complementary roles of the principals and the Catholic System authorities and to move towards a consensus of the roles, services, structures and goals of the SACS Board, the CEO and CSFO. After all, the System had grown up like topsy. To this end the Archdiocese supported a doctoral study that surveyed 256 systemic school principals and all 124 CEO professional staff.¹² The doctoral study in 1985 reported:

Across the 161 survey items the Sydney Catholic Education Office was perceived positively by principals and CEO staff. The importance of the 40 services provided to schools by the CEO in 1985 was accepted unequivocally by principals and CEO staff. There were clear indications that both groups favoured some increased emphasis on these services. There was nil support for discontinuing any services.¹³

Principals and CEO staff however, expressed significant dissatisfaction with role conflict and ambiguity linked to the existence of the two Catholic education authorities, namely the Sydney CEO and the CSFO (known earlier as CBFC). Previous research by Brothers Ambrose Payne fsc and Robert Goodwin fms had reported on the presence of conflict and ambiguity. At the same time the Senate of Priests, the Catholic Primary Principals' Association and the Catholic Secondary Principals' Association all sought clarification of the roles and responsibilities of the CSFO and the CEO Sydney. There was confusion about who was responsible for what.¹⁴

11 Canavan, Kelvin (1986), *Perceptions and Expectations of Roles, Services, Structures and Goals of the Sydney Catholic Education Office held by Principals and CEO Staff*, Ed.D. dissertation, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, UMI 86-14594, 1986. p.28

12 Canavan p.252

13 Canavan p.260

14 Canavan pp.24-26, 256-258, 275

In 1986, Archbishop Clancy, responded to the role conflict and ambiguity problem when he accepted the recommendation from the SACS Board for a restructured administration that saw the amalgamation of the CEO and the CSFO. Press advertisements appeared for a new position, the Executive Director of Schools. Advertising this leadership position with a contract requiring regular performance appraisal was a first for the Archdiocese. In December 1986 following interviews in the Cathedral presbytery Brother Kelvin Canavan was appointed to this position with a five-year contract. His doctoral study of 1985 was to provide helpful background to restructure the administration. This appointment in Sydney coincided with the formation of the new dioceses

of Parramatta and Broken Bay and the subsequent establishment of separate administrative arrangements and CEOs. The three offices operated independently from December 1986.

The development of the Sydney CEO, and its acceptance by its major clients, within 20 years, would indicate that this complex organisation now exhibited the characteristics of a rational bureaucracy including the structures and mechanisms to provide for its own survival and regeneration.¹⁵

What had generally been a large number of struggling poor schools isolated from each other, existing mainly on heroism and good will, slowly became a recognisable, cohesive and integrated System of schools. Another chapter in the history of Catholic schooling in Greater Sydney had begun.

15 Canavan pp.45 and 260

BISHOP VINCENT LONG VAN NGUYEN, OFM CONV

The Marian Lecture 2018: A New Generation of Church in the Way of Mary

Thank you for the invitation to speak at this forum and to have the opportunity to share the podium with two very distinguished Catholic leaders of our country.

It is so great to see so many of you who are enamoured to the ideals of St Marcellin Champagnat and who are committed to carry on his legacy in the context of educating and forming Christian leaders for the future. The Marists, like the Franciscans, are resigned to the inevitable fate of diminishment and even demise. But we also realise that we have something precious to pass on to others.

One of my favourite images that speak to religious life today is that of Simeon and Anna holding the infant Jesus in the temple. They have an important role to play even if they find themselves confronted with their own demise. In the words of St Paul, they are like earthenware vessels holding the inestimable treasure of Christ. If like Anna and Simeon, they are faced with old age and mortality, they should not fear as long as they can pass on to others the hope, the light and the salvation that they have seen.

Much has changed since the pioneer Marists put into action “God’s mission with Marian joy, hope and audacity” in colonial Australia. They are no longer a force they used to be. Yet, they are not sitting around, moping and hoping for the good old days to return. They are busy getting on with the mission God has given them to do. They are thinking outside the square by virtue of their charismatic audacity. They are busy with nurturing and delivering new life. Some religious are like wine. They get better with age. They live prophetically even as they grow old gracefully. They are like the embers in the ashes that will start the fire the morning after. The words of St Paul may

best describe what many religious like the Marists are doing today “*Death is at work in us but life in you*”.

I am of the view that we have entered the new era, which is characterised by a thirst for full citizenship in the church on the part of the faithful. The church is being reclaimed not primarily as the church of the ordained but the church of the baptised and the community of disciples. It is time for a whole new generation of church to live out their baptismal identity and mission. You are this new generation of church. Your commitment to the Marist values gives us reason for hope in this time of uncertainty. The charism of Champagnat is being reborn in ways beyond the traditional structures of religious life. Like the Aboriginal pioneers who refused to sit on the edges of the shrinking billabong, this new generation of Marists go to where the river flows in order to explore new frontiers of engagement and new possibilities of solidarity.

As followers of Champagnat, we are particularly inspired by the example of Mary who embodied the missionary impulse of the church. Pope Francis reflected on a “Marian ‘style’ to the Church’s work of evangelisation” in his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*. He spoke of the “interplay of justice and tenderness, of contemplation and concern for others” and concluded by calling us to implore Mary’s maternal intercession “that the Church may become a home for many peoples, a mother for all peoples, and that the way may be opened to the birth of the new world.” In other words, we must not fall prey to a kind of ecclesial introversion on account of the hostile environment around us. Mary’s example of engagement and solidarity provides us with the impetus to move from security to boldness, from inward looking to outward looking, from safeguarding our privileges to conveying God’s compassion to those who are

on the edges of society and church.

In this reflection, I'd like to suggest a number of ways we can facilitate the birthing of the kind of church that Pope Francis speaks about. I'd like to think that you, being the new generation of Marists, are especially called and empowered to bring about the church, which Mary embodies: the church that is never closed in on itself or without passion for the Kingdom, but rather a home and a mother for all peoples, refuge for the poor, an oasis for the weary and a hospital for the wounded.

GOING TO THE PERIPHERY:

Ever since Pope Francis unexpectedly came onto the scene, he has challenged us to reclaim the spirit of the Gospel. For him, it has little to do with security, comfort, complacency and mediocrity. A self-serving and self-preserving mentality goes against the very nature of what it means to be a Christian and church. He makes no qualms about the need to take the risk for the sake of accompanying those at the margins. "I prefer a church which is bruised, hurting and dirty because it has been out on the streets, rather than a church which is unhealthy from being confined and from clinging to its own security".

In promoting a church of engagement and accompaniment, the pope has embraced a bold fresh way of being church. For a long time, the Church had been understood to be on its way to becoming a perfect society in and for the world. It was a defensive, fortress Church. Other Christian Churches were considered aberrations from this road map, not to speak of other religious movements. However, *Gaudium et Spes* – the guiding document of the Council – presented a new paradigm: the church is not an enclosure which protects its members against the sinful world. It is a fellow pilgrim with the men and women of our age. It is a church incarnate in the world. Therefore, it is time not of fearful retreat, disengagement and self-referential pomp, but of accompaniment and engagement.

Pope Francis' image of the church as a field hospital initiates a dramatically different model of church. His strategic visits to other Christian denominations, most recently to Lund in Sweden where he remembered Martin Luther and the beginnings and legacy of the Protestant Reformation, and his encounter with other world

religions, demonstrate his determination to lead the church away from the model of the perfect society toward a model of a pilgrim church. He understands the church's mission in terms of responding to God's call to participate in his great project of creation and reconciliation.

Francis declares: "The thing the Church needs most today is the ability to heal wounds and to warm the hearts of the faithful; it needs nearness, proximity". That is his vision of the ideal Church. Not a perfect society, nor the enclosure for the privileged but a refuge for the poor, an oasis for the weary and a hospital for the wounded.

The field hospital is not concerned about defending against threat of encroachment and loss of its status and privileges. Instead, it goes out of itself to respond to the needs of those whose lives are at risk. It engages with the world rather than withdraws into enclaves. Indeed, as Pope Francis reminded us, we need to be in prisons, hospitals, the streets, villages, factories. If this is not so, the church will be an institution of the exclusive that does not say anything to anyone, not even to the church herself.

