The 'Acts' of Paul of Tarsus:

A Grounded Theory of Institutional Entrepreneurship

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ABSTRACT

What does an institutional entrepreneur *do*? While institutional scholars have given increased attention to how new institutions emerge (Brint & Karabel, 1991; Greenwood & Suddaby, forthcoming), very little of this effort has been directed toward describing and theorizing the actual activities of institutional entrepreneurs. In this paper I take a grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) approach to the life and works of Paul of Tarsus as recorded in biblical texts to develop a process model of institutional entrepreneurship behaviors. The model hinges on two simultaneous and iterative processes by which the entrepreneur selects audiences, crafts a message for them, and reinforces new ideas with social and doctrinal structures. The emergence of an institution is conceived as the long-term cumulation of many discrete institutional entrepreneurial acts. The model also emphasizes the role of punctuated conversion and revelation experiences of the institutional entrepreneur as an alternative to existing theories of the origins of new institutional interests. These experiences are then shown to be at back of the origins of many other modern institutions, the creation of which results in new knowledge structures, organizations, and industries. Finally, I draw from theories of creativity to suggest some future directions for theoretical work in institutional entrepreneurship.

"For it seems to me that God has put us apostles on display at the end of the procession, like men condemned to die in the arena. We have been made a spectacle to the whole universe. . .To this very hour we go hungry and thirsty, we are in rags, we are brutally treated, we are homeless. . .Up to this moment we have become the scum of the earth, the refuse of the world."

"All over the world this gospel is bearing fruit and growing . . ."

—Paul of Tarsus

What does an institutional entrepreneur *do*? Institutional entrepreneurship emphasizes how actors influence their institutional contexts—how taken-for-granted knowledge and power structures are modified or transformed. Existing work on institutional entrepreneurship has emphasized and typologized the types of social skills and strategic action that such entrepreneurs take (Fligstein, 1997), but little attempt has been made to integrate these action repertoires into a theory that fully describes institutional entrepreneurship. Further, theoretical commentary on the processes inherent in institutional entrepreneurship is scant. Regarding institutional entrepreneurship, DiMaggio writes that new institutions emerge "when organized actors with sufficient resources see . . . an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly" (1988: 14). But such a conception contains several implicit assumptions and leaves the actual processes of institutional entrepreneurship unspecified. What about the work of lone institutional entrepreneurs? How do collective actors become organized to begin with? Can this organization itself be an institutional project? What is the nature of these "resources"? How are opportunities for institutional entrepreneurship initially identified? These and many other questions pertaining to institutional entrepreneurship remain largely unanswered. Therefore, in this paper I develop a process model of institutional entrepreneurship that begins to address these and many other critical questions. I develop

this model from an analysis of the life and works of Paul of Tarsus, as recorded in Biblical texts.

Background and Methods

Paul of Tarsus was one of the principal early proponents of the Christian religion. Over the course of his career he was responsible for transforming the faith from a marginal and controversial Jewish sect centered in Jerusalem into a robust and distinct entity, embraced by a diversity of peoples and having a developed doctrine, organizational identity, and leadership hierarchy. A remarkable historical irony, Paul's own conversion to Christianity abruptly halted his violent persecution of the faith he would later so aggressively and sacrificially promote. Paul's active career as an institutional entrepreneur spans an approximate 30-year period, beginning with his dramatic conversion around 36 AD until his martyrdom at the hands of Emperor Nero around 65 AD. By the end of Paul's life the Christian faith spanned the greater part of the Roman Empire, particularly those parts on the eastern and northern coasts of the Mediterranean including sections of modern Turkey, Greece, Croatia, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and Italy. While the Bible records that other apostles also participated in the early work of the church, Paul's contribution surpassed them in scale and scope in that he was first to attempt to systematically universalize Christianity by integrating and unifying Jews and Gentiles in a common faith.

Fourteen books of the Bible serve as my data for this study, thirteen of which comprise Paul's personal correspondence with churches and individuals, and one of which offers

documentation of his career by one of his traveling companions. Table 1 contains the full and abbreviated titles, author(s) and recipients of these books, together with their approximate lengths. Other important factors of these works will be considered as my analysis proceeds. In general, these works comprise an incredibly rich dataset, filled with a gamut of emotional, situational, and interpersonal details such as traveling itineraries, meeting minutes, plans and ambitions, personal reflections, acts of persuasion, controversy and conflict, riots and violence, frustration, anger, sarcasm and rejoicing. Taken together, these data afford a unique opportunity to construct a model of institutional entrepreneurship that is sensitive to the behaviors of the entrepreneur in that they allow the reader to observe not only the arms-length, third-person narrative record of activities, but also the real-time, first-person, and contextualized accounts of interpersonal battles, personal cogitations and aspirations of a pivotal figure in world history.

