The Vocation of First Call Congregations
Case Study Report
Immanuel Lutheran Church, Detroit, MI
Site Visit: August, 2007
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INTRODUCTION

After renting a car at the Detroit International Airport, we drove directly to Immanuel Lutheran Church in east Detroit, located in the Chandler Park neighborhood. The church building is directly across the street from Chandler Park. Surrounding the church are modest homes, interlaced with boarded up and abandoned residences and businesses.

Immanuel Lutheran Church was started in 1919 as a Sunday school outreach to children of recent Swedish immigrants. Membership quickly outgrew a one-room building and in the 1940s the congregation was relocated to the Chandler Park neighborhood. By the end of the 1950s the membership was over 1000. During the next couple of decades when most of the Euro-American residents moved to the suburbs, membership at Immanuel also declined. In a history summary, the writer recounted, "The congregation remained faithful to their calling to preach the good news of Jesus Christ and strive to be an inclusive community of faith welcoming all God's children." By the 1990s the membership was down to 200 with average worship attendance at 50.

In some ways, this case study is a story of faithfulness and hope as the congregation has come through very challenging and painful times to be revitalized in its ministry to its members and to the whole Detroit community.

In 2004, Immanuel celebrated its 85 anniversary by launching a major capital drive to renovate its impressive brick building to make it handicap accessible, remodel church offices and upgrade the sanctuary to modernize the worship space. Such major construction work hadn't been done since 1956. In communicating the need for "Planting the Mustard Seed" campaign to members, Pastor Gahagen wrote, "As the times have changed and society has been transformed, so should the church keep pace with the means by which we communicate the gospel and make God's sanctuary accessible to all God's children."

At the annual meeting of the congregation in January 2007, it was reported that baptized members now number 299 with 226 confirmed members, of which 85% commune. Average attendance at worship is 156. Total members received in 2006 were 32, 19 of which came through affirmation of faith. About 97% of members are African American. Pastor Patrick Gahagen, called as a first call pastor nine years ago is Anglo.

The congregational theme for 2007 is "Building the Body of Christ" with a "workout plan for us to get in shape for Jesus." That plan focuses on "Discipleship: Through worship, stewardship and fellowship."

CONGREGATIONAL TRANSITIONS

Immanuel Lutheran Church and the neighborhood have gone through major cultural shifts over the past several decades, typical of large central cities in the U. S. For Detroit, cultural shifts from Anglo to African American dominance happened in earnest in the 1980's, also reflected in Immanuel's membership. This trend accelerated at Immanuel following a painful pastorate experience.

With more and more Blacks moving into the community, resulting in the "White flight" phenomena, the synod in the early 90's urged the congregation to seek a Black pastor and recommended one who was of African descent, newly ordained in the Lutheran church.

The conflict during the call of Rev. Collier was described by several members we interviewed. Karalyn was on the Council as a young person at that time. She remembered that they did everything to keep the congregation informed about the call process. When a trial sermon for the candidate was set up in another congregation for the Council and Call Committee to attend, a group of Anglo members who had heard the candidate was Black also decided to attend. When it came time for a congregational vote on the candidate, these Anglo members made sure that they had a good turnout and voted down the call. Karalyn said, "I couldn't believe it. But there was racism everywhere."

The synod intervened and asked the congregation to have another vote which happened during the summer when many of the Anglo members were gone. This time the vote was positive. When the disgruntled members found out this happened, many left the church. What made this conflict even more difficult was that Pr. Collier was not a good match for Immanuel. "He was very traditional and sometimes seen as rude," remarked a member. Some allegations of inappropriate behavior toward some young people were also made and he was asked to leave.

Michael, who was president of the Church Council for 11 years, chaired the Call Committee when Pr. Collier was called. He still feels the congregation hasn't healed from this experience which resulted in many people, mainly Anglos, leaving the church.

However, other members talked about some positive and life-giving things that happened as a result of this conflict. Karalyn remembered that Rev. Dana, the woman interim pastor, "helped us realize who we were." The congregation had just gone through a difficult time where "there was not an opportunity to express what we were feeling." Karalyn added, "It's worse when its not spoken out loud." Rev. Dana helped in the healing of those painful memories, especially by organizing retreats where feelings as well as visions could be discussed. Richard recalled that Pr. Dana "did a decent job," helping the congregation go on an "historical pilgrimage" to lift up the milestones of the congregation's history.

During one of these retreats, a mission statement was crafted with an image of the church being a "lighthouse" to the community which still has meaning and purpose for members today. It reads, "A lighthouse and spiritual center in the Chandler Park Community reaching out so that all are welcome on the journey of giving praise and service to Jesus Christ." As a Council member during that time, Lynda participated in this retreat and remembered the creation of the lighthouse metaphor and the impact this experience had, "It helped me see a larger world and that God put me here for a purpose." Her only frustration is that "not enough people feel the same way."

LAY LEADERSHIP

During the pastoral vacancy after Pr. Collier, members needed "to step up to the plate" in providing leadership, "because no one else would do it," said Karalyn. What seemed to complicate this time for Karalyn was that some of the Anglo members who had left the church when Pr. Collier was called now were saying things like, "You will not survive as a congregation without us."

Erma feels that more people are involved in church ministries than before – a sense that "everyone pitches in." She has heard people in other churches say, "That's not my job," but at Immanuel, she "pitches in when needed and others are like her." This past summer she was asked to help out with the children's program and didn't want to do it at first, but ended up helping out. Another time, someone had forgotten to pick up bread for a gathering, and though she needed to pick up her mentally challenged son from a special school, she did the errand first.

In response to what are Immanuel's strengths, Hazel, the church secretary and long time member, quickly replied, "The people here are strong. There have been so many churches closing, but a few people here kept the church going through those days."

According to Hazel, members were open to receiving Pr. Gahagen since they had been without a pastor for over a year. Michael expressed that a lot of difficulties Immanuel faced "had cleared the way for Pr. Gahagen to move forward." They didn't have to deal any longer with the tensions of white flight or even money since there had been a money appeal for church improvements before Pr. Gahagen came. There also was "a decent lay leadership in place who didn't have agendas to highjack the pastor – at least not much."

During these difficult times of transition, lay members were challenged to take charge and found that they were very capable of handling the responsibilities as well as institute new programs.

Thus, in the mid '90's there was also a worship transition to a more contemporary service and a gospel musician was hired. The Head Start program and an after-school program were also begun during this time, directed by Lillian.

