2016

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BUILT ON A ROCK: A STUDY IN THE LONGEVITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

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Abstract

The Catholic Church represents one of the longest-lasting, most expansive organizations in history. Examining five organizational theories, this paper explores how organizational elements have enabled the Church to endure and adapt over time, culture and external pressures. The Church's system of promoting leadership internally, granting external legitimacy, and maintaining tension with society are central to their adaptability and longevity as an organization. As an example of organizational endurance and adaptability, the Catholic Church serves as a model for secular organizations interested in membership retention, change management and international expansion.

Keywords: organizational theory, Catholic Church, membership retention

> *"And upon this rock I will build my church;*
> *and the gates of Hades will not overpower it."*
> *-Matthew 16:18, NIV*

With these words, the longest-lasting organization this world has known was established. The Catholic Church has seen revolutions come and go, governments rise and crumble, and survived – influenced – more history than any single institution. On an individual and sociological level, it is not hard to see the impact that the Catholic Church has had. No other organization on this Earth – government, country, culture, family, subgroup – has survived as many changes and fluctuations as the Catholic Church. Additionally, no other organization can lay claim to being as diverse and expansive as the Catholic Church – operating in every continent and every country, meeting the needs of a diverse array of culture and communities.

How can organizational theory shed light on the Catholic Church's ability to continue to exist and change in order to serve a large group of diverse people? The following literature review will analyze several different organizational theories that help explain the Catholic Church's ability to endure and adapt. After setting the context of the scope of previous research and the meaning of change, several organizational theories will be explored that shed light on why the Catholic Church has become an organizational model of longevity and adaptability.

This is an important question to explore precisely because of the reach of religion into 'secular' matters such as politics, economics and cultures. "Churches tend to reflect and embody broader social values," and thus become an important reflection of societal trends (Tracey, 2012, p. 92). For example, religion played "a key role in the rise of the fair trade movement, the social enterprise and social business movements, and spearheaded the move to encourage the institutional investors… to consider social problems as important foci of their investment strategies" (Tracey, 2012, p. 88). The Catholic Church involves billions of individuals across the globe, further emphasizing the importance of this research.

There is much that secular organizations interested in international growth, membership retention and organizational longevity can learn from an organizational study of the Catholic Church, as well.

Scope of Previous Research

With such a far reach, it is of surprise that the relationship between religion – and specifically the oldest religious institution, the Catholic Church – and organization theory has not been studied more. There was an abundance of literature available on the sociology of religion, or the comingled influence of culture and religion, but little study on what the hierarchy, systems and structures of the Catholic Church could reveal about organizations as a whole. As researcher Paul Tracey (2012) said, "the arena of religious organizations is rich with distinctive organizational designs, special interorganizational relationships, and a large

presence across the landscape of society… Whatever the explanation, the upshot is that we know relatively little about the dynamics of religious organizational forms or the influence of these forms… on broader social practices" (p. 88). He cites potential reasons for the lack of research as being due to the sensitive nature of the topic, or the fact that religion is not seen as in line with the empirical trend of organizational theory research.

In his literature review, Tracey (2012) reviewed 21 scholarly journals that he felt "constituted the mainstream outlets in management research" from both American and European sources (p. 96). He searched each journal from the date of the first issue to June 2011 for search terms relating to religion and organization (i.e. "religion," "church," "mosque," "temple," "Christian" etc.) and found only 86 articles that included a religious focus across all 21 management journals. This speaks to the lack of research that has previously been done of this topic. Tracey's work, with the help of a few other noted researchers, has begun to form a small base from which those interested in organization and religion can build upon.

The lack of previous research on this topic is due in part to the length of time it requires to see measurable – or at minimum, observable – organizational change in an organization of this scope and scale. In the lifespan of a 2,000-plus year-old organization, a full change episode may take over 100 years. A theorist would have to live an exceptionally long time, or else take on not just organizational analysis but a historical analysis as well to find examples from the past. A second reason analysis of this type is difficult is because it is challenging to discuss organizational theory implications as they apply to the Church as a whole. While the defined roles of a priest may be the same according to Church doctrine, actual practice and social support of that role may be completely different across cultures and communities. For example, much of existing literature available regulates "American Catholicism" versus "European Catholicism." These are just a few additional reasons that may have hindered more research on organizational theory within the Catholic Church.