The Pope describes the missionary outreach being paradigmatic for all the church's activity. In other words, it pertains to the very nature of the church to embody the missionary journey of Christ. Therefore, he continues "we cannot passively and calmly wait in our church buildings". We need to move "from our own comfort zone in order to reach all the 'peripheries' in need of the light of the Gospel". Later on, in the Exhortation, Pope Francis recalls Mary as a model missionary. She is the woman of prayer and work in Nazareth, and she also sets out from her town "with haste" (Lk 1:39) to be of service to others. Her being one with the poor and the lowly makes her the Christian model of solidarity and accompaniment.

Like Mary, we are called to leave our comfort zone and to be in the peripheries in order to offer nearness and proximity. We are sent to the strong and the weak, the wholesome and the broken. We are to be a "Malcolm in the Middle" who occupies in betwixt and between, liminal, peripheral and precarious places. Like Jesus in his ministry among the sick and the lost, we are called to meet God in the most unlikely people and places. Like him who often immersed himself at the margins, we too must be in that frontier space. It is that precarious

liminal space where the true cost of our discipleship is counted, because we dare to walk with the Samaritans of our time, just like Jesus did before us.

MARCHING TO A DIFFERENT DRUM BEAT:

One of the most important roles that I believe the new generation of Marists is called to embrace is to be prophetic. Just as your religious forbears, you are not meant simply to be a labour force in the church. You are not simply doing the things that the brothers used to do but can't do now. You are meant to be much more than the sum total of what you do. You are meant to act prophetically and to make the spirit of the Gospel alive in the service of the Church.

Religious, I should remind you, have something like an innovative function for the church. They seek to renew her vigour by the radical commitment to the Gospel. Against the tendency to accommodate and compromise on the part of the mainstream, religious who march to a different drum beat, hold the rest to the dream. In this sense, they are doing the greatest service to the church not primarily by their institutional ministries but their radical witness at the margins. It is for the sake of the Kingdom that they are called to be that still small voice. Yet undeterred by their smallness, they raise their prophetic voice; they speak for the voiceless and make them count.

At their best, religious are a kind of shock therapy of the Holy Spirit for the church. They are a form of a dangerous memory within the church. They hold the church to account in what she is meant to be. What made Champagnat a prophet was not that he founded a teaching order. It was his critique, defiance and transcendence of status quo. In offering education beyond the established system, he went against the prevalent culture. The boundary breaking spirit of Jesus was alive in him. That is being prophetic and rekindling the dangerous memory and we owe it to Champagnat to reinvent and reimagine his charism in our own situation.

Like the prophets of old, religious stretch the boundary and expand the normative. Like Jonah, they challenge the exclusivism of the system and call it to measure up to God's inclusive and universal love. Like Jeremiah, they keep one eye on yesterday and the other on tomorrow; they reframe the harsh reality around us into a hopeful future to

unfold. They do so not by repeating the practices and customs of yesteryear but by reimagining the charismatic spirit that drove our founder in the first place. The words of Ezekiel in the Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones describe what religious do. "I will put sinews on you, make flesh grow back on you, cover you with skin and put breath in you that you may come alive". That is their prophetic mission.

Thus, you who are the new generation of Marists are challenged to reimagine the charism of Champagnat. It pertains to the new custodians to put fresh sinews and fresh skin to the Gospel that it may come alive again for our people in our time. You are to be agents of the Gospel, leaven and yeast for the world. The boundary breaking spirit of Jesus spurs us on to go against the prevalent culture. When the prevalent culture treats poor women and children with disdain, we dare to embrace them; when it rejects certain groups of people like asylum seekers, LGBTIs, we dare to reverence their dignity; when migrants, and the poor are discriminated against, we dare to walk with them and take up their cause.

I believe that we are called to be prophetic insofar as we dare to name and to critique the anti-Gospel attitudes of the world around us. More importantly, we seek to reframe the harsh, unjust and inhumane realities that many experience into an alternative vision of hope and promote those values that will lead to the fulfilment of that vision. Thus, whether the issue is the indigenous peoples, refugees, ecology, gender et cetera, we must show our students the way to a Gospel-centered culture of love and compassion, solidarity and service in the world where there is so much fear, indifference and marginalisation.

LIVING IN VULNERABLE TRUST:

Finally, what we need in this time of transition is that of vulnerable trust. As we are cut loose from the safe and secure moorings of the past and launched into the treacherous waters of the future, we grow in the awareness of paschal rhythm. We realise what needs to die and what needs to rise. We must learn to live as a minority in the midst of a secular society. We must learn to influence it not as lords and masters but as fellow pilgrims. We must learn to engage with others and to act as leaven in a critical and disbelieving world. We are meant to be that crucial yeast in critical times.

Mary's example of vulnerable trust as shown in the story of the wedding feast of Cana is instructive. We are told that the wine ran out in the middle of the wedding banquet in Cana. "They have no wine left", the observant Mary pleads with Jesus. Then, despite being told that his hour has not yet come, she instructs the attendants with confidence, "Do whatever he tells you". In other words, Mary has absolute trust in her Son. This trust was not based on her foreknowledge of his supernatural powers. "Trust me. My boy Yeshua can do anything. He has Midas touch". No, I contend that this trust was born out of a deep and personal relationship – it was a kind of trust that enabled Mary to remain at the foot of the cross and believe in the triumph of God's plan despite limited or even contrary evidence. Mary's faith was instrumental in accompanying the people in crisis and in preparing them to welcome the graced moment of the new wine.

Like a wedding at Cana, we also experience a situation of crisis. We have been drinking the good wine of our institutional charism. But we also know that the old wine is running low and near empty. The Marist brothers are as aware of this much like the motorist is aware of the "low fuel" sign. We can react with fear, despair or denial. This was the way many Israelites reacted when faced with the barren desert. I suspect many of our contemporaries do the same with respect to the crisis in the Church. There is something hauntingly similar between the Israelites' penchant for certitudes of Egypt and many of Pope Francis' critics' demand for dogmatic clarity. Mary provides us with the alternative, that is, with the absolute trust. This trust tells us that we are not indispensable and even our institution is not indispensable. God alone is indispensable and we must cultivate our relationship with him above all and in spite of all things.

This trust also allows us to live this fallow time, this transition time between the old wine and the new with optimism, or as Pope Francis would say, with the joy of the Gospel. We don't know the fate of our congregation. We don't even know how the church will fare with its problems. But what we are confident of is that the new wine will flow in God's own "hour" even if we have to wait until the old

runs out. Religious are never about immortality, quantity and numbers. The purpose of our existence lies not so much in our works but the sign value that we are. As catalysts for its renewal, we often occupy a liminal space rather than a centre stage. There on the margins, we explore new frontiers and possibilities. Our job is to inspire and to keep the fire of the Gospel burning for the sake of the Church and of the world. Like Mary, we accompany people in crisis and we show the way forward by cultivating faith and trust in God who alone transforms the water of our poverty into the new wine of God's creative power and enduring love.

CONCLUSION:

We are into a time of crisis. But crisis allows us the precious opportunity to learn the power of vulnerable trust, to act more prophetically and to live more fully, more creatively, more boldly, more at the periphery.

Marists have been known to be good travellers. They have explored new frontiers. It's in their DNA to read the signs of the times and follow where the river flows. The Marist pioneers left France and became missionaries for the vast and distant areas of the Pacific. That kind of trailblazing spirit has characterised the best of Marist fathers and brothers. They are not meant to be settlers. They, like many religious, are at their best in times of transition and crisis.

The church is being reborn in ways beyond the traditional structures. Like the river that has changed its course, we have a choice to make. It is not in yearning for or holding on the known and the familiar but in reimagining the future and venturing into the unknown chaos like the old exodus that we shall find new life. This new generation of Marists are challenged to reimagine the future and venture into the unknown chaos with the trailblazing spirit of your religious pioneers.

May we, inspired by the example of Mary and Marcellin, have the courage to go on our missionary journey of engagement and solidarity. May we be strengthened to walk the journey of faith with those under our care, proclaim the message of hope, the signs of the new Kairos and lead them in the direction of the Kingdom.

The Apostle Paul as Servant and Transformational Leader

INTRODUCTION

The paper first sets the working definitions of the two seminal terms, 'servant' and 'transformational' leadership. Second, it describes Paul's extraordinary encounter on the Road to Damascus that led to the great paradigm shift, a fresh identity and the commission to preach the Gospel, to provide a sense of Paul's Christian identity. Third, it identifies applicable characteristics of Paul's leadership practice and highlights some outcomes of good leadership upon followers. Lastly, it offers some suggestions for leaders in Catholic schools today.