In this study it is my hope to keep as close to the data as possible, and as such to follow a grounded theory methodology (Strauss et al., 1998). To this end I employ an iterative approach to data coding and forgo specifying formal *a priori* hypotheses, preferring to code freely and comprehensively so as not to force my expectations onto the data and to allow the categories and relationships among them to emerge from the data as organically as possible. Grounded theory dictates that the coding process continue until saturation occurs—when new data does not contribute any new insights to the categories and hypothesized relationships already established by the theorist. Through this process, the grounded theory approach helps ensure a close fit between the data and the theory that is

based on it. This summarizes my general approach to this study. Further particular methodological comments are inserted throughout my analyses as needed for clarification.

My principal question as I began the study was: As an institutional entrepreneur, what exactly did Paul *do*? As it turns out, this question is complex and can be considered simultaneously at multiple levels. However, my first-pass answer to this question in broad strokes centers on the book of Acts, which narrates Paul's travels and activities over much of his career. To answer this question I first read through the book and recorded every reference to geographic location or traveling relating to Paul. Next I entered this sequence of nearly one hundred place names into a column in a spreadsheet for further analysis. Then I went through the text and recorded for each location or trip leg any contextual clues and activities that occurred there. Finally, I grouped all the activities into major categories to get a better feel for what Paul's work looked like overall from the outside. In the next section I briefly summarize these high-level data before moving to more nuanced analyses incorporating Paul's correspondence. In both of these sections I first identify the constructs and processes I coded in the data then illustrate them with quoted excerpts from the data. If the illustrative data for a particular concept are too numerous or too lengthy to be quoted, I simply insert references to the portions of the data from which the construct was derived.

Accounts of Paul's activities from the book of Acts

In seeking an answer to the question of what Paul did to establish the Christian faith, I first turn to accounts of his visible activities recorded in the book of Acts. Paul's activities therein may be grouped into several general categories: travels, speaking and other ministerial acts, coping with opposition, miscellaneous church duties, and secular labors. Each of these will be given a brief treatment below.

Travels

Much of Acts details Paul's travels. Two typical passages are given below, the first of a general nature, followed by a more detailed passage characteristic of latter portions of the book when Luke, the author of Acts, accompanied Paul on his travels.

> "They traveled through the whole island until they came to Paphos. . . From Paphos, Paul and his companions sailed to Perga in Pamphylia, where John left them and returned to Jerusalem. From Perga they went on to Pisidian Antioch." Acts 13:6,13-14.

> "After three months we put out to sea in a ship that had wintered in the island. It was an Alexandrian ship with the figurehead of the twin gods Castor and Pollux. We put in at Syracuse and stayed there three days. From there we set sail and arrived at Rhegium. The next day the south wind came up, and on the following day we reached Puteoli." Acts 28:11-13

Two other observations regarding Paul's travels should also be noted: his continual use of traveling companions—some of whom remained with him for several years at a time—and the occasional adjustment of his itinerary to avoid strong opposition.

> ". . . [Paul] decided to go back through Macedonia. He was accompanied by Sopater son of Pyrrhus from Berea, Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica, Gaius from Derbe, Timothy also, and Tychicus and Trophimus from the province of Asia. These men went on ahead and waited for us at Troas." Acts 20:3-5

> "They stirred up persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them from their region. So they shook the dust from their feet in protest against them and went to Iconium." Acts 13:50

"There was a plot afoot among the Gentiles and Jews, together with their leaders, to mistreat them and stone them. But they found out about it and fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe and to the surrounding country, where they continued to preach the good news." Acts 14:5-7

Speaking and other ministerial acts

In addition to traveling, much of Paul's substantive work in Acts involved public and private speaking of various kinds and in various venues. At least three types of speaking can be identified in Paul's work depicted in Acts: evangelistic appeals, religious training and encouragement for those already converted, and legal defense before accusers and governing authorities. Most of Paul's speaking involves the first two of these. A survey of the text of Acts shows no fewer than 20 occasions when Paul publicly proclaimed his message. Two of these messages are reproduced verbatim in the text—the messages delivered in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13-41) and in Athens (Acts 17:22-31). The venues for his evangelistic speeches were varied, including several Jewish synagogues (e.g., Acts 17:2,10 and 17), a marketplace (Acts 17:17) and a gathering of the Areopagus (Acts 17:22-34) in Athens, a rented lecture hall in Ephesus (Acts 19:9), a riverside in Philippi (Acts 16:13), and Paul's own home while under house arrest in Rome (Acts 28:23). His messages to the already converted took place in more private settings, such as private households in Philippi (Acts 16:32,40), Corinth (Acts 18:7-8) and Troas (Acts 20:7-8), and on a beach in Miletus (Acts 20:17-38). Finally, Acts records five occasions when Paul delivered messages to justify and defend his work to opponents and authorities while under arrest: before a hostile crowd (Acts 21:30-22:22) and before the Jewish ruling council in Jerusalem (Acts 22:30-23:10), and on three separate occasions before governors or kings in Caesarea (Acts 24:10, 25:6, and 26:1).