Defining Organizational Change

What is meant by change within the Catholic Church? Obviously, there is plenty of change going on externally, as evidenced through history's progression of inventions, wars, countries, and countless other measurable factors. But how can change within the Catholic Church be identified internally? As this paper explores how organizational theory explains the Catholic Church's ability to withstand *change*, it is only natural that an attempt to define change and patterns of change within religious organizations would follow. Two discussions of change theory will be highlighted.

According to Mintzberg and Westley (1992), change is new, unexpected learning from an external source, and the process of infusing that learning throughout the organization. Change can occur as episodes, and follows a certain pattern: "conceiving the change (learning); shifting the mindset (vision), and programming the consequences (planning.)" (p. 45). Learning, and therefore change, can be initiated at any level within the organization. "Inductive learning plays the role of disintegrating the previous behavior while deductive vision and planning work together to integrate the new behavior, the former by putting it into conceptual context, the latter by formally institutionalizing it into the organization's steady state" (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992, p. 46). This is evidenced in the Catholic Church, as change usually starts conceptually through a papal encyclical and then formalized into change through a process of conferences, committees and mandates.

Change usually comes in episodes, and can be described as either episodes of turnaround (quick, directed from central source, deliberate) or revitalization (slower, more adaptive with small changes taken in steps) (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992). Their typology of change in organizations goes through the following stages: stage of development; stage of stability; stage of adaptation; stage of struggle; stage of revolution. The difference between the stage of struggle and stage of revolution is whether the external or internal factors are shifting, respectively. Within the Catholic Church, we would see the stage of struggle as

pre-Vatican II era society – external forces were in chaotic change, which began pressuring the Church for change. The stage of revolution could be the Vatican II mandates which followed, or what we are currently observing with the significant, internal, organizational hierarchy changes being made by Pope Francis.

We also know that change is repetitive; "At the broadest level, change episodes and stages sequence themselves over time to form patterns of evolution that describe the overall history of an organization" (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992, p. 50). Therefore, we learn that learning, change and history go together in a cyclical nature.

One of the few – if not only – scholars of organizational theory as it pertains specifically to the Catholic religion, Jean M. Bartunek, presents a different typology of change within the religious organization. Bartunek (1984) presents two types of change: 1) first order change, characterized by incremental modifications in existing ways of interpretation; and 2) second-order change, characterized by a radical shift in interpretive schemes where "organizational paradigms are reframed, and norms and world views are changed" (p. 356).

In summary, change is a process of inductive or deductive learning that occurs cyclically, following a pattern and capable of occurring at any level (internal levels of management /employee structure, or level of impact). It is important to remember in our discussion of adaptation that institutional theory does not imply an either/or choice between stability and change (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010). An organization can remain stable while still adapting.

Organizational Theory Explanations

Durkheim's Effervescence. The first scholar to have offered a theory for why religion was so important to individuals and society as a whole was Emile Durkheim. For Durkheim, religion had four components: "First, it is a collective phenomenon. Second, it comprises beliefs and practices. Third, it is not the same as magic. Fourth, it is

based on fundamental distinction between the sacred and the profane" (As quoted in Tracey, 2012, p. 91).

At the base of his theory was the idea that only through the collective action of religious worship could individuals experience "effervescence." Effervescence was described as an overwhelming, out-of-body experience brought about by worshipping something that was bigger than one's self and bigger than the community as a whole. Experiencing this collectively was important in bringing individuals together in community. Once they made the mental connection of the exclusive relationship between corporate worship and this feeling ("effervescence"), they would continue to work and live in community.

In this way, Durkheim starts our understanding of *why* religion is important to the individual. He would summarize that the organization of the Catholic Church has lasted so long because it produces an out-of-body, emotional experience that can be exclusively found there – an experience which Durkheim claims is central to community development. In this literature review, we will focus on how one specific religion – Catholicism – has continued to produce this 'effervescence' over hundreds of centuries and cultures, with an eye towards the organizational aspects which make that longevity and adaptability possible.

Rational Choice Theory. One theory that explains the ability of the Catholic Church to last so long is rational choice theory, related to the concept of cost-opportunity. As long as an individual is getting something of value from the Church that is larger than the cost associated with Church membership, they will continue to participate within the Church. Within the Church, there are both rewards and compensations; "Rewards are things that individuals want and are prepared to accept costs in order to obtain them. These include the legitimacy and networking benefits of church membership and attendance. Compensators are a kind of reward, the benefits of which are not easily perceptible, such as immortality or forgiveness" (Tracey, 2012, p. 93). Under rational choice theory, individuals are "engaged in an exchange relationship with a god of gods"

and religion becomes conceptually a "market with a focus on the supply side" (Tracey, 2012, p. 94).