THE CONTEXT OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN AUSTRALIA TODAY

We operate in 'liminal' times (cf. D'Orsa and D'Orsa, 2013; Arbuckle, 2014),¹ a transitional "between and betwixt"² time (Victor Turner, 1964), and a "limbo state marked by fluidity and ambiguity,"³ (Arnold Van Gennep, 1909) that leads to regenerative renewal.⁴ Liminality refers to the continuing process of a seismic cultural shift, where the old certainties no longer provide meaning, and are consequently discarded or seen as irrelevant, while new convictions are still in the process of formation. The effects are a sense of alienation, confusion, uncertainty, restlessness, rising tensions and a somewhat meaningless, dysfunctional, state of existence.

In a Christian perspective it is expressed as a dislocation in cultural transmission under pluralising and 'detraditionalising' forces at work in society (Lieven Boeve 2004),⁵ a state resulting from the 'eclipse of God' in public life (Charles Taylor (2004),⁶ or caused by the idea that God is "no longer... necessary for life and meaning" (Paul Valadier (1997).⁷ The truth is that the Catholic tradition is no longer regarded as the locus of meaning for post-modern, post-Christian Australia. This situation is not new in the life of the Church; St Marcellin Champagnat, speaking of his own times in post-Napoleonic France, maintained, "I still firmly believe that God wants this work, in this age when unbelief is making such progress."

In liminal times, the primary task of leaders is to lead communities to discover meaning, to re-write the Catholic identity and narrative so that it makes sense of reality. Liminality offers both, a threat and an opportunity.

SETTING THE CONTEXT: THE JESUS MOVEMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The Apostle Paul, other leaders and members of the Jesus Movement, sometimes referred to as the Way (Acts 9;9, 19: 19, 23) experienced liminality. They were Jews, Greeks, Romans, men, women and children who converted to following Christ Jesus. They had to fashion a Christian identity where

1 Jim and Therese D'Orsa, *Leading for Mission: Integrating life, culture and faith in Catholic Education* (Mulgrave: Vaughan Publishing, 2013), 19-20.

2 Victor W. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Periods in *Les Rites des Passage*," *The Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society*, Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion, 1964, 4-20.

3 Arnold Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909. Reprint, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 3.

4 Turner, *Betwixt and Between*, 4

5 Lieven Boeve, 'Beyond Correlation Strategies', in *Hermeneutics and Religious Education*, (ed.) Lamberts and Pollefeyt (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2004), 233.

6 Charles, Taylor. 'A Place for Transcendence?', in *Transcendence: Philosophy, Literature, and Theology Approach the Beyond*, (ed) Regina Schwartz. (New York, New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-13.

7 Paul Valadier, in *Esprit*, no. 233, June 1997, 39-40, cited in Charles Taylor, *A Place for Transcendence?*, 1.

none had existed before, distinct from yet connected with the mainstream Greco-Roman society.

Conversion in Greco-Roman times entailed not just an intellectual or individual religious choice, but also a radical social, intellectual and moral reorientation. It was a disturbing, risky and dangerous experience, leaving behind a safe and familiar individual and social identity to embrace the unknown and risky. It brought confusion, bewilderment and dejection,⁸ as it required a radical readjustment of personal and social identity, simultaneously painful and exhilarating, but promising growth into a new and more wholesome self.⁹

What were their newfound beliefs and intellectual frameworks? What structures and formation did they set up to sustain their newfound identity? What ethical and moral standards of behaviour did they demand? How did they continue to maintain social, cultural, economic and ritual connections with the surrounding, dominant, sometimes hostile and always threatening, mainstream Greco-Roman ‘pagan’ society, yet preserve their Christian identity?

These challenges remain pertinent for Catholic schools today, with a significant difference; the early Christian leaders, including Paul, though they had no Christian handbook or manual to guide them, had in some ways a *carte blanche*, the freedom to chart an identity, within the context of mainstream society, yet distinct from it. Today, leaders face the same challenge, but they have also to overcome barriers of indifference or hostility associated with a Catholic-Christian identity that is perceived at best to be tired and irrelevant, and at worst hostile, to the modern context.

It would be wise to ask the fundamental questions: What is Catholic identity? What aspects are relevant and life-giving for today? Who decides the Catholic identity? How can it engage school communities? These are first questions of ‘being’ followed by questions of strategy and action.

Paul’s encounter on the Road to Damascus (Acts

9:1-19, 22:1-6, 26:1-20; Gal 2: 12-16; 1 Cor 9:1, 16, 15:8-10) sheds light on the source of Christian identity.

THE HERMENEUTIC GAP: SOME PRECAUTIONS

It is important to understand Paul in his particular Greco-Roman context to avoid the major hermeneutic gap of anachronism. We must accept the gap in time, culture and worldview between his times and ours. Paul is a product of, and an active change agent in his time. A man of multiple identities, he moves confidently between them to become part of different groups (1 Cor 9:19-22). He is an ancient Mediterranean man, a diaspora Jew, a Pharisee, a Roman citizen with a sound Jewish and Greek education (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6), and he is at ease in Greek culture and philosophy.

Paul should not be viewed as a solely religious and theological leader. In Greco-Roman culture the secular and the religious were indistinguishable, being intrinsically interwoven into a single strand of life in a way that is incomprehensible to us today. Converting to follow Christ, he received a commission to preach the gospel. He had to refashion his Jewish-Pharisaic identity into a Christian self that still linked meaningfully with his other ones. This Christian paradigm forms his core identity, his *raison d’être*, his worldview. His core Christ-centred identity infuses everything and gives meaning and value (Gal 2:20; Rom 6: 6:11).¹⁰

Therefore, what he has to say about constructing Catholic identity is of vital importance to us today. There is little doubt that Paul has been, and continues to be a major influence on forming a Catholic-Christian identity.

DEFINING “SERVANT LEADERSHIP” AND “TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP”

Leadership is a complex. The following two definitions focus the paper on two select areas, “*Servant Leadership*” and “*Transformational Leadership*”.

8 Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1987), 36-46.

9 B. Frischer, *Sculpted Word: Epicurean and Philosophical Recruitment* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1982), 71-72.

10 Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest: The Renewed Search for the Jew of Tarsus* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 17.

SERVANT LEADERSHIP

Robert Greenleaf's 1970 essay provides the foundation for contemporary Servant Leadership:

"The servant-leader is servant first... sharply different from one who is leader first,... The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant-first to make sure that other people's highest priority needs are being served."¹¹

Greenleaf describes not servant leadership per se, but the Servant Leader. Nevertheless, servant leadership is an accepted leadership philosophy and a set of practices that challenge the traditional notion and practice that leaders accumulate power for themselves; the servant-leader shares power and focuses primarily on the growth and well-being of people helping them develop potential and consequently to perform to their best.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Bernard M. Bass and Ronald E. Riggio defined transformational leaders as those who

"cause valuable and positive change in individuals and social systems. They stimulate and inspire followers to achieve extraordinary outcomes. They help followers grow and develop into leaders by empowering them and by aligning the aspirations and goals of the individuals with those of the leader, the group, and the larger organization."¹²

Though Paul would not have categorised himself as 'leader' in today's sense of the word, still less a 'servant' and 'transformational' one, his leadership displays strong elements of both styles, albeit predating them by approximately two thousand years. These terms prove useful because they make Paul's leadership accessible to leaders today.

THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE RISEN CHRIST ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS: THE FOUNDATION OF PAUL'S CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

The story of Paul's dramatic encounter with the Risen Lord, Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus and his conversion c. 35-37 CE (Gal 2: 12-16; 1 Cor 9:1, 16; Phil 3: 4-10; Acts 9: 1-19, 22: 1-6, 26: 1-20 etc.) is part of Christian mythology. Hurlbut (1954) rightly describes it as the most momentous conversion in the history of Christianity.¹³ By the time of his death in Rome c. 65-67 CE, Paul had done more than most else to establish the Jesus Movement, initially a small group of followers of Christ Jesus operating under the umbrella of Judaism, as a separate phenomenon with a unique intellectual, ethical, moral and spiritual identity. Christianity would go on to become a global phenomenon and influence the course of history.