Furthermore, some of Paul's speaking occasions were accompanied by the performance of various religious rites, such as baptism (Acts 16:15, 32-33,18:8, and 19:5-6) and miracles of healing (Acts 14:8-10, 28:8-9) and exorcism (Acts 16:16-18).

Dealing with opposition

A third general category of Paul's activities is responding to the opposition frequently encountered during his campaigns. As I have already mentioned, sometimes this opposition involved formal arrest and trial, but frequently it was more frenzied and severe and resulted in bodily harm or imprisonment.

> "They stoned Paul and dragged him outside the city, thinking he was dead. But after the disciples had gathered around him, he got up and went back into the city. The next day he and Barnabas left for Derbe." Acts 14:19-20

> "The crowd joined in the attack against Paul and Silas, and the magistrates ordered them to be stripped and beaten. After they had been severely flogged, they were thrown into prison, and the jailer was commanded to guard them carefully. Upon receiving such orders, he put them in the inner cell and fastened their feet in the stocks." Acts 16:22-24

Sometimes Paul avoids further physical harm and gains leverage with authorities by invoking his Roman citizenship, a designation that granted him certain privileges, among them the right to a trial before being bound or corporally punished.

> "As they stretched him out to flog him, Paul said to the centurion standing there, 'Is it legal for you to flog a Roman citizen who hasn't even been found guilty?' When the centurion heard this, he went to the commander and reported it. 'What are you going to do?' he asked. 'This man is a Roman citizen." Those who were about to question him withdrew immediately. The commander himself was alarmed when he realized that he had put Paul, a Roman citizen, in chains. Acts 22:25-26,29

> "The jailer told Paul, 'The magistrates have ordered that you and Silas be released. Now you can leave. Go in peace.' But Paul said to the officers: 'They beat us publicly without a trial, even though we are Roman citizens, and threw us into prison. And now do they want to get rid of us quietly? No! Let them come themselves and escort us out.' The officers reported this to the

magistrates, and when they heard that Paul and Silas were Roman citizens, they were alarmed. They came to appease them and escorted them from the prison, requesting them to leave the city." Acts 16:36-39

Secular labors

In addition to his overtly religious labors, Paul also engaged in the secular trade of tentmaking, which some historians now believe refers more generally to leatherworking, a highly portable trade requiring only minimal tools (Hock, 1980). Acts indicates that Paul plied a trade in at least Corinth and Ephesus, where he spent considerable time.

> "After this, Paul left Athens and went to Corinth. There he met a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus, who had recently come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had ordered all the Jews to leave Rome. Paul went to see them, and because he was a tentmaker as they were, he stayed and worked with them." Acts 18:1-3

> "I have not coveted anyone's silver or gold or clothing. You yourselves know that these hands of mine have supplied my own needs and the needs of my companions. In everything I did, I showed you that by this kind of hard work we must help the weak" Acts 20:33-35

Miscellaneous church duties

The final category in my initial sweep of Paul's activities is miscellaneous church duties. Some of Paul's labors involved dealings with the church and its leaders in Jerusalem. For example, when Paul and the church in Antioch received word of an impending famine in the region around Jerusalem, Paul helped to collect and deliver a monetary gift to the church there (Acts 11:27-30). Second, Paul attended a church council in Jerusalem to resolve a doctrinal controversy that had erupted, and afterwards delivered the decision of the council to some of the congregations affected by the dispute (Acts 15:1-35). Finally, on three separate occasions Paul gave an account of his ongoing apostolic work to the church leaders in Jerusalem (Acts 9:27, 15:4,12, and 21:19).