To give the readers a fuller picture of this congregation's lay leadership and resulting programs, thumbnail sketches of some of these leaders are provided in the Addendum.

These member profiles include recent as well as long-time members and convey the giftedness and commitment these people bring to congregational life.

WOMEN OF IMMANUEL

The Women of Immanuel are very active and have adopted the Women of the ELCA's Triennial theme, "Act Boldly." Their report to the congregation said, "We are mobilized to Act Boldly on our Faith in Jesus Christ," based on a passage from Acts 14:3. They meet monthly in the evening and have several events during the year that raise funds for youth, college scholarships and justice issues. Their mission statement reads: "As Christian women of Immanuel Lutheran Church, (our mission) is to walk by faith and not by sight, devoting ourselves to serving the congregation and community by setting examples of Christian value for the young women of this community of faith to follow."

Mini Case: Reality Hits Hard

The conversation on the telephone with Pastor Gahagen on Thursday night before our planned visit gave us a sense that something was wrong, something that could complicate our visit. Should we still come, or could we postpone and come at a better time? "Come," he said. "This is our life."

We were not at the church long on Friday afternoon before we began to piece together the story. Here, in the heart of Detroit, another tragedy had played itself out right in the middle of this congregation's life. Two 15 year olds were involved earlier in the week in a horrible car accident. On Saturday they had stolen a car. On Sunday morning they drove to Immanuel Lutheran, parking the car far enough away that no one would know about it. They came for worship, for community, for nourishment.

Ean was not a member, but he had begun to come to the church to play basketball when he was 12 or 13. Full of emotion and resentment, he had been asked to leave one night when he was disrespectful to the adult in charge. This incident had been a sensitive one for members of the congregation who are committed to encouraging young people. He left and did not return. Two years later, this past year, he had come back to church and to the basketball program. He apologized, and many members of the congregation began to talk with him and the other youth about how to live their lives. He was reminded that he needed to stay out of trouble, to make good choices in his life.

Scoobie is also 15. He is part of the youth activities at Immanuel as well. He and N went joy riding in that stolen car on a rainy Monday, driving down a street with a brick wall on one side. They sideswiped a car with a woman in it. As she tried to get the license number, they sped up…..to 100 miles per hour. The car hydroplaned, flipped, the boys were thrown around, and as it settled, the consequences became apparent.

Ean was dead.. This Saturday of our visit was his funeral – at another church nearby. Miss Betty took some of the youth. The Council President, Richard, attended. The pastor was asked to offer prayers in the funeral service. Others from Immanuel went as well.

Scoobie was in intensive care. The initial news was not good. The doctors feared he was paralyzed from the waist down and faced major surgery.

People in the church were upset, hurt, grief-stricken, and angry. A meeting was called by the pastor and adult leaders of the youth at Immanuel. On Thursday evening they gathered in the youth room to talk about the incident, about these lives cut short. Ean's 19 year old brother came to talk with the young people, to warn them about the choices they make and the outcomes that might happen. He said that his mother and he had tried everything with Ean. They did not want him to go down the path where he seemed to be headed. Richard, the Council President, told me "We just couldn't get through to him. We tried talking to him; we had one on one talks; we welcomed him; we encouraged him - but we failed." Ean's mother wants to come and talk to the other youth. But not now while she is burying her young son Ean.

In a followup conversation with Pr. Gahagen, he reported that they've received some good news about Scoobie – that instead of spinal damage leading to paralysis, he has broken bones and will be receiving much physical therapy with the hope of significant recovery of movement.

IMMANUEL'S YOUTH PROGAM

The congregation's youth ministry leaders are dedicated to the young people who are involved here. More than 50% of the youth younger than 20 who come to Immanuel are not members and their parents do not attend this church.

Immanuel's youth development emphasis is evident in a variety of programs and activities. The youth have the largest classroom in the building, right next to the gym and the kitchen. It has comfortable chairs and sofas. There are computers, a piano, games and a foosball table. This is safe space for the youth who find their way to Immanuel. Members offer spiritual sustenance as well as practical support and encouragement.

There are many programs for youth, under the umbrella of SHAPE – Strengthening, Healing, Action, Prayer, Education Ministries. Its purpose is "to foster a trusting relationship between adults and youth at Immanuel Lutheran that will SHAPE the youth spiritually, academically, and socially through mentoring and activities."

<u>Mentoring</u>
Victoria and her husband, Ray, are involved in the mentoring program under SHAPE. Mentors and mentees start with a combined session called "Fun Night" where the mentors receive some training and guideline "cheat sheets." The mentees fill out interest forms and get acquainted with their mentors. Mentoring involves both attending church as well as Bible studies (where the pastor's quizzes on the Bible result in points for

prizes), talking to each other on the phone and visiting different colleges while talking about life goals. They play games at church together. They go bowling. After a year, new matches are assigned. The adults in this church really believe in this program.

During the training, Victoria said she appreciated the role playing that the pastor had them do together as a way to clarify guidelines and boundaries in these relationships. For instance, one role play clarified, "Your mentor is not an ATM machine." Also there are limits on dollar amounts for gifts. It was also stressed that these mentoring relationships must maintain confidentiality as a way to build trust. Victoria was pleased that the mentees "tell us things they wouldn't even tell their parents."

Rites of Passage

"Queens" and "Warriors" are part of the "Rites of Passage" program at Immanuel, which includes adults camping with young people for three days. This year it was held in April at Camp Michi-lu-ca with the theme, "Because God Can." Adults provide opportunities for spiritual and leadership growth and development for high school girls – "Queens" – and boys – "Warriors."

Michelle, an adult leader and the pastor's wife, said, "It's a great challenge to work with teen girls. For young people here, church is their sanctuary from life. We try to help them see that God is in them everywhere, wherever they go, not just while they are at church. Peer pressure is hard – they forget who they are when they are outside the church." Michael is the other adult leader who takes the boys for focused discussion of their issues while Michelle works with the girls on their issues. Michael said he is a firm believer in helping people learn self-determination. "One effort made by a person on his own behalf is worth more than a thousand doing it for you."

This year, Al, a Vietnam Vet and Boy Scout leader, worked with the youth at the camp, teaching them fire-making techniques as well as land navigation, especially moving around at night. He put together a pack with tools for survival. When the boys were split from the girls, he and Michael, another adult leader, talked to them "straight up – street talk." Issues discussed were drugs, high crimes and the downfalls of these actions. He made a point of telling the youth, "You have to take ownership of this church. It will be all yours, so take care of it. Don't be scared."