Paul was a contemporary of Jesus, and possibly lived in Jerusalem during Jesus' ministry, (c.27-33 CE), but there is no record of his ever having encountered Jesus of Nazareth. Paul was zealous in the observation of the Law of Moses (Ps 69:9). Named Saul' (Hb. *Sha'ul*; 'asked for', 'prayed for') after King Saul, the first king of Israel and the most famous hero of the tribe of Benjamin, and '*Paulos*,' his Greco-Roman cognomen (Latin. 'small', 'humble') as was the custom,¹⁴ he became a Pharisee and trained in Jerusalem under Rabbi Gamaliel, according to Acts 22:3. He supported himself as a leather worker as Pharisees did (1 Cor 4:12, 9:6; 1 Thess 2:9). He was aware of his own religious destiny (Gal 1: 15),¹⁵ and advanced well beyond his contemporaries (Gal 1: 14). His zeal for the Law was so great that he even breathed "threats and murder' and violently persecuted the members of the 'apostate' Jesus Movement, or 'the Way, in an attempt to destroy it (Acts 9:1-2; Gal 1:13-14).

11 Greenleaf, Robert K. *The Servant As Leader*. Cambridge, Mass: Center for Applied Studies, 1970.

12 Bernard M. Bass and Ronald E. Riggio, *Transformational Leadership* (New Jersey: Psychology Press (Riggio, Transformational Leadership 2005) Second Edition, 2005) 17.

13 J.L. Hurlbut, *The Story of the Christian Church*, (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1954),30, says, "In all the history of Christianity no single conversion to Christ carried with it such momentous results to the whole world, as that of Saul the persecutor, afterward Paul the Apostle."

14 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "Paul", in *The New Jerusalem Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1991), 1330.

15 Robert J. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: the early house churches in their cultural settings* (Homebush, New South Wales, Australia: Anzea Publishers, 1979) 211.

The 'Acts of the Apostles' tells the story of Paul's conversion thrice to highlight its significance (Acts 9:3-9, 22: 6-21, 26:1-12), the latter two accounts being told in the first person, implying Paul narrating the event himself. Paul, himself, refers to his conversion numerous times to win people to the gospel (Gal 1: 11-24; Phil 3: 4-6; 1 Cor 9:1, 15:3-8).

Paul's encounter, the encounter validates Paul in three ways (Gal 1: 11-24):

- his gospel comes directly from Christ Jesus, not from any human agency, and is therefore divine in origin and nature (Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1 Gal 1: 1);
- his commission and authority to preach the gospel to the Gentiles are also divine in origin and nature (Rom 15:20-21);
- Paul is an authentic apostle of Christ Jesus because he has encountered the Risen Christ (Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1 Gal 1: 1).

Ascough and Cotton (2014) conclude that his transformation

"was grounded in an experience of God, and his commitment to his cause did not change, only the cause changed. ...It was a passion for God, first directed towards the *Torah*, and then after encountering risen Christ, directed towards Jesus. It was ...a paradigm shift."¹⁶

Paul's paradigm has shifted; he realised that Jesus Christ is the long-awaited Messiah and the true, loyal, holy people of YHWH are not defined solely by their allegiance to "the works of Torah," the badges of Israel's exclusivity, but by faithfulness to Christ Jesus, the Lord. There no longer exists an exclusive 'holy' nation because the crucified Messiah had broken the walls of separation for all believers, Paul included. He says, "... in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith... There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise" (Gal 3: 26-29).

His zeal is transferred to proclaiming Christ, the Lord. He now has the authority of '*apostolos*'. His dedication is evidenced in his sheer effort; he travelled more than 25,000 kms on foot, by sea etc. and suffered innumerable hardships for the sake of the gospel (e.g. 2 Cor 11: 23-28), finally being martyred in Rome c. 65 CE. The impact of Paul's conversion on his subsequent mission is seminal to comprehending him and is leadership for mission.

At the time of his conversion Paul was a transactional leader imposing closed codes of superficial behaviours, enforcing conformity to the *Torah*, excluding and punishing those who did not conform. In his Christian paradigm, he became an active agent of inner transformation, empowering people to live new ways in freedom in community, not locked in conformity to a past code of behaviour, but shaping a future driven by enduring principles.¹⁷ It is but natural that his spiritual experience of the Lord is the beginning of his transformation. It leads him to see that conversion to Christ, not initiation ritual, is the crucial step. Thus, he, *apostolos christou Iesou* and *doulos Christou Iesou* embodies and foreshadows in himself the transformation he desires his followers. Hence, he holds himself up as a model for others to imitate (1 Cor 11: 1, 4:16; Phil 4:9).

For example in Gal 1: 5-10 (written c. 52-56 CE, twenty years or so after his encounter), to bring the Galatians to their senses, the *narratio* and rhetorical structure of his conversion story reveal his mature understanding and contrast his conversion to Christ with that of his errant *ekklesia* away from the gospel he preached.¹⁸ The Galatians 'inverted' perversion of his message, harkening to the preaching of rival Christian missionaries who seem to propagate adherence to the *Torah*, is *moving away* from freedom in Christ to slavery under the Law (Gal 1:1, 6-7, 3: 13-16, 23-29).¹⁹ Paul urges the Galatians to imitate him and remain faithful to the gospel he preached for the glory of God (1 Gal 1: 24).

16 Richard S. Ascough and Charles A. Cotton, *Passionate Visionary: Leadership Lessons from the Apostle Paul*, Second Hendrickson Edition Printing (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers Marketing LLC, 2014), 25. 55 John Ryan, ed. & trans., *Introduction to the Devout Life*, 129

17 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 26-29.

18 Witherington, *The Paul Quest*, 73-88.

19 George Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Toward a New Understanding* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 171.

PAUL AS APOSTLE AND SLAVE: EXEGESIS OF "APOSTOLOS CHRISTOU IESOU" AND "DOULOS CHRISTOU IESOU"

An Exploration of the term, 'apostolos'

In the *praescriptio* of four of his uncontested letters (Rom 1:1, 1 Cor 1:1, 2 Cor 1:1, Gal 1:1, Eph 1:1, Col 1:1, 1 Tim 1:1 and 2 Tim 1:1) Paul self-identifies as '*apostolos Christou Iesou*.' This describes his relationships with his *ekklesia*, his divine and his paternal authority in the *ekklesia*.

It is interesting that the leaders of the early church did not describe themselves as '*archon*,²⁰ the conventional, socially accepted title meaning 'ruler, chief, leader, governor, leading man'. '*Archon*' and its cognates are used 33 times in the New Testament. In nearly every case it refers to leaders

- In the wider Greco-Roman world (e.g. Rom 13: 3; 1 Cor 2:6, 8; Eph 2:2; Mt 20:25; Lk 12:58; Acts 4:26, 7:27, 35, 23: 5; Rev 1: 5),
- Jewish leaders (e.g.. Mt 9:18, 23; Mk 5:22; Lk 8:41, 23: 13, 35, 24: 20; Jn 3:1, 7:26, 12:42; Acts 4:5, 8, 13: 27, 14:5);
- rulers of the irreligious or evil spirits (e.g. Lk 14:1; Jn 12:31, 14: 30, 16: 11; Eph 2:2).

Paul uses '*archon*' four times in his letters referring in a derogatory way to 'leaders' outside the *ekklesia* (1 Cor 2: 6, 8; Rom 13:3-6; 2 Cor 4:4).

The term chosen to describe leaders with authority in the early church was '*apostolos*', meaning 'messenger, one sent on a mission'. It is possible that '*archon*' with its overtones of rigid hierarchal, centralised power, driven by the honour-shame paradigm and patron-subject relationships did not fit with the love ('*agape*') that denoted relationships in the early church (Mt 5:43, 19: 19; Lk 6: 27, 35; Jn 15: 13; Acts 2: 43-47; Rom 12: 10; 1 Cor 13 etc.). In some ways, '*apostolos*' can be seen to be counter-cultural, to emphasise a different concept and practice of relationships.

An apostle met three criteria, two from Acts 1:21-26,²¹ and one from Mark 16:15 and Mt 28:19:

- accompanying Jesus during his earthly ministry
- encountering the Risen Lord.
- Receiving the commission from the Risen Lord to "make disciples of all nations."

With its cognates, the term '*apostolos*' is used 80 times in the New Testament, to commonly describe the 'Twelve Apostles' as they fulfilled all three criteria (*Acts of the Apostles*, 28 times; the four Gospels, 10 times).