The "rewards" that one receives from the Church vary based on individual situation and context – a flexibility which in and of itself contributes to the Church's longevity as an organization. In the times of revolution, the Church becomes a "rallying point against a foreign enemy" (Caplow, 1985, p. 107). For others, the Church may be a source of food, shelter, structure, vocation or education. Individuals may rationally choose a Catholic education over a public education because they perceive a greater value in the former that is worth the cost. Membership within the church may lead to greater networks, a sense of belonging and community that is worth any perceived "cost." The examples of "rewards" from Church membership are endless. Since the Church is so large, individuals may receive a reward that is tailored to their own needs and lifestyle at the time.

Theorist Laurence R. Iannaccone (1994) takes a rational choice theory approach in his work on how strict churches encourage membership, and remain "strong." He states that members make a rational choice because, similar to Durkheim's argument, they receive something collectively that benefits them individually. 'Products' of church participation, "particularly the most dramatic experiences… are more sustainable and satisfying when experienced collectively" (p. 1184).

Enclaving, Cloning, Uprooting Theory. Most relevant to our current study of organizational theory and the Catholic Church is two scholars' study of how world religions have endured throughout major changes. According to Mintzberg and Westley (1992):

> All organizations eventually undergo conditions that threaten their very existence… What distinguishes world religions is that they have found ways to sustain themselves through these changes. Moreover, they seem to avoid the costly swings between the chaos of change and the rigidity of stability by achieving some kind of

synthesis between these opposing tendencies. (p. 53).

Mintzberg and Westley propose three models of handling change: enclaving, cloning, and uprooting.

Enclaving. The Catholic Church serves as a model of enclaving, "a process of negotiation and resource allocation" which name comes from the fact that the change is conceived in an enclave of the organization (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992, p. 53). Quite literally, when a new pope is selected, voting members of the Catholic Church enter what is called the "papal conclave," a private meeting within an internal chamber of the Vatican – closely related to the idea of enclave. According to this model of change endurance, when the 'change,' (originally seen as radical and uprooting in nature), has been tempered through time or negotiation, it is accepted, legitimized and allowed to infuse the rest of the organization and so effect a broader shift (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992).

An example of enclaving within the Catholic Church occurred in 1198, when in order to incorporate what was seen as an opposing group of monks still within the faith, Pope Innocent III negotiated a series of compromises with the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Humiliati orders. "The church broadened its definition of who could preach and provided new structure for the participation of lay members," say Mintzberg and Westley (1992, p. 53). Again, this is similar to what occurred with Vatican II – reinforcing the idea that change, as a building block of the history of an organization, is cyclical in nature. Through a series of negotiations in Vatican II, groups which were once seen as radical (i.e. other religions, particular sects, lay members) were accepted and assigned new roles, rights and responsibilities within a more ecumenical church.

Enclaving can also be seen in the way that the Catholic Church recently re-invited Anglicans back into a formal membership body within the Church. At first, the separation between the Anglicans and Catholics was divisive and tense. But over time, as the Anglican church became less "revolutionary" and "disruptive" in the overall view of the Catholic Church, negotiations were made to bring the

Anglican arm back under the overall Catholic arm. Negotiations over marriage, liturgy and priestly training/education were made, and now Anglicans are able once again to serve within the Church and take communion.

Cloning. The second theory of how world religions endure change according to Mintzberg and Westley is cloning, as exemplified by the Protestant church, which is characterized by religious pluralism. Cloning does not work as well as enclaving because it leads to a vast number of smaller sects and denominations, which begin competing with each other for members and legitimacy. While cloning encourages creativity and individualism, it breaks the sense of connectedness to a larger whole. That connectedness, as discussed in Durkheim's theory of religion earlier, is an integral part of why religion has lasted so long as a basis of human culture. Therefore, the religious pluralism seen in cloning damages this sense of religious effervescence and damages the religion's potential overall to endure long-term change.

Uprooting. The third and final model of religious organization enduring change is uprooting, a "way in which visionary change can be managed so as to maintain, over time, the charismatic intensity of the early stages of the organization, avoiding the routinization of the later stages" (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992, p. 56). The uprooting model requires the literal, physical uprooting of people both from their locations and routines to new ones. It demands the absolute commitment from members, and inhibits hierarchy or organizational learning. While much more difficult to identify than the other two models, an example is early Buddhism in India (Mintzberg and Westley, 1992).