Certain times during the year, these high school youth are brought together for joint meetings where they are asked, "What's bugging you?" Also, girls are asked to talk about what they would look for in a boy and vise versa. Al feels that talking about perceived faults in the other sex strengthens them with new awareness.

Other Rites of Passage activities involve visits to the University of Michigan campus, the Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History, and a juvenile drug court.

Youth are involved in church maintenance, reading of lessons on Sunday and visit with deacons in the church. Al has advocated for "employing the youth – making them an assistant of something." He feels it's important for the young ones to watch and learn

from the older ones. He also feels youth should be on the Church Council and meet with their peers in advance of the meetings to find out what problems they'd like to bring to the Council.

Pray and Play

"Pray and Play," the youth basketball program at the church, begun eight years ago, has been very popular, attracting young men from families in the church as well as in the community. Over 100 youth participated in this ministry in 2006. A large gym in the church is used for this weekly activity. Miss Betty, the assistant youth director, said that if she can, she opens the gym whenever the youth ask her to play; so it is used frequently.

According to Richard, "Pray and Play has watched our youth have victories off the court: Academics have improved, church attendance ha increased along with involvement with church ministries." Richard also commented that the basketball program led to a large youth choir, open at first to congregational kids, but to kids from other churches such as a Baptist church and another Lutheran church.

Ean and Scoobie who were in the tragic car accident were two of the young men involved in Play and Pray. When Ean first started in the program a few years ago, he got into fights and was asked to leave. After a couple years, he came back and apologized and requested that he be reinstated – which he was. When Miss Betty heard news of the tragedy with Scoobie and Ean, she returned home early from her vacation in California so that she could take some of the youth to the funeral.

DJ is a 15 year old who arrived on Saturday morning to attend the funeral with Miss Betty. When asked if he had ever been to a funeral, he told about his cousin who was almost ready to graduate from college. This past May, friends of his cousins got in a fight and his cousin tried to intervene. In the middle of this he was killed. The family was devastated. DJ's sad eyes and quiet voice only hinted at his grief. His family does not attend Immanuel, but he takes a bus to Miss Betty's home and then she brings him to church. He comes for the fun, the love, the support. He told us that he gets to go to Detroit Tigers games with the pastor and other youth – something that he would never get to do otherwise. Now, he faced another life cut short, yet another example of what can happen when poor choices are made.

Children's Ministry

While there is not a formal Sunday school program, there are many learning and leadership options for children. Young people are welcome in the "Mime and Dance" Ministry and "minister at several outside churches and events." Others participate in choir, drama, or the Praise Team. Youth are invited to be fully engaged in the life of this congregation as it ministers within its community setting.

Younger children are also involved in this church, through music, youth camp, Headstart, and other programs. Karalyn, who directs the Youth Choir and oversees the Youth Development program said that she wants her own children, ages 10 and 7, to receive guidance from the church and have a strong religious community. She brought them with

her to the Thursday night grief session for Scoobie and N to remind them that there are consequences for choices they make that can be very serious.

WORSHIP

As is true for other ministries, there is a core team who plan and manage the many aspects of worship at Immanuel. Mark, the Minister of Music works with the Praise Team while Karalyn directs the Youth and Teen Choirs. The Mime Team and Praise Dancers are directed by Bridget.

In 2005 the congregation added a second service which has been well attended. A Praise Team was added in 2007 to provide music for this early service. Hazel, the church secretary, described the worship service as "not traditional. People who are new to the church like it and many in the congregation have accepted it because they see the church is growing." When I asked her about how she feels about this style of worship she replied that she misses the traditional hymns. "I wouldn't be honest if I didn't say so."

One way that the church seems to be growing – in addition to the many young people who are attending – is that people who have come to funerals of relatives who are members have been impressed and join as a result of this experience. Other outreach efforts with youth, like the Pray and Play basketball program, have also drawn people to this faith community.

Cora loves worship at Immanuel and hasn't missed a Sunday since she has joined. "It's God's house. I feel spiritually nourished. It's a hill I decided to climb – coming to church every Sunday. It's an accomplishment!" When she asked her 10 year old grandson why he likes the church, he replied, "Because pastor keeps it real."

On the Sunday of our site visit, the service was held outside, in Chandler Park under a tent. A picnic lunch and baseball game were planned after the service. This service turned out to be quite extraordinary, the first worship service after the tragic car accident.

Mini-Case: Worship and Life Lessons

I saw DJ again on Sunday morning as we gathered for worship in Chandler Park, just across the street from the church building. He smiled warmly at me. We were attending the yearly church outdoor worship and picnic. A lively band offered music and the Praise Team got the congregation moving. The new vicar preached a sermon on "Flesh and Future." I noticed DJ sitting with other young people toward the front of the outdoor temple.

As the service came to an end, Pastor Gahagen stood in front of the congregation. Noting that some people were beginning to tend to the picnic set up, he asked that everyone come back to the worship tent. As the band continued to play music, he stood there, tentative, quiet. He lowered his hand to ask the band to stop. He took a deep breath and began to speak. Pastor Gahagen began to share the story of the week's tragic

events. He told of the chase, the accident, the hospital visits, and the funeral. Then he said:

> *The funeral service this week was called a "going home celebration." I'm OK with the "going home" part, but I can not think of Ean's funeral as a "celebration." This week a life was cut short. Poor choices were made, and the consequences are terrible. So we can not celebrate at this time. We at Immanuel need to do something to respond. We can let God shape this week, one we will never forget, for the good. We have built trust with each other. So now I want to ask all of you who are 18 and under to come forward, to stand up here in front with me, and take the hand of someone next to you.*

Young people began to stand, walk up to the front edge of the tent and stand with the pastor. Of the 150 or so people gathered this Sunday morning, about 1/3 were 18 and under. There they were – about 50 young African American children, facing these adults under the tent. The pastor said to them:

> *You are important to us. We want you to know that we care. So now I am asking all of the adults of Immanuel…tell these young people, "I love you." Let them know that we care. Let them know that we do not forget them.*

Congregation members stood together, holding hands and declared, "I love you." Tears were flowing. Hearts were open. Hope filled that space even as grief was expressed just moments before.