As Christianity spread the early church showed great diversity, Paul's was one version among others.²² The early church had grown out of, and maintained strong links with, Judaism. Christian Identity and practice was still negotiation its path. As more Gentiles converted, the early church had to discern whether Gentiles needed to convert to Judaism and follow its customs and practices first before becoming Christian. Ironically, Paul, the erstwhile zealous Pharisee and persecutor of Christians, championed the view that since Jesus had completed the Torah, and converts received the Spirit independently of it, Gentiles could bypass Judaism and become Christians directly (e.g. Acts 15: 1- 20; Phil 3:1-5; Gal 3).

Paul was a controversial figure. First, he was not one of the Twelve. Second, he had persecuted the Church. Third, while Paul's conversion is part of Christian folklore it was viewed with suspicion. Some viewed him as strange, deviant, renegade, apostate and completely unreliable. Fourth, he had no evidence of his encounter save his own word. Fifth, he preached a gospel where Christianity was separate from the Mosaic Law and tradition that Jesus himself had practiced which challenged the status quo of collective identity, especially in Jerusalem, Damascus and Antioch.

Paul would battle accusations, suspicion, hostility and controversy all his life. His apostolic authority and authenticity was questioned; he was perceived as a false apostle by those proclaiming a

20 *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance: New American Standard Bible*. 1995. Updated ed. La Habra: Lockman Foundation. http://www.biblestudytools.com/concordances/strongs-exhaustive-concordance/.758.758_arkon (from 757 /arko, "rule, take precedence") – properly, a preeminent ruler (chief); a commander with authority (influence) over people in a particular jurisdiction.

21 Witherington III, 157.

22 Karen Armstrong, *St Paul: The Misunderstood Apostle* (London: Atlantic Books, 2015), 69-88.

Christianity-through-the-Torah an who tried to re-convert Paul's communities (Gal 3-4). Paul vehemently defends his commissioning by the 'will of God' in a number of letters (1 Cor 1:1; 9:1-3, Rom 1:1, 5; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1; Col 1:1), refutes the accusations of his opponents and asserts his authority (1 Cor 9:2; Acts 14:4, 14). His voice would later dominate because the theology expressed in his letters proved decisive, but that would occur after his death.²³

Paul uses *'apostolos'* 35 times in his letters, almost half its entire usage in the New Testament, in a nuanced and complex way. He used it to establish his apostolic status and to challenge the description in Acts 1: 22. For him *apostolos* had little to do with accompanying the historical Jesus; it was not defined by history or geography or tradition, but by encounter and commission (Acts 9: 15; 13: 1 – 14: 28; Gal 1: 11-2:14; 1 Cor 1:1; 15: 9). Therefore, anyone who preached the gospel like Barnabas and Apollos (1 Cor 9: 5-6; 1: 12; 3: 4 – 4:6), Silas, and Timothy (1 Thess 1:1) and Andronicus and Junia, a woman (Romans 6:7) could be termed *apostolos*. Later, Origen, a third century theologian and Church Father, when criterion one was impossible to fulfil, could say, "Everyone who is sent by someone is an apostle of the one who sent him."²⁴ Therefore, an *apostolos* came to mean anyone commissioned by Christ for the gospel.

Moreover, *apostolos* also links with the Hebrew *shaliab* meaning a "legal emissary given a specific commission, authority and power by the one who sent him." "The *shaliab's* relationship with the sender is primary, the content of the commission secondary."²⁵ As Christ's emissary Paul stands in place of Christ, and speaks and acts with Christ's authority.

Paul was familiar with the prophetic tradition.²⁶ He could see in himself a familiar pattern in the suffering figure of Jeremiah who was also sent by

YHWH; rejection by his fellow Jews, suffering and tragedy in service of God, but persistence in remaining faithful to God. His words, "But when God, who had set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, so that I might proclaim him among the Gentiles" (Gal 1: 15-16) echoes Jeremiah 1:5, "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations". In Paul's understanding of sharing Christ's suffering in order to share his resurrection (Phil 3:10) it is possible to associate the Suffering Servant of Isaiah (Is 42: 1-7). It is likely that Paul's sense of *apostolos*, being chosen and commissioned by God would have been reinforced by this Biblical tradition. He can expect exactly what his Master experienced;²⁷ "I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me." (Gal 2:20). I suggest, Paul's sense of *apostolos Iesou Christou* means identifying closely with Christ's pattern of life (Phil 2: 5-11).

AN EXPLORATION OF 'DOUOLOS CHRISTOU IESOU'

Paul also self-identifies as "*doulos Christou Iesou,*" meaning 'slave of Christ' in Rom 1: 1 and Phil 1:1.

Why does Paul describe himself thus? He was not legally a slave, but a free man, a Roman citizen, with consequent authority, status and power. The *ekklesia* were aware of this. Therefore, his choice of phrases is deliberate. With his knowledge that the cultural setting of these *ekklesia* was more Roman than Greek, it is reasonable to assume that Paul's reason for using this specific term might lie in the social and legal contexts of the recipients of the letters. With their Roman cultural background, they would understand the idea and of Roman institutional slavery.

I. A. H. Coombes' (1990)²⁸ suggests two different

23 Karen Armstrong, *St Paul: The Misunderstood Apostle* (London: Atlantic Books, 2015), 69.

24 Origen, *Commentary on John*, 32.17, cited in Witherington III, 156.

25 P.W. Barnett, 'Apostle' in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove Il: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 45. For a more thorough analysis of the Jewish influences on Paul see H.D. Betz, 'Apostle' in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* ed. D.N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:309-311; C.K. Barrett, *The Signs of an Apostle* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); Karl Rengsdorf, "ápostolos," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1964), 1:407-447.

26 Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest*, 130-173

27 Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest*, 171-173.

28 I.A.H. Coombes, *The Metaphor of Slavery in the Writings of the Early Church: From the New Testament to the Beginning of the Fifth Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 77.

approaches to comprehend Paul's use of 'doulos Christou Iesou':

- the Biblical motif of the chosen servant of God,
- the social structure perspective of slavery in the Roman Empire.

Paul, with his unique understanding of the Bible and Greco-Roman culture, uses both approaches to unveil the personal, inner and intimate relationship Christians can develop with Christ Jesus. For him, apostles and slaves have one thing in common; they both do their master's bidding, not their own. Paul's is expressing his primary, functional identity as an *'apostolos'* and his deeper bond with Christ as *'doulos Christou Iesou'*. Thus, *'doulos Christou Iesou'* can be considered to describe a deeper relationship with Christ in Paul's role as an apostle.

THE BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE OF 'DOULOS CHRISTOU IESOU'

The Biblical motif of *'ebed YHWH'* has connotations 'slave of God', and embraces the practice of the eastern monarchs, the prophets, and Jesus' pronouncements on slavery (Brown 2001). When Paul uses *'doulos Christou Iesou'* there are echoes and corresponding references to the seminal Exodus experience, where YHWH brought Israel out from the slavery to Pharaoh to the freedom of the chosen 'people of Yahweh' in the covenant at Mount Sinai (Ex 19:5 - 6).

Moreover, Giorgio Agamben (2005) has shown that *'doulos'* as used by Paul is a technical term meaning 'slave of the Messiah.' Thus, Paul states that Christ has freed all people from the slavery of sin and death (i.e. Rom 6:22, 8:1-4; Col 1:21-23; Gal 5:1). This perspective sums up the new messianic condition in Christ for Paul, that all human beings have equal status before God. This subverts the principle of social status that lay at the heart of Roman Law.³⁰ Since slaves have no status, paradoxically all are equal. By using the model of slavery in this sense, Paul describes how believers

can form the community of the body of Christ that harkens back to the concept of the 'people of God' in the Old Testament.

In English, *'doulos'* is often translated as 'servant', not 'slave'. While 'servant' softens the harshness of the slave-master bond, it does add the dimension of a freedom to choose to serve to the relationship. This might indicate why Paul, a free man in a society that valued status, chose to be a 'slave'; as an apostle, he freely chose to obey Christ. To Rengsdorf (1964) it reveals an "unconditional commitment to God."³¹ Paul seems to emphasize that the commitment to be a 'willing servant', subservient and faithful is indicative of the relationship with Christ (Rom 1:1; Gal 1: 10; 1 Cor 7:22). Therefore, *'doulos Christou Iesou'* could set the aspiration of the *ekklesia* to a new collective identity of 'the people of God'.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES PERSPECTIVE OF 'DOUOLOS CHRISTOU IESOU'

Karl Barth (1933), F.F. Bruce (1963), E.B. Cranfield (1985) et al see Paul's understanding of *'doulos Iesou Christou'* from a social structure perspective.³² According to them, Paul uses the understanding of the Roman social institution of slavery, very different from the *ante bellum* slavery of the United States, to elaborate on the metaphor.