What is important in the theory of enclaving is that change is coming from within, it is still the organization as a larger whole granting legitimacy to the external group; Authority is not lost, responsibility is not shifted. Enclaving works better as a model of change adaptation because it maintains the collective group experience by not creating religious pluralism (as seen in cloning). Additionally, enclaving works better than the uprooting model because it

allows for institutional memory and recording, which are integral to a truly long-lasting organization. Enclaving permits an organization to stay true to core values and foundations, while adapting to societal change in order to create the perfect tension between sacred and secular that members seek.

According to Mintzberg and Westley (1992), religious organizations can experience all three types of change adaptations in their lifetime – and even more than one model at the same time:

> The Catholic Church, for example… has experienced both vision-led revolution and uprooting (the eleventh century papal revolution, led by Hildebrand), and enclaving. At various points, and at times simultaneously, organizations will contain cloning, enclaving, and uprooting tendencies. The important thing is the maintenance of a creative tension: vision must be harnessed, learning must be directed, and planning must be empowered. (p. 57).

This idea of creating a perfect tension between the religious and secular, and the importance of said tension in helping understand the endurance and adaptability of the Catholic Church, is further explored in the following strict church theory.

Strict Churches Theory. A third theory that explains how the Church as an organization has lasted so long is Iannaccone's strict church theory. Related to both rational choice theory and Durkheim's theory of religious effervescence, Iannaccone proposes that strict churches retain a higher level of involved membership because they eliminate the free-rider problem. A strict church is characterized as one that "proclaims an exclusive truth – a closed, comprehensive, and eternal doctrine. They demand adherence to a distinctive faith, morality, and lifestyle" (Iannaccone, 1994, p. 1182). Statistics confirm that "denominational growth rates correlate strongly with 'strictness'" and that "religious groups that demand such sacrifices are *more* successful than those that do not" (Iannaccone, 1994, p. 1183). Iannaccone (1994) theorizes

that strictness strengthens a church in three ways: "they raise overall levels of commitment, increase average rates of participation, and enhance the net benefits of membership" (p. 1183).

In addition, the more a "strict" church creates tension between itself and the outside world, seemingly placing a 'cost' on interactions with nonreligious groups, the stronger and more involved the membership reports to be. There must, however, be an optimal level of tension between the Church and secular society. When that tension is overtaxed, large reforms – as seen with Vatican II – may occur to regain an optimal tension. The Church reacts to the demands of society in order to continue creating a cost-benefit for members.

System-Structural Theory. System-structural view, as explained by Astley and Van de Ven, would explain that the Catholic Church has endured change due to its organizational hierarchy, strict roles and manager-driven (or papal-driven, in this organizational case) choices. The Roman Catholic Church operates on a three-tier hierarchical system: pope (overseeing the worldwide Church), bishops (overseeing a number of priests within a certain geographic location), and priests (overseeing one local parish or church). Choices within the Church are ultimately manager-driven. Mandates are passed down from the Pope through a hierarchical series of managers to those who ultimately enact the structural changes (Bartunek, 1984).

Several things are unique about roles within the Catholic Church. One, leaders only arise from within the organization. Candidates for priesthood go through an intense screening and education process. Second, there is a diversity of roles that permits flexibility; roles are available for those who wish to serve the more religious, day-to-day aspects of the internal Church as well as roles for those who want to serve externally, within a secular context. "This combination of work forces… has enabled Catholicism to maintain its stability while making necessary adjustments to changes in the larger society," says Thomas M. Gannon (1979, p. 350). In describing the shift to this new model of dual-role structure, Gannon emphasizes that it was

accomplishable through a series of negotiations and change – echoing aspects of the earlier enclave theory – that ultimately allowed the Church to further its mission.

System-structural theory is in conflict with the earlier discussion of rational choice theory, which is individually driven and believes in the rationale of the individual. System-structural theory does not permit as much tailoring to individual needs as RCT, because the strict attention to roles and managers does not leave much room for individual adaptation of policy.

Bureaucracy. Is the Catholic Church the closest thing we have to Max Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy? There are several characteristics of the Church that embody Weber's ideal bureaucracy. First, it operates according to a strict hierarchy of roles, which are filled by trained, educated individuals who are elected to their post. Second, it has an explicit record keeping system and institutional history that is preserved in detail. Organizational history, rule and policies are made available to both the clergy and lay follower through The Bible, Catechism and theological texts.