As the children returned to their seats or began to disburse, I saw DJ. Tears covered his face. He came up to me, let me hug him. Love surrounded these precious young people, cared for by this congregation in the midst of challenge and tragedy. Pastor Gahagen said it best, "Don't forget! We love you!"

COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

One reason this congregation is recognized as strong and vibrant by the synod as well as the Detroit city officials is that they are intimately connected to their community. During Pr. Gahagen's initial months of his first call to Immanuel, he decided to get acquainted with the surrounding neighborhood. An Anglo man walking around, sometimes alone, in an all Black neighborhood made some members fear for his safety; thus several joined him in this endeavor.

Lillian's first impression of this new pastor was amazement at how young he was, but she decided to join him in his walks in the neighborhood. They knocked on doors, introducing themselves and asking people what they wanted to see happen that would improve the community. Lillian also remembers attending non-profit meetings and was impressed with how civic leaders (mayor, state legislators) started to pay attention to what the congregation was doing in the community.

Walking in the neighborhood and talking with residents was an entirely new experience for Al. Rather than knock on people's doors to sell them religion, like the Jehovah's

Witness, he appreciated that they engaged in conversations about what people perceived was wrong in the neighborhood. He recalls, "The next thing we knew, people came to the church – first the youth and then the parents."

Adults and teenage mentees often participate in the Friday walks around the neighborhood. Ray, one of the mentors, remarked, "I didn't realize there were such nice people in the neighborhood." Another member who had lived in the neighborhood all her life looked back with amazement that she had never done this before, thinking it wasn't safe to do so.

There are other ways the congregation has connected to the community. Lillian started a food pantry in the summer of 2005 and even fractured a hip in her work there. There are about 140 families and 255 individuals who are served. She gives two bags of groceries to each family which includes bread, bagels, pies. She keeps good records of each family. During intakes, they list the people in their families who are being served so that she can report this to the congregation and the city food bank program. The congregation collects funds once a month to keep this service going.

Immanuel has joined 60-70 other congregations involved in a "fight for justice" in Detroit. This community organizing effort is called MOSES. Jim, a member of MOSES representing Immanuel Lutheran, has received the organization's 5-day training, involving "intense character-building exercises, seminars in how things work in government and how to organize people and organize money." Jim has helped organize people to go to events or justice actions and is proud that Immanuel is considered one of the strongest congregations in this organization of organizations.

Some local MOSES efforts have involved Friday night prayers for peace on the streets, knocking down a vacant house near a school to protect young children, and voter registration drives. Findings from conversations with neighborhood people are presented to the City Council. An ongoing project has been working with the city lighting department on getting more street lights in the city.

HEALTH PROGRAM

From the efforts to get acquainted with the community has emerged the need for an emphasis on health and health services. Andrea is a nurse practitioner and appreciates this health emphasis that the church is taking. She has noticed that the pastor's own health problems (double lung transplants) and how he has talked about it is a witness to the community. In a sermon Pr. Gahagen thanked the donors of his lungs and encouraged everyone to be a living donor, making cards available during the service. Also, during the pastor's 10 year anniversary in the ministry, in a planning stage, there will be computers set up for people to sign up to be donors. Andrea also admires how he talks to people openly and honestly about HIV/AIDS.

Andrea has been involved in helping plan the "Live it Up!" Health Fair and program that is ready to be launched, including a walking program every Tuesday and Thursday

(morning and evening). There will be a Sunday program around health for a three week period, including a session for children on safety.

Cynthia as an RN is also glad to be part of the Health Ministry and is helping plan the health fair. She hopes many people will sign up for the 40 days of "Healthy in body and healthy in spirit" program. The health fair at Immanuel will include massage therapy, diabetes testing, blood pressure and bad fat analyses, lead testing for children, healthy eating seminar, trampolines for kids, and a program, "Pause for the Cause," which trains dogs to help elderly and disabled people. In addition, people will be encouraged to join one of several "walking clubs" or "hustle dance classes" or even Yoga classes at Immanuel or Salem Lutheran Church.

HOSPITALITY AND CARE

Several members mentioned that one of the reasons they were now members of Immanuel is that Pr. Gahagen came to visit them after they attended a worship service. According to Cora, visitors to the church are called upon by the pastor the first time and then a welcome team takes over. She appreciates that the pastor does counseling with people even if they're not members.

Cora recalled a time when a long-time member became critically ill and Pr. Gahagen cancelled a vacation to be with her and conduct her subsequent funeral. Previous to this illness, Pr. Gahagen had organized a celebration for her at a senior center in the suburbs, taking 50 members on a bus for the occasion. Remarking on Pr. Gahagen's ability to do all of these things, even with his own health struggles, Cora recalled that the pastor told her, "God just gives me the energy and passion."

PASTORAL STRENGTHS

Hazel remembered what she felt when she first saw Pr. Gahagen, "Our jaws dropped when we saw how young he was." She wondered, "Will I be a secretary or a grandmother to him?" Patrick Gahagen had gone to Wittenberg College with her granddaughter.

Describing her relationship as a secretary to the pastor, Hazel remarked, "He's on the go a lot. He lets me take care of the office since he's out much of the time." She added, "He's like one of my kids – my family – and I remind him to take care of his health."

Hazel recalled that the congregation was open to changes when he was called. According to her, members especially responded to Pr. Gahagen because they sensed, "He was born to be a pastor."

Lillian described the pastor as "an activist." He's on a city board of agencies dealing with housing and also involved in establishing businesses in the inner city of Detroit. He has also encouraged the congregation to be involved in the broad base community organizing effort called "MOSES."

The Chandler Park organization contacted the pastor to help "get the pulse of the people" about having a multi-million dollar recreation facility in Chandler Park for young people. With funds from Salvation Army and the Joan Kroc funds (McDonald bequeath), the "Detroit Kroc Center" will be started soon in the park across from the church. However, Pr. Gahagen has expressed concerns about the role Salvation Army wants to play, including a desire to have a church on the property. He also wonders what impact such a facility will have on their own youth programming, including the basketball program. Pr. Gahagen has communicated these concerns to the Chandler Park organization.

Ray sees Pr. Gahagen's strengths as preaching and teaching and is enjoying an accelerated approach to the pastor's preaching the whole Bible, starting with Genesis. He has been amazed (as have others we talked to) that Pr. Gahagen remembers everyone's name, even those who are infrequent in attendance or visitors. He feels that the pastor "is in tune with God and with political life and our neighborhood, as well as the government that operates in the city." He's proud that the mayor sometimes comes to Immanuel. Ray also talked the money the church receives from operating a concession stand at the Detroit Tigers games and the efforts to sign up people in the community whose kids don't have health insurance (My Child Program). For Ray, all of these point to his awareness that "the pastor is a smart man."