The Roman institution of slavery was very complex. Slavery was therefore an intrinsic part of the social and economic fabric of the Roman Empire, with an estimated 30% of the population of the Empire, one out of every 3 persons, involved in the institution. Making general statements about slavery in Roman times is difficult because of the sheer variety of occupations and classifications; chattel slavery, household slaves, estate managers, crafts workers, slaves who ran businesses, pedagogues, *Familia Caesaris* (Phil 4:22). Advancement was possible for an elite few, but manumitted slaves and freed slaves were still obligated to their masters through the patron-client relationships. Then Stoics used the belief of

29 Michael Joseph Brown, *Paul's use of Doulos Iesou Christou in Romans 1:1 in Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol 120, No. 4 (Winter, 2001), p. 726.

30 Jones and Sidwell, *World of Rome*, 258.

31 Rengsdorf, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT)*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, Translated by G. W. Bromley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm Eerdmans, 1964-76) 2:275

32 Albert Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament, Explanatory and Practical* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1961); Ernest Best, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967)

the metaphorical slavery of the mind and spirit.³³ Every person in Paul's *ekklesia* understood the reality of slavery in a way that we do not.³⁴ Since Paul preached in cities, the slaves in the *ekklesia* were likely to be house slaves, possibly with skills in business, education, home management etc. In Rome and Philippi they could also contain Imperial slaves (Phil 4:22).

The concept of absolute power is key to understanding Paul's metaphor. Slaves were legally classified as *res* rather than *persona* and were denied autonomous relationships outside the master's sphere of influence. They became alienated, cut off from all legal ties of birth and status, ancestry and descendants. Orlando Patterson terms this 'natal alienation' and likens it to 'social death.'³⁵ Stripped of status, legal rights and humanity, slaves existed outside Roman society, which, according to Cicero, was fundamentally driven by status. Ironically, because slaves had no status they were all equal. Consequently, slavery creates a new fictive kinship society in the *ekklesia* where all are equal, and particularly those, who had experienced social death could become new creatures.

But Paul subverts the common understanding of slavery. He first speaks of slavery in a negative sense: it is oppressive (Gal 4; Rom 6-7) and we are enslaved to elemental spirits, (Gal 4:1), sin (Rom 7: 7-25) and the slave master is the law (Gal 4: 8-9). He says, "stand firm, do not submit to the yoke of slavery" (Gal 4: 7; 5:1). Then he speaks of slavery in the positive sense: slavery to sin is contrasted with slavery to obedience and righteousness (Rom 6:16) which brings freedom in Christ. This subverts the traditional negative view of slavery. The listeners have to contend with a new paradigm. They have a choice. Being a slave is a natural consequence of being human, and they can choose to be either a slaves to sin, law, impurity, life in the flesh and death, or a slaves to Christ and God, and enjoy freedom, equality of sons (Gal 4: 7), righteousness, holiness and eternal life in the spirit.

This is paradoxically the 'slavery of freedom'. This is the meaning that Paul intends when he speaks of '*doulos Christou Iesou*'. As a corollary, slaves of Christ are also slaves to one another (Gal 5:13) and Paul says he is a slave to all for the sake of the Gospel (1 Cor 9:19).

In Phil 2: 4-11 Paul's presents Christ as an exemplar of his metaphor of slavery. It is likely *doulos* is used to indicate the condition of humanity as 'slavery to sin' that Christ entered from the outside. Christ freely chose to become a slave. Therefore, he rejected his divine status to assume human form, and lowered himself even further to death on a cross as an outcast and criminal. He had no status, no authority and no power. Yet his obedience to the one who sent Him, God recognised and glorified him. The powerless Christ emerges triumphant. In the Christ Hymn, Paul challenges and reverses the fundamental attitudes of the power and status of Greco-Roman society.

Christ's *kenosis* is put forward as the model for the Christian *ekklesia* to imitate, where love expressed in service is placed before self-seeking. By asking his followers to 'Be imitators of me, as I of Christ' (1 Cor 10:33-11:1) Paul engages them in a higher calling, to be Christlike, to seek not status, to be slaves to one another rather than promoting themselves. The promise is that God will reward those who are faithful.

In the Roman Empire, Caesar was *kyrios* of both, religion and politics. Nevertheless, Paul's vision of Christ the Lord (*kyrios*) is diametrically opposed to the image of Caesar as Lord (*kyrios*), based not on 'archetypical ...worldly political authority', but on renunciation of power and being "obedient unto death" (Phil 2: 5-8). The Cross is the powerful symbolic difference between Caesar and Christ; Caesar uses violence to inflict the cross as punishment; Christ obediently submits to the cross as victim and opens the door for the miracle of resurrection. For the *ekklesia* Christ was *kyrios* of all.³⁶

Paul's eschatology places the cross of Christ at

33 J. Albert Harrill, "Greek and Roman Slavery", *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*, ed. J. Paul Sampley (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), 575- 577.

34 Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: the Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 32 and Geoffrey Turner, "The Christian Life as Slavery: Paul's Subversive Metaphor", *The Heythrop Journal*, HeyLiv, 2013, 2.

35 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982) 5-7.

36 Wayne A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (: Library of Early Christianity, 6; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986) 32-38.

the centre of history, triumphing over tyranny.³⁷ He subverts the imperial message, and parallels the liberation of the Jews in Exodus, and Jewish resistance to the empire, through the cross and resurrection.³⁸

Paul's listeners would have understood the richness and irony of the metaphor. By using the model of slavery Paul explains how believers can form the community of the body of Christ by relating each other and to God (Gal 1:10; 4:25-26; 5:13; 1 Cor 9:19; Rom 6:16-18 et al), baptism (Rom 6: 1-23)³⁹ and Paul's mission (1 Cor 9: 16-18). Paul's message is that all human beings have equal status before God, which subverts the principle of status, which was at the heart of Roman Law.⁴⁰ Therefore the Christian life is a life of righteousness, selflessness, fidelity and slavery. Paul established the enduring Christian values and behaviour through his use of *doulos Christou Iesou* and the freedom of slavery.

Having explained the metaphor and painted the vision, the *ekklesia* also needed clear ethical and moral standards. Paul did not prescribe commandments, but he outlined the principles and values that should inform behaviour and relationships, and he held the *ekklesia* accountable for proper behaviour (e.g. 1 Cor 5:1 1 13, on sexual immorality). In his letters, he exhorts; live worthily (Phil 1:27), be of one mind (Phil 1:27, 2:2, 3:15), be humble minded (Phil 2:3), put on the mind of Christ Jesus (Phil 2:5, 4:2) and the mind of a slave (Phil 2: 6-7).⁴¹ He encourages them to become 'slaves to Christ' and not to please people (Gal 1: 10), but to be slaves to one another in love (Gal 5:13). In Romans 6: 1-23, he explains how the 'slaves' of Christ, the *ekklesia*, by being baptized into Christ's death and resurrection are freed from sin and death, and becoming 'slaves' of righteousness they receive the '*charis*', free gift, of God's eternal life which is open to all who are slaves, humble, abandon all status and Christlike.

THE APOSTLE PAUL: AN EXEMPLAR OF SERVANT AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Arbuckle (2013) expresses the abiding challenge that confronts leaders of Catholic and Christian organisations in every generation since the Apostolic Age, succinctly in four questions:

1. How are ... Gospel values to be instilled in a way that people's lives are transformed?
2. How are individuals and institutions to craft stories that weave together the narratives of Jesus Christ and their own stories into a single vibrant fabric?
3. How are people ... to become so inspired by the story of Jesus Christ that they are moved to act individually and communally with compassion and justice?
4. What qualities do we need today in those called to teach our faith?"

In the previous sections we have seen how Paul addressed these challenges in his time. Nineteen centuries separate us from Paul, but in this section of the paper, we apply lenses of modern Servant and transformational leadership to Paul's practice in order that we inform the practice of leaders today, that they might be guided to enhance Catholic and Christian identity in their organisations.