Third, all three authority types can be found within the church, legitimizing it to any individual or any culture. Weber's bureaucracy is centralized upon the need for a hierarchical system that is put into place, and socially accepted, through one of three types of authority: traditional, legal-rational or charismatic. All three types of authority exist within the Church (both as a whole, or within the micro-level of an individual parish), so that any individual would be able to see the Church as a legitimate authority according to which authority type they recognized. Theorist Reed Nelson (1993), studying examples of Weber's types of authority within religious organizations, summarizes that the choice is not either/or; organizations could be seeing multiple types of authority in practice at once.

As Weber describes in *Bureaucracy,* clergy of the Church receive a fixed salary, are promoted from a group of "boss men" up a defined hierarchical "ladder," are separated by social esteem and serve for life. They have lifestyle and physical characteristics that mark them for their office and

separate them from society – a uniform, a theological degree, and a lifestyle of celibacy.

DISCUSSION

Organizational Change Under Pope Francis

Before understanding how previously discussed organizational theories are seen in current Catholic politics and policies, a brief review of recent events under the leadership of Pope Francis is necessary. After his election to the papacy in 2013, Pope Francis captured the attention of both Catholics and non-Catholics with his humble demeanor and wide-spread calls for Vatican reform. As a testament to the widespread attention he drew to the Catholic faith, *Time* magazine named him the 2013 Person of the Year less than a year within his papal duties. After his election, Pope Francis named two key areas where he would focus his reform efforts: the Vatican Bank (formally known as the Institute for the Works of Religion) and the Roman Curia (the administrative bodies which support the Vatican in making decisions which affect the more than 1.2 billion Catholics worldwide).

Since his election, Pope Francis, with the assistance of a hired outside firm, has completed a thorough review of Vatican Bank records, documents, assets and systems. To begin, Pope Francis replaced four out of five cardinals serving on the Vatican Bank oversight committee. He also hired an external firm from Switzerland to assist in completing a thorough review of all Vatican Bank records. Under Pope Francis' oversight, the new Vatican Bank committee has created new procedures, which they say will increase transparency, as well as add levels of checks and balances to try and avoid future money laundering scandals.

Pope Francis has also led reforms to the Roman Curia, namely by creating structural changes. He has created his own body of advisors, outside of the existing College of Cardinals and Roman Curia – a first in papal history. Pope Francis has also changed the demographics of the College of Cardinals by carefully selecting the majority of new cardinals from countries within the Southern hemisphere –

which has traditionally been underrepresented in the College, regardless of the Southern hemisphere's exponential growth in Catholic members and practitioners. In his most recent February 2015 nominations, 15 out of the 20 newly appointed Cardinals represented countries from the Southern hemisphere. The nominations particularly represented countries struggling with issues of social justice, extreme poverty and migration issues.

The appointment of new cardinals is seen as one of the most influential and decisive power moves a pope can make, as these are the cardinals which will be eligible to vote in the next papal conclave. Thus, Pope Francis' nominations carry extra weight, as they democratize the voting body and give voices to previously underrepresented countries. It secures the viewpoints of Catholics affected by cultural experiences with social justice, poverty, migration, etc., and that their voices will be heard long after Pope Francis steps down from the position.

Pope Francis' two reform efforts so far – the Vatican Bank and Roman Curia – exemplify previous discussions of organizational theory and organizational change theory in action. First, the nomination of new, diverse cardinals reinforces Bartunek's (1984) research on the reciprocal nature of changes in interpretive schema with changes in structure. In order to secure true organizational change, one must effect change within organizational structures (Bartunek, 1984). This is exactly what Pope Francis is doing with the new cardinal nominees. The voting structure has been permanently changed by the addition of these new, diverse voting members. They will bring a background and perspective that will affect the interpretive schema of the College of Cardinals – specifically, as relating to key focus issues of social justice, poverty and migration. The inclusion of the new cardinals brings both structural and interpretive schema change. When enacted together, these two properties allow a change to become truly embedded within the organization for long-lasting impact.

Vatican Bank and Roman Curia reform are two examples of Mintzberg and Westley's theory of organizational change. Within the three-step process of organizational change – learning, vision, and planning –

these two reforms would place the Catholic Church at the vision and planning phases of overall organizational change. The first stage of learning, categorized by sweeping reform, restlessness and discussion, could be seen through earlier reform efforts in Vatican II discussions and reforms. Pope Francis is building upon the learning and vision begun within Vatican II for a more ecumenical Church with his latest reforms within the Vatican Bank and College of Cardinals. Specifically, we see strong examples of the third stage of Mintzberg and Westley's cycle of organization change: programming the consequences, or 'planning.' Pope Francis' reforms in Bank policy and cardinal inclusion can bring about true consequences for the future of the Catholic Church as an organization because they are changes at the structural level. Organizational change formally occurs when there is new behavior, and the new vision is "formally institutionalized into the organization's steady state" (Mintzberg and Westley, p. 46).