Cora is impressed that "Pastor personally knows the names of everyone in the church and during communion addresses us by name." In addition, Pr. Gahagen "searches for your talents and skills." She described a seminar at the church where you fill out a questionnaire about your interests. "He follows up on this and knows everyone's interests and passions and contacts them by telephone."

Jim, a long time member, has experienced Pastor Gahagen as "very dynamic" and in times of trouble, "gives good advice – a good listening ear – quite an inspiration." He further describes Gahagen as having "a magic touch about him." Also, he feels his pastor "has got a connection with God."

Erma's sister who wasn't a Lutheran came with her to Immanuel and bombarded Pr. Gahagen with questions about his views on the Bible, testing him before she finally joined. Erma has noticed that Pr. Gahagen has been "careful not to have favorites in the church – not even with the young people." She has seen him having fun and playing with young people, but she has also taken note that he knows when to get serious and be treated with respect.

When Al first attended Immanuel and saw Pr. Gahagen, he thought, "This kid is too young…". But after hearing him preach, Al said to himself, "This guy's going to be a hit." He was impressed that the pastor remembered everyone's name and that he talked with youth and "stayed in tune with the kid's lives and their music." In the service, he also noticed the mix of races and compared it to his army experience where "some could take a mixed race team and make a 'crack team.'"

Richard feels that the pastor relates to all ages, that he's young enough to communicate with youth and understand their lives. Pr. Gahagen's father is also a pastor and Richard feels that because Pr. Gahagen respects his father, he also can relate to older people.

Michael feels that Pr. Gahagen is "a called and annointed minister of God who could pastor anywhere." He noted that the pastor's strengths in worship are making the preaching contextual and using the African American preaching style. He sees the pastor as a great organizer and with an ability to draw youth into the church.

J. D. has been impressed with the pastor's business savvy and described how benchmarks have been established concerning the congregational budget and programs. He said that during some of the services, Pr. Gahagen "shows on an overhead how well we're doing financially."

ORGANIZATIONAL PLANNING

The congregation appears to have a history of reflective planning. After Pr. Collier left, the interim pastor, Rev. Dana, led the congregation leaders in an envisioning process to help them identify who they were and what their unique gifts were as a congregation in an inner city context.

In 2006, in an effort to better organize and manage the many programs and ministries, Pastor Gahagen and the Church Council brought in a consultant from an educational research foundation to help with visioning and planning. From this planning process came an organization of team ministry leaders for all the congregational programs called, "Core Value Ministry Leaders." These programs are organized under major core values such as: Welcome Ministry, Nurture Ministry, Transform Ministry, Support Ministry. Each of the ministry leaders and the Council Treasurer has work plans that "will enable her/him to reach his/her individual goals which are based upon the unified outcomes sought by the Council."

In a booklet, all the ministries are listed with purpose statements, program categories and specific ministry leaders for each program. Eugenia, the consultant, also helped train teachers in curriculum development and teaching. Eugenia continues to work with these leaders and the Council to "identify, prioritize and address challenges that impede the effectiveness and/or growth of each ministry."

CHALLENGES – NEXT STEPS

As noted in the "Member Profiles" (see Addendum), it is clear that many members of Immanuel, especially more recent ones, have not had a history as Lutherans. The church's outreach and community programs have borne fruit. It is clear that Immanuel communicates that all are welcome and encouraged to get involved in church programs and community life.

One challenge that often accompanies such an outreach success is to help people not used to – or uncomfortable with – Lutheran traditions and theology to share these differences or questions and provide opportunities to discuss them. For instance, while Andrea is a committed member at Immanuel, she has "theological differences" with the Lutheran understanding of baptism and communion. Her daughter chose to return to the Baptist church to be baptized. Andrea feels that babies are to be "dedicated" and only baptized when they are "cognizant of Jesus in their lives." She also won't let her younger son receive communion.

In a growing congregation, with expansion of programs and activities, the need for more lay volunteers and leadership training looms as a challenge. One thing Cynthia wishes is that "the congregation would participate in things more." Evidently, Pr. Gahagen has wanted to have quarterly meetings with members and do more one-on-ones to get better acquainted and talk about gifts and passions. However, it seems that "some people show up all the time." Others expressed that they felt more positive about people "stepping up to the plate," but as the church grows, this need may also expand.

Some members reflected on what might be "next steps" for the congregation's work and ministry. Richard felt that the next step for the church is to concentrate more on quality of members' faith rather than quantity of membership. Doing this, discipleship will be a focus as well as strengthening worship and the ministry teams. He also expressed a need for a grieving ministry. In addition, he would like to see the church used more by groups such as NAACP, middle school basketball, weddings and baby showers and other community meetings. This would not only utilize the building more, but would bring in needed funds.

Asked about the recent vandalism of some computers, Richard said that the church is seen by some in the community as having money and he would like the community to see that "the church is here to serve the community."

When asked what might be the cutting edge for the church, Michael responded with, "Developing lay leadership so that we are building something that can survive the pastor."

A dinner shared by the researchers and members of the present Church Council also touched on these topics.

Mini-Case: Church Council Dinner – August 25, 2007

Pastor Gahagen and his wife, Michelle, drove us from the church in the Chandler Park neighborhood to a seafood restaurant in the Gross Point section of the city. Leaving Chandler Park, we drove the first few miles through commercial and residential areas with either modest dwellings or run-down neighborhoods with boarded-up buildings. Large trees were sparse and lawns – if there were any – lacked attention.

At one point, we were told to look ahead some distance down the road to see a large American flag waving from an enormous flag pole. When we were almost abreast of that flag, the topography dramatically changed. Stretching ahead on both sides of the highway were beautiful tree-lined streets and manicured lawns – professionally landscaped with flowers, bushes, rock gardens. Impressive houses were set back from the road that can only be described as upper class. We had crossed the threshold that separates the haves from the have-nots in the city of Detroit. We were traveling through Gross Point, situated on prime real estate along Lake St. Clair where well-known leaders in sports, business and politics have homes.