Servant and transformational leadership are two prominent and substantive people-oriented Leadership stances suited to church contexts. Echols (2009) shows both have significant value and flexibility for use in church leadership. They are both compatible enough not to create contradiction, yet are distinct enough to be complementary. One way of seeing this synergy is to view transformational leadership as the mission of the church and servant leadership as the method. Paul exemplifies this; as *apostolos* he transformed people

37 N. Thomas Wright, "Paul: in Fresh Perspective" (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 69-73. See also Neil Elliott, "The Anti-Imperial Message of the Cross" in *Paul and empire: Religion and power in Roman imperial society*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997), 167-176.

38 Helmut Koester, "Imperial Ideology and Paul's Eschatology in 1 Thessalonians" in *Paul and empire: Religion and power in Roman imperial society*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2005), 158-161.

39 Hans Dieter Betz, uses this idea to explain bGeoffrey Turner, The Christian Life as Slavery, 7. baptism in *Works, vol 3, Paulinische Studien* (ed. Hans Dieter betz; Tübingen: Mohr-siebeck, 1994), 263 as quoted in Michael J. Brown, *Paul's use of Doulos Christou Iesou*, 728.

40 Jones and Sidwell, *World of Rome*, 258.

41 Geoffrey Turner, *The Christian Life as Slavery*, 7.

42 Gerald Arbuckle, *Catholic Identity or Identities* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2013), xii.

by drawing them to Christ. Paul as *doulos Christou Iesou* became a slave to all for the sake of the gospel (1 Cor 9: 19–23). Both need to be practised together for effectiveness.⁴³

Though essentially similar, we need to be aware of some differences between Paul's concept and practice of *doulos Christou Iesou* and that of the contemporary servant leader. Robert Greenleaf (1970) introduced the concept of servant leadership and it has become an important framework in leadership studies.⁴⁴ The first priority of the servant leader is to serve others. By serving others first servant leaders legitimize their power and build the capacity of the members of their organisation. The fundamental motivation is the desire to serve. Servant leaders value equality and foster the growth of those around them through positive relationships.⁴⁵

The modern model of the servant leader describes Paul's leadership accurately⁴⁶ with one slight, but noteworthy, omission: Paul is a servant leader in the traditional prophetic and early Christian tradition. Yvonne Bradley (1999) points out the difference: Greenleaf's model is that of "Christianized humanism" designed for the secular autonomous modern self, but it ignores Christian soteriology.⁴⁷ For the 'Christianized human' the primary recipient of service is other human beings. For Paul the primary recipient of service is Christ (God) and is shown in service of others.⁴⁸ The "Christianized human" servant leader is driven solely by human altruism, human sources and human purposes; for Paul the source, motive and purpose for the Christian Servant leader is divine. Greenleaf's servant leader model describes Paul's leadership style up to a point. Paul's servant leadership style has the Christo-centric dimension which is not included in the modern model.

1. SHARING VISION AND PASSION FOR MISSION

Transformational and servant leaders are driven by an internal urge to share good news for a better future with the community. Commenting on St Paul's encounter with Jesus on the road to Damascus, Brendan Byrne (2008) says Paul felt "that sense of being grasped by the Son of God in a love that was both deeply personal and supremely costly in that it involved death by crucifixion,[which is] is the heart of Paul's spirituality and the engine of his mission."⁴⁹ Paul was compelled to draw others together for mission. They converted, formed the *ekklesia* where they lived out the vision and spread the gospel in their local environment.

In the *ekklesia* Paul taught and, over time spent in community with the members, developed a shared understanding of the Christian vision, including language, images and symbols that gave the *ekklesia* a framework of beliefs and practices that engaged them in a common endeavour. At the centre of his vision is the cross, a sign not of disgrace and defeat, but of triumph and victory. His letters, though we have only Paul's side of the conversation, indicate a dynamic and continuing dialogue around Christian practice that is based on a shared vision. Paul's shared language, images and symbols articulated the Christian identity so well that they are still relevant today.

A key action is developing capacity across the community. Though opposed to hierarchy or authority structures, Paul subscribed to the principle of subsidiarity – developing leadership in local communities to develop their own liturgical and official processes. He trained them to lead the

43 Steve Echols, "Transformational/Servant Leadership: A Potential Synergyism for an Inclusive Leadership Style", in *Journal of Religious Leadership*, Vol 8, No. 2, Fall 2009, 85.

44 Larry Spears, "Tracing the Impact of Servant Leadership," in *Insights on Leadership, Service, Stewardship, Spirit and Servant Leadership*, ed. Larry Spears (New York: Wiley, 1998) 1-12.

45 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 132.

46 Robert Russell, "The Role of Values in Servant Leadership," *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal* 22/1 (2001): 76-78. Russell demonstrates that the three core attributes of the Servant Leaders are trust, appreciation of others, and empowerment. Paul is highly competent in all three.

47 J. Niewold, "Beyond Servant Leadership" in *Journal of Biblical Perspective in Leadership* 1(2), 118-134.

48 David Duby, "The Greatest Commandment: The Foundation for Biblical Servant Leadership" in *Faculty Publications and Presentations*. Paper 11, 2009, 2., at http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/busi_fac_pubs/11 accessed on 31 October, 2016 at 9.16 am.

49 Brendan Byrne S.J., "Paul the apostle: Personal story, mission and meaning for the Church today," *Compass Vol 42 NO 4* Summer 2008, 16.

ekklesia as co-workers. He also trained itinerant leaders like Timothy and Titus to visit the *ekklesia* and assist when it was required.

Warren Bennis (1999) demonstrates Paul's practice of the "Four Competencies of New Leadership" for today⁵⁰:

- the power of appreciation,
- reminding followers of what is important,
- generating and sustaining trust
- allying himself with followers.

They are components of Christian servant leadership, focussing on serving others first and helping them to self-actualization.

Encounters, like Paul's on the road to Damascus, are rare, but the daily practice of holiness, knowledge of the scriptures and the personal practice of spirituality builds the relationship with Christ. The result is a sense of being *apostolos* (sent by God) and *doulos Christou Iesou* (sent to serve the people) for mission, as Paul felt. Mission driven, they develop shared vision and language for their communities.

2. INSPIRING AND ENCOURAGING

Servant leaders consistently encourage and affirm their people, helping them grow into their full potential. They show obvious concern for their wellbeing and they inspire hope and courage. Their leadership actions spring from a sense of service to others and a willingness to build positive relationships.

Paul's emphasis on relationships among equals was the most creative element in his exercise of leadership beyond that of the Hebraic prophetic tradition. Karl Rahner (1983) notes that the love of God and love of neighbour are a mutual relationship; serving others demonstrates our love for them, but our love for others originates in our preeminent love for God.⁵¹ Paul deliberately builds positive relationships based on a shared vision of Jesus Christ, the Lord, in whom all are equal. His view of Christian *ekklesia*, and *agape* is pivotal, the most developed and detailed of all the writings in the New Testament. Christ's sacrifice and death is the model for all leaders to imitate; Christ's

resurrection is the source of *koinonia*, (communion) within community.

We have earlier seen how Paul did not design prescriptive commandments to be enforced. However, he did establish principles and values by which people were held accountable for their behaviour. Pauline letters do not contain descriptions of structures, or hierarchies of power. He achieved his transformational and mission goals by reminding them of the Christ-centred vision and empowering and supporting them relate to one another in *agape*.⁵²

Not everyone accepted Paul. Other apostles refuted his claims to apostleship and authority to preach the gospel. He was vulnerable to resistance, threats, prison, death, reputation, credibility and ill health (2 Cor 11:25), but he persevered. He faced challenges directly and he explained the paradox of Christ crucified as "God's foolishness is wiser than human wisdom and God's weakness is stronger than human strength" (1Cor 22-25). Emulating this, modern leaders in Catholic contexts need to persevere through tough times, to remain faithful to the process of the mission, despite a seeming lack of success and a sense of failure.

Servant and transformational leaders motivate, boost morale, encourage heightened aspiration and performance in followers, and connect the follower's sense of identity and self to the mission and the collective identity of the organization. They create a structure of rich meaning and a hope-filled future. The critical task of an effective Christian leader is to make meaning in times of confusion and anxiety.

3. BUILDING INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES

The primary task today, as it was for Paul and the other apostles, is to build vibrant Christian communities that articulate the gospel in dialogue with contemporary living.