Bartunek, Mintzberg and Westley all emphasize that the critical sign of organizational change is having new components worked into the organizational structure. Pope Francis is building support for long-term, institutional change by creating structural changes within two main power sources of the Catholic Church: the Vatican Bank and the voting body of the Roman Curia.

Implications for Organizational Studies of Flexibility, Adaptability and Longevity

While social critics call it stale and unchanging, after reviewing the existing literature it seems the Catholic Church is anything but. In fact, the Catholic Church becomes a model of flexibility, adaptability and longevity when viewed through the lens of organizational theory. While only several of many organizational theories were reviewed for this paper, there were common reoccurring organizational traits between them that help summarize how the Catholic Church has endured change, scandal and external pressure: 1) Size; 2) Social tension; 3) Source of legitimacy and 4) Organizational roles.

Because of the Catholic Church's sheer size, it is able to adapt across so many cultures and times because it operates on both the macro and micro level – within the individual local parish and as a worldwide organization. Due to its size, it can present truly "something for everyone" – all three authority types are contained, all three of Balfour and Wechsler's (1996) measures of commitment are available, and countless cost opportunity benefits to fit individual need.

Second, the Church has endured for so long because it has continued to maintain a high level of social tension. Maintaining this social tension requires continual environmental analysis, inductive and deductive organizational learning and change. Several scholars, including Durkheim (1912), Iannaccone (1994), Mintzberg and Westley (1992), raised the importance of maintaining social tension in change endurance and organization longevity. This tension is a critical part in offering a discernable cost benefit for members.

Third, the Church has lasted so long – according to an organizational theory perspective – because its source of legitimization is internal. Leaders are chosen internally, and raised to a position of power that is legitimized by internal, organizational acceptance. As shown in Mintzberg and Westley's (1992) theory of enclaving, any external change receives legitimization and acceptance from the organizational body before being internalized. At the individual level, members receive legitimization as full Catholics by participating in an educational process and ceremony, which infers legitimization by the overall Church. In this way, authority and responsibility is never shifted outside of the Church and it continues to serve as the legitimizing body to outsiders. In comparison, a non-secular organization receives legitimization externally versus internally. If consumers no longer see a business or service as a legitimate need, it will not continue to function. The Catholic Church gives legitimacy to outside groups, and seeks legitimization from no external body.

Fourth, the Catholic Church has endured because it promotes leaders from within – a point raised by Bartunek (1984) and Weber (1946). This is a technique also used by armies – one of the other longest-lasting forms of

organization in the modern world. It is no coincidence that both of these enduring organizations share this characteristic of promoting leaders internally. This type of internal promotion prevents any type of radical change brought from outsiders. While not excluding change, the organization is able to make sure change is tempered and infused carefully, deliberately and thoughtfully.

Further Research

There is vast potential for future research in the field of organizational theory as it relates to the Catholic Church, or world religions overall. A base of research about the Catholic Church's organizational structure, promotion and appointment structure, and historical changes within that structure would be helpful to inform further, deeper research that draws potential applications and lessons for other organizations.

First, it would be interesting to compare the operations of the Church to operations of international, secular organizations – such as Starbucks, McDonalds or other franchises. One could research whether international, secular organizations also employ the use of multiple authority types at once as well as adaptable cost-opportunity benefits for stakeholders. Does the use of different authority types allow them to be more amenable across cultures? How does their organizational structure differ according to culture? What can international, secular organizations learn about institutional learning and record keeping from the Catholic Church operations?

It would also be of interest to further study Balfour and Wechsler's commitment types in relation to organized religion. Does the type of commitment most present vary according to religious type (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, etc.), age, or location? How can organizations utilize that potential information to their advantage in attracting and retaining new members?

CONCLUSION

By examining five organizational theories – rational choice, strict church, enclaving, system-structural theory and bureaucracy – we see organizational elements that have led to the Catholic Church's adaptability and longevity. The Church's system of promoting leadership internally, granting external legitimacy, and maintaining tension with society are central to their adaptability and longevity as an organization. The Catholic Church presents as a strong contender for a close model of an 'ideal type' bureaucracy, with lifetime vocations, record keeping, hierarchy and many more examples of bureaucratic characteristics. Vast potential exists for further research into organizational theory with the Church and implications for external organizations.

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