Pr. Gahagen noted that this neighborhood had recently been in the news because of the crime and drug scene among its wealthy and perhaps bored young people. This is perceived by many as a wake-up call for residents who have felt immune and protected from these social challenges that have been more evident among the poorer or disenfranchised citizens.

We were joined in the parking lot of Fishbone's Restaurant by three other Church Council leaders – Rev. David Steele (retired social ministry organization leader), Charles Turner (basketball coach at the University of Michigan) and Vonjj Johnson (a young married woman and her two-month old baby girl). When there wasn't an open table inside the restaurant, we were ushered to an outside table built around a fire pit. An extension of a roof protected us from the hot sun rays and a brick wall around the area gave us a sense of privacy.

While we were waiting for our orders, we asked the Council members to tell how they came to Immanuel. Coach Turner's story involved hearing Pr. Gahagen preach at the funeral of his nephew a few years ago. Mr. Turner had been a long-time member of a Community Church of God, but at the time of the funeral had moved a distance from this church. He was ready to find a new church home and decided to try Immanuel, impressed with the young pastor there. However, he "didn't want to get involved for awhile and sat back and watched." But now he was ready to "become more active." He has provided leadership in coaching the church's basketball team in their "Pray and Play" program. As a coach of a Big Ten basketball team and a former Globe Trotter, he is highly respected by the youth.

When asked where he feels the church going, he remarked, "I feel the church is moving in the right direction." Furthermore, he is "slowly bringing my family into the church," starting with his son who he wants "to take over after him." He also encouraged his wife to attend and now she runs the church bookstore as we found out the next day when we met her at the outdoor worship service. When queried about how lay members may have contributed to shaping pastoral identity of this new First Call pastor, Coach Turner remarked, "Pastor had everything he needed to be pastor when he came."

Michelle Gahagen works for the government in army requisitioning. She is also a new Council member and has been married to Patrick for about three years. Patrick Gahagen did a Horizon internship at Genesis Lutheran in Detroit where Michelle's

family belonged. However, at that time, Michelle wasn't attending church. As Pr. Gahagen told us earlier, "She was in her 'heathen period'." A few years later she returned to her church and became active. In the early years of Pr. Gahagen's call to Immanuel, she was asked to represent Genesis on a synod committee with him. They enjoyed working together, started dating, and about 1 ½ years later were married at Immanuel.

Michelle Gahagen has been a co-leader (with Michael Johnson) of the church's high school program called "Rites of Passage." When they went on their outdoor retreat (to a Lutheran camp), she worked with the girls during part of the time while Michael talked to the boys. Before this, she had not interacted much with teenagers, but found that she connected with them quite well, not being too far out of the teenage years herself. When she heard them challenge her leadership with comments like, "You don't understand!" she replied, "Oh yes, I do. I was there one time and I know what you're going through." Asked what she feels is the "cutting edge" for Immanuel's ministry, she replied, "Getting the youth more involved in the life of the church – taking more responsibility."

Vonjj Johnson is a graduate from Eastern Michigan University. She has a job and is helping raise her two-month old girl. During our dinner, when she was holding her baby and trying to eat, Carol offered to take over and enjoyed interacting with the child.

Vonjj said she came to Immanuel about a year ago after feeling that the Church of God she attended with her family wasn't for her. She said they were judging her actions and made it clear that certain behaviors would damn her to hell. She also felt many of the adults were hypocritical, their words not matching their actions. At Immanuel she felt accepted and loved and soon "fell in love with Jesus." On the Council, she heads up the "Transform Core Values Ministry Team." Each leader on the Council takes responsibility (and receives training) in one of the core values of Immanuel's ministry. These values include: Welcoming, Nurturing, and Transforming & Supporting God's People.

In a separate conversation with Vonjj during the dinner, she remarked, "The church is ready to explode with young people." She added, "All the kids in school know Immanuel and the pastor and see it as a quiet place, a healing place, a place where you are loved and accepted." She further explained that many teens in inner city Detroit face challenges with drugs and violence and are drawn to such a church which "treats these challenges as real and helps them say, 'I don't want to be part of that.'"

Rev. David Steele has been in the congregation for over 30 years and has seen many changes. He initially joined due to the prophetic attitude of the pastor at that time who saw demographic changes coming to the area and challenged the congregation to adapt. Four members of that era remain at the church.

At our dinner, Rev. Steele stated that there have been strong pastorates in the past and thus the congregation "has had foundational strengths" to build on. However, he sees Pr. Gahagen as a unique First Call pastor. "Eight out of ten First Call pastors wouldn't

have been able to do what Pr. Gahagen has done." One reason is that there is "such a good match and the synod sometimes doesn't do this well."

When asked, "What makes a First Call pastor work here?" he gave several reasons for Pastor Gahagen's positive impact:

1. *Pr. Gahagen came from similar inner city experiences as well as being raised in a clergy family.*
2. *Pr. Gahagen's health journey had an impact on the congregation, drawing people in to care about him and health issues as he faced the lung transplants and medical challenges.*
3. *A pastor who brings unique qualities that match or fit with the readiness of the congregation is important. Other First Call pastors might not have led the change and the congregation might not have let a pastor try these changes. But this congregation has been good, open and ready to allow change and accept new ideas, try new things, go on with their faith journey in community.*

Rev. Steele concluded, "It has been a spiritual journey for everyone."

We learned in this dinner conversation that Pr. Gahagen's first year at Immanuel was spent doing one-on-ones with members to get acquainted and build trust. It was also a lonely time for him since he didn't have family in the area. A pastor who served as a mentor during this time told Patrick that when he doesn't feel like a pastor or when he wonders if he can bring about needed change, to "just be their pastor." Furthermore, "You are the only pastor they have now, so just be their pastor and lead them." Taking this advice seriously, Pr. Gahagen reflected, "We have built trust with each other. I listened, I trusted them, and now they trust me."

During conversation about cutting edges and challenges for Immanuel, Pr. Gahagen shared that they have been asked to work with Salem Lutheran, another church in the area which is experiencing demographic racial transitions. However, Pr. Gahagen doesn't feel Immanuel is ready to take this on. Michael Johnson, co-director of Immanuel's Rites of Passage, is now a seminary student whose internship will be at Salem Lutheran and he hopes to repeat this youth program there. In a way, that will be a chance for Immanuel to respond to Salem's request for help.

Pr. Gahagen's response to the question about cutting edge challenges was, "Immanuel is about to grow from being a pastor-driven church to a program organization church." This will be "the biggest challenge" since becoming larger scares some people who fear their small church will change too much.