The early Christians lived in a dual world; the closed world of the *ekklesia* and the wider public Greco-Roman world outside. They faced innumerable issues of identity. They could, for example, no longer take part in public communal

50 Warren Bennis, *The End of Leadership: Exemplary Leadership is Impossible Without Full Inclusion, Initiatives, and Co-Operation of Followers*, (Organizational dynamics, Summer 1999), 71-80, cited in Ascough and Cotton, 35

51 Karl Rahner, *The love of Jesus and the love of neighbour* (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 70.

52 Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community*, 213. -215

actions, such as festivals, offer public sacrifice or eat meat sacrificed to idols. They were regarded as unbelievers who followed strange and radical beliefs by society, and felt alienated, and danger was very real.⁵³ Paul's challenge was to support them by make sense of the reality. His response was visionary and pragmatic.

He created an intellectual structure for the *ekklesia* that made sense for the early Christians. The death and resurrection of Christ became central Christian tenet, the paradox of power through weakness, life through death, freedom through positive slavery and obedience to Christ, resonating in the reality they lived. Service was the hallmark of this radical Christian way of life, and Paul used the model of Christ's *kenosis* (Phil 2:1-11) to inspire the *ekklesia* to achieve glory through servant leadership. The Christian identity was expressed through qualities like compassion, forgiveness and service. Service became a characteristic of Christian community and provided a new identity to combat alienation. The focus of the servant leader was to serve the needs of the community. Essentially the work was charismatic and empowering, a gift of the Spirit, with every member serving together, each in their own giftedness, to accomplish God's work.

The situation is not essentially different today; leaders need to identify with those whom they serve. In the public sphere leaders in Catholic organisations today have to contend with competitive market forces, compliances and accountabilities created by external forces, e.g. secular government policies and funding. They are also required to promote Catholic identity and mission goals, ethos and actions in their organisations. They are required to create operational structures and processes appropriate to Catholic culture. Leaders have to find a way to bridge the two worlds, to serve 'God and Caesar'.

Servant leaders distribute leadership, share power and authority and trust people to discuss, discover and decide the right responsive working balance between charisma and institutionalisation, freedom and rules, external compliances and internal alignment.

4. MODELLING COMPASSION AND CARING

This challenge to transform, to grow, to see differently and to act accordingly,⁵⁴ is not without resistance, fears, struggles and worries. It is new and therefore, uncharted and lonely. Paul exudes vision, energy and enthusiasm, but he also understands the deeper realities of emotional change in people. So he encourages and empathises in solidarity with them. In Philippians 3:1-11 he models care and understanding. He expresses love, identifies with them emotionally, encourages them and builds deeper community connections to reach the visionary goal. He demonstrates unequivocal, empathetic support for their life together. Still, he expects a high level of performance and achievement. Paul provides the benchmarks for a caring, compassionate culture in the *ekklesia*, of *koinonia*, of encouragement and support. In Philippians 2:1-2, Paul is revealed as a caring transformational leader.⁵⁵

Paul knew his people, the culture, their desires and their world views. He understood that living the Christian paradigm required change at a deep level. People had to let go of old mindsets and habits and put on new ones. He guided his communities on divisive issues like, status, the Jew- Gentile tensions, apostleship and authority, compliance with Jewish Laws, authority, rituals, and so on. For example, in 1 Cor 1: 11-13 he is dealing with a divisiveness in Corinth. He names the issue – "... I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ (1 Cor 1: 12)" – bluntly crystallizes it and challenges the actions in three rhetorical questions: "Has Christ been divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" (1 Cor 1: 13). He reinforces the learning with boasting not about accomplishments, but foolishness, forcing the Corinthians to view the world differently. Paul set forth principles and empowered the *ekklesia* to discuss and decide the issues in accordance with *agape* and *diakonia*. He sought not external conformity, but internal willingness to serve.

Catholic leaders need to gather information, process it, discern the real issues from a Christlike standpoint and ask the difficult questions that force

53 Dr Ian Elmer, *the Legacy of St Paul*, 2009 at http://www.catholica.com.au/gc0/ie2/111_ie_print.php. Accessed on 25 May, at 6.50 am.

54 Burns, *Transforming Leadership*, 1978

55 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 63 - 69.

the community to respond. Challenges then become a growth opportunities for transformation.

5. ADVOCATING AND PERSUADING

There are no records of Paul's actual preaching; his letters are direct responses to and crises in his early communities.⁵⁶ But the letters were often dictated to scribes by Paul and read aloud dramatically to the gathered *ekklesia*, accompanied by theatrical gestures. Listening and watching the performance, the *ekklesia* would have heard Paul's voice, his vocabulary, his expression; the letters made Paul present in the *ekklesia*.

Paul's letter to Philemon advocates for Onesimus, a slave in some trouble with his master, Philemon. It is a typical servant leader action; Paul advocates for the powerless one, with little expectation of any advantage for himself, but a better future for Onesimus. Paul solves the problem not in a top-down authoritative way, which he could have chosen, but in a collaborative way. While maintaining his close friendship with Philemon, Paul adopts a relational approach and marshals an argument for the manumission of Onesimus, the runaway slave, using the principles of Christian *agape* in a way that persuades Philemon to free Onesimus, and even more startlingly, to accept him as an *adelphos* into the Christian *ekklesia* in Colossae.⁵⁷ The letter is a master class in the use of rhetoric. He sets before Philemon the Christian values of *agape* and then empowers him to make the right decision. Played out in the public audience of the *ekklesia* this letter would have made an unforgettable impact on the members of the *ekklesia* gathered there.

The letter to the Romans is the closest example we have of Paul's cleverly persuading a multicultural community he did not found, and whom he has yet to visit, to share his vision and then to ostensibly support him in his mission to evangelize Spain. In Romans, Paul builds a shared understanding of a preferred future; "His core vision (is that) of a community centred around the crucified Christ rather than status, wealth or any other divisive social factor."⁵⁸ The glue of this

Christian community is *agape* (love), *koinonia* (communion) and *diakonia* (service).⁵⁹

Paul demonstrates passion for serving others with integrity, transparency and courage in taking a stance for no advantage to himself, making the issue public. He demonstrates a sound sense of his audience and exceptional communication and rhetorical skills. He sets an example that Catholic leaders can follow, standing up for people, for justice, particularly for those without voice, because everyone is entitled to freedom and equal treatment.

CONCLUSION

The intention of this paper has been to demonstrate that Paul's self-identification as *apostolos Christou Iesou* and *doulos Christou Iesou* offers an insight into Paul's servant and transformational leadership styles. While *apostolos* establishes Paul's mission to transform the Christians in the *ekklesia*, *doulos* exemplifies his servant leadership style. Paul's paradoxical employment of the slavery metaphor highlights the promise of a new identity and life for the Christians as adopted sons of God, and brothers and sisters in Christ. This belief is expressed in community in relationships of love and service to one another. These were the foundational communities of Christians, those who pioneered and created an enduring Christian identity.

Arie de Gues (1997)⁶⁰ uses longevity of institution as an indicator of effective leadership. According to his research, most multinational corporations survive approximately fifty years on average. Japan's 'Sumitomo Corporation' and Sweden's 'Stora' are examples of 'living', companies because they have successfully adapted to change over five and seven hundred years, respectively. Christianity, on the other hand, which Paul helped found, has thrived for nearly two millennia, with over two billion followers in every country in the world, and, long after his death, it continues to be a global influence today. Paul is one of the most successful leaders in history.

Finally, this paper encourages contemporary leaders in Christian contexts examine their own

56 Helen Doohan, 28.

57 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 126-134.

58 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 39

59 Ascough and Cotton, *Passionate Visionary*, 33.

60 Arie de Gues, *The Living Company: Habits for Survival in a Turbulent Business Environment* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1997),

practice of leadership, to emulate Paul in deepening their sense of being commissioned for mission. As Christ-centred leaders they engage with the world but from a Christ-centred perspective and thus, they collaborate with their communities and empower them to transform themselves and lead others into transformation. The criteria for success is the building communities of service that help people grow, that enhances Christian identity, that is Christocentric, and thereby offers meaning in liminal times.

Pope Benedict XVI in his homily at St Paul's Outside the Walls, Rome, April 2005, preparing for the 2000th anniversary of Paul's birth summed up Paul's leadership and impact:

Christ's passion led him to preach the Gospel not only with the word, but also with his very life, which was even more conformed to that of his Lord. In the end, Paul proclaimed Christ with martyrdom, and his blood, together with that of Peter and of witnesses of the Gospel, watered this land and made it fruitful to the Church of Rome.

(Pope Benedict XVI)

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