VOCATION OF FIRST CALL CONGREGATION

At Immanuel, there seems to be a "mutual admiration society" between Pr. Gahagen and members. The congregation has weathered some rough seas in its "Lighthouse" ministry to itself and the community of Detroit. Strong historical foundations of visionary pastors

and lay leaders have brought them to this time of hope and growth in numbers as well as faithfulness. As Pr. Gahagen stated in his report to the congregation in January, 2007:

> As our community and world continues to be filled with more and more negativity, more and more pessimism, it is incumbent on the church to turn up the heat, as they say – to let our light shine brighter, for all the world to see that we are the people of possibility and miracle. God is good to ALL God's children, and we have to tell the story of God's love. Therefore it is imperative that in this coming year we continue to grow for God.

Some members who take on multiple roles and responsibilities in the program and life of this church would like others to catch the vision of "possibility and miracle" as this community of faith grows numerically and programs expand to meet the challenges. Pr. Gahagen also has challenged the members by saying, "I am so honored to be the pastor of this great faith community. But I know we have not reached our full potential and my hope, prayer and challenge is to push us to that point – letting the Holy Spirit move through us to show the impossible is possible and the inconceivable is conceivable."

One indicator of a vocational commitment as a first call congregation is their clear sense of partnership in sharing the roles and responsibilities with their pastor. They want Pr. Gahagen to thrive. They are especially sensitive to his health concerns and join him in offering heath programs to the broader community. Lay leaders also join the pastor in the many outreach programs to the community, especially the youth programs that are attracting more and more young men and women in need of love, security and adult mentoring.

May this community of faith continue to deepen and broaden its commitments to all of God's people in the city of Detroit.

ADDENDUM: MEMBER PROFILES

<u>Victoria and Ray</u>
Members for three years, they previously attended Genesis Lutheran but hadn't joined. Ray told his wife, "Let's wait" and shopped around for awhile. They met Pr. Gahagen when he was doing a walk around the neighborhood. Ray told the pastor, "I've been meaning to come to Immanuel and have lived in the neighborhood for 20 years." In many of the churches they attended, the message they kept hearing was, "Give, give, give!" Ray said, "We don't mind paying our tithes. We want our church to grow, to thrive." But the constant bombardment of the giving message was a turnoff.

Victoria and Ray are proud that the church has a free food pantry, feeding a large number every Tuesday – members and non-members. To get everyone to participate in providing food, the initials of one's last name determine what food they are to bring to the pantry.

Victoria is involved in the health ministry and is helping prepare for the upcoming Health Fair, called "Live it Up!" Ray helps to fix things around the church.

Andrea

Andrea came to Immanuel five years ago after hearing about the congregation several times from her beautician who was a member. She had been a long-time member at a Baptist church where her uncle was pastor. But after he died, she didn't feel connected to the congregation. When she came to Immanuel, she immediately liked the congregation and felt that the pastor "was very warm and open with the kids." She also admires him for involving young people in the service. "I'm amazed that there are so many young people here, since young people often dismiss church." Andrea admires that the pastor and members go door to door in the neighborhood to ask what people want to see happen in their neighborhood.

As a nurse practitioner, Andrea is very involved in health issues at Immanuel and is glad her children also feel connected to the congregation.

Karalyn

Karalyn's mother joined Immanuel as a young lady and Karalyn remembers several pastors who helped shape her faith. When she was 12 years old, a young African American woman was their Vicar for one year and taught her in confirmation. She had never seen a woman pastor and was impressed with her. Pastor Heil confirmed her and later counseled her and her fiancé before they were married; however, he left that pastorate before the wedding.

Karalyn is now the Youth Choir Director and oversees the Youth Development program. She is a graduate of Wittenberg University and presently works as a consultant who trains people in educational curriculum.

Karalyn has led the summer youth program, along with Miss Betty and other church leaders. She directs the youth choir and sings with the adults. Her extended family spans four generations of involvement at Immanuel. Karalyn believes that the church can make a difference in the lives of kids.

She makes sure all the programs are staffed with good leaders and going smoothly, including SHAPE, Pray and Play, Dance and Mime and yearly summer programs. Organizing this year's summer program, called "God Loves Me…Mind, Body and Spirit" was "a lot of work." The program was a partnership between Immanuel and Salem Memorial Lutheran Church. While Karalyn was gone during some of this program, there was a director that she kept in touch with every day.

Hazel, Church Secretary

Hazel is Karalyn's grandmother and has been a member of Immanuel for 25 years. Around 1975 when she was a member of another Lutheran congregation on the eastside of Detroit, the pastor died and the church closed down. Rev. Constantine Trued, pastor of Immanuel, "made a monthly trek to our house to convince us to come to Immanuel. While Immanuel's members were mostly from Swedish descent – and still had services in Swedish – Hazel found that "most of the members treated us nice."

Hazel has eight children and retired in 1993 from a vocation as an administrative secretary for the public schools. In 1997 when they had no pastor, she "stepped in" to function as church secretary and has been there ever since. Many of her children are deeply involved and committed to Immanuel's ministries.

Lillian and J. D.

J. D. said that when they moved to the neighborhood, it was 99.9 Caucasian. White flight started to happen when more African Americans started moving into the area. However, he recalled, "Those who stayed here were the foundation for this church." Some of those faithful were Anglo members who had professional roles in Lutheran Social Services, in technology and forestry.

Lillian has operated the Head Start program and ran an after school program which witness to her commitment to children. She was impressed with how the pastor "took kids to different places they hadn't been before; e.g., northern summer camps, Chicago, New York, Canada. She and other members are concerned about the pastor's health with all these activities, but remarked, "By God's grace, he's out there and doing the work of God."

Lynda

A daughter of the church's secretary, Lynda works for the State of Michigan in marketing and public relations for Labor and Economic Development. She was raised in the church and came back to Immanuel after college, serving as a young adult on the Church Council and several committees. She recalls a time during one of the pastorates when "church was boring, but I was still a part of it." Presently, Lynda designs the quarterly church newsletter, using her communication skills for the church.

Lynda is concerned about justice issues and participated in the BR2ICK (Building Reconciliation in Christ's Kingdom) retreat this past summer for youth and adults. BR2ICK's purpose is to "build racial inter-dependence and heal and empower God's anti-racist people." Other justice issues that concern her are: (1) health care for everyone and (2) regional transportation that give people equal access to jobs (often in the suburbs)

Cora

Cora has lived in the neighborhood 40 years. Even though raised Roman Catholic, in the past 20 years she has been a "seeker," first trying a Lutheran Church and then a Baptist church which "wasn't a fit." It was a middle to upper income white church and as the neighborhood began to "turn over," the church built a private parking lot and gave out keys to the Anglo members. Cora didn't ask for a key "because I wasn't happy there," and came to realize that she was being treated as "a token Black."

One day when she was watching a local news program on television, Pastor Gahagen was responding to a speech by the mayor about directions he wanted the city to go. Pr. Gahagen said he would "wait and see" about supporting the mayor and that as a

community person, Gahagen wanted all to be treated fairly and given an opportunity to be involved in decisions that affected them.

The next Sunday, Cora went to Immanuel to worship and said that she "enjoyed his deliverance" of the sermon. After getting to know him, she feels that Pr. Gahagen is "accessible, a great teacher, a builder, a developer."

Her participation in the life of Immanuel includes being part of the Welcome Ministry and the Health Ministry. "We are all sisters and brothers. We are each other's 'cover' and don't let someone's differences be a major concern. We drop all of that attitude."

Cynthia

A daughter of Cora, Cynthia recalls that she went with her mother on her spiritual search. When she came to Immanuel ones Sunday, she was despondent, but soon felt that "it was like home."

Cynthia is an RN with Blue Cross/Blue Shield. She has a MA in Integrative Health which relates environmental awareness to eating and living well. She sees a lot of African Americans depressed because of losing jobs or being HIV positive or alcoholic. "You need to take charge of your own health," is something she emphasizes with people. She has been involved in several Saturday seminars and Bible studies on spirituality and health. She is slowly getting involved in MOSES, the faith-based community organizing effort in the city. In addition, she is also working with the pastor on a goal to establish a "Parish Nurse" program at Immanuel.

Jim

Jim has been a member of Immanuel for 20 years and served several times on Church Council. He teaches in the Detroit public schools and wants to be in a church where there is a racial mixture as well as "vibrant ministry." He remembers when the congregation was more racially mixed in the 80's, but experienced the difficult period when many Anglo members left.

Jim is a reader on Sunday and also involved in the "van ministry," picking up kids and families for church services. He's also a member of MOSES and on the "core team" for planning and decision-making.

Erma

Erma has been a Lutheran for 45 years. She is retired from Chrysler after 30 years. Erma has experienced the "ups and downs" of congregational life, but feels "It makes a difference if the pastor is called by God." She has seen people get mad about something in the church and leave, but feels that Immanuel is growing because it is connecting to the community and is bringing in youth.

Erma is involved in the women's group which helps with funerals and the church's food closet. She also attends the women's Bible studies, often taught by the pastor although

the new Vicar is now helping out. Erma has headed the Hospitality Team and was on the board of the Vision Team.

Al

Al related a story about a life-threatening experience in Vietnam. On April Fool's Day, his tank broke down and they were attacked by Vietcong. A mortar landed between his foot and a stone. He waited 15 minutes before moving and said to himself that if he got out alive, he would "give my life to youth and to veterans." And he has done so.

When he was in the army, living in Germany, his daughters attended a Lutheran church though he didn't. Then when he was back in the States, his boys went to Reformation Lutheran Church that had a Boy Scouts program. He was drawn into the church by becoming a leader in the Boy Scouts. However, when Reformation Church "died out and folded," he came to Immanuel. Surprised that this church didn't have a Scouts program, he started one and has been involved now in Scouts for 28 years.

Al recalls a time before he actually joined the Lutheran church when he was asked to be a synod representative to the ELCA's Region 6 and was told that it didn't matter that he wasn't a Lutheran. He felt somewhat unprepared since he wasn't "educated in the faith." But he served anyway. He has since been chair of the Property Team, on the Church Council and the most recent call committee for the new Vicar.

Miss Betty

Miss Betty is the assistant youth director, among her many roles in the church. She is on her second term on the Congregation Council. She has been a Lutheran for most of her life, but had fallen away from the church over the years. She attended a funeral a few years ago led by Pastor Gahagen. She wondered "Who is this white man? Where in the world did he come from?" She found him to be calm, relaxing, and comforting.

On her first Sunday at Immanuel in 1999, her car was stolen while she was in worship. The pastor and others wondered if she would come back. She told them, "The church did not steal my car; someone out there did that!" She joined in 2000 and has become one of the core of dedicated members. Besides her work with youth, she is in charge of building and grounds. She clearly loves her work with the youth and knows that these young people see her as mother, auntie, grandmother, and strong adult. She is committed to this work and finds energy in relationships. She picks up kids to bring them to church; she cares for them, fusses at them, and she loves them, "sometimes like no one else."

Richard

Richard's mother invited his wife and him to visit Immanuel Church about nine years ago. Richard said he had always had a complaint with churches he visited – pews too hard, sermon too long, etc. After the first visit to Immanuel, his wife remarked that he hadn't said anything negative about the church. He called his mother and said that she hadn't told him that the pastor was Caucasian. His mother said, "Does it make a difference?" He replied, "Not really if he's spiritually gifted, preaches the gospel and walks in discipleship."

Shortly after this, Pr. Gahagen visited him and his wife and told him later, "I think we will get his wife, but not him." However, at the time, Richard was also looking for a family-oriented church since his kids were young and saw that kids were involved in Immanuel's service. For these reasons and that he wanted to worship with his mother, he and his wife (and now sister and brother-in-law) joined the church.

For the past year, he has served as Church Council President where you deal with politics but he tries not to worry about problems. He also leads the youth basketball program and started the mentoring program which connects youth with concerned adults. He wants to lead by example, offering a positive role model for youth.

Michael

Michael has been a Lutheran for over 20 years, serving in many capacities, including the President of the Lutheran Detroit Coalition for eight years. When he worked at Ford Motor Co., he helped set up a mentoring program with a city middle school and has worked with this for 16years. Presently, he is a lay leader in the "Rites of Passage" youth program, working with and counseling the boys in the program.

He is a firm believer in helping people learn self-determination. "One effort made by a person on his own behalf is worth more than a thousand doing it for you." Michael recalls being impressed with Paulo Freire's *Pegagogy of the Oppressed* where Latinos came to realize that they had allowed white leaders to do things for them which kept them subservient.