Taken together, these five categories of activity illustrate much of the basic structure of Paul's work in establishing the Christian church. They show a basic methodology to his approach: performing acts of rhetorical persuasion to members of many levels of society, continually searching for receptive audiences and avoiding antagonistic ones, involving others in travels and labors, maintaining a relationship with other church leaders in Jerusalem, and working a trade to provide for basic material needs. Fortunately, the existence of Paul's correspondence allows for the analysis of his institutional entrepreneurship methodology with greater subtlety and precision. This material also lets us move beyond merely structural and behavioral considerations to matters of motivation, intention, and content. All of these factors figure prominently in the model of institutional entrepreneurship grounded in these texts. I now turn to the analysis of the body of Paul's correspondence before moving to a final integration of all factors into the model.

Analyzing the Letters

Paul's letters form a crisp and convenient analytic complement to the book of Acts. As mentioned above, Acts generally presents a chronological sequence and third-person description of many of the highlights of Paul's career. With Paul's correspondence, however, we have much more insight into his thought: specifically, through these letters we are able to eavesdrop on private and semi-private local conversations already in progress and by so doing identify personal and contextual details as well as a host of internal and external tensions, conflicts and controversies inherent in Paul's efforts. In addition, Paul's own descriptions, explanations, and commentary often can be directly

mapped onto events recorded in Acts such that *in vivo* codes (Strauss et al., 1998) and

concepts pertaining to Paul's methodology can be lifted directly from the raw chronicle

provided in Acts. For example, whereas Acts merely records the sequence of Paul's

travels and gives an account of what took place in each locale, Paul's correspondence

sometimes provides the underlying rationale for these travels and actions:

> "So from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ. It has always been my ambition to preach the gospel where Christ was not known, so that I would not be building on someone else's foundation." Rom 15:18-20

> "Our hope is that, as your faith continues to grow, our area of activity among you will greatly expand, so that we can preach the gospel in the regions beyond you. For we do not want to boast about work already done in another man's territory." 2 Cor 10:15-16

When integrated with the accounts and descriptions in Acts, these two sample passages

provide several important insights. First, Paul's travels were in part directed by his desire

to evangelize territories unfamiliar with the Christian message. This provides some

preliminary explanation of why his successive missions in Acts tended further and further

westward and away from Jerusalem. Second, Paul evidently considered religious

conversion to entail a maturation process, a fact which offers some insight into why each

successive mission in Acts has Paul first revisiting already established churches before

pioneering new territory. Third, Paul hoped that the major Greek city of Corinth could

become a hub out of which other evangelistic work could eventually proceed. This helps

us understand why Acts records Paul remaining in Corinth for 18 months (Acts 18.11),

while he stayed in other communities for much shorter periods. Also, by comparing the 2

Corinthians passage above to similar passages in Paul's other correspondence it becomes

clear that this was a model Paul followed in more than one metropolis. So, having

illustrated how Paul's letters can be used in tandem with Acts to develop insights into his methodology, I now move into a discussion of the letters themselves.

My methodological approach to the letters was similar to my approach to Acts. I read each letter many times and coded a number of things from the text for each of them, including author and co-author(s) (if any), recipient(s), overall tone of the letter, types and arrangement of thematic material, indicators of ongoing correspondence with the recipient(s), the history of the relationship between Paul and the recipient(s), and the occasion(s) for the letter. While coding along these dimensions additional lines of inquiry occurred to me that required my consulting Acts and other reference materials to adequately answer. Insights gleaned from some of these efforts contributed to my understanding of Paul's methodology. For example, during the coding process I became interested in knowing how long Paul had known the recipients of the letters and where Paul was when he wrote the letters. Answers to these questions were not readily apparent from the letters alone. But with this information I hoped to be able to pinpoint the dates of Paul's letters and thereby determine whether or not his messages varied with the duration of his relationship with the recipients.

To determine the relationship durations and Paul's writing locations I first recorded and compared context clues in the letters themselves to my chronology of Acts. I examined each letter to see who Paul mentions as co-authoring the letter or as being co-located with him when he wrote it. I then compared this to a personnel timeline I developed from Acts showing the movement of Paul and all of his many companions over the course of

his career. The full timeline traces the movements of more than twenty named companions of Paul. A portion of this personnel timeline is reproduced in Figure 1 and illustrates how I was able to date the letters to the Thessalonican church. The text of the letters to the church in Thessalonica list Paul, Silas, and Timothy as co-authors (or at least co-senders). Acts has these three men co-located for only a short period of time after they leave Thessalonica, and almost all of this time is spent working in Corinth. I therefore concluded that these letters were written while they were there. Given that historians date Paul's time in Corinth around AD 51 (Holzner, 1944; Jewett, 1979; Ramsay, 2001/1925), I used this date as an approximate date for his letters to the churches in Thessalonica. In taking this approach I have certainly replicated the work of other more expert Biblical scholars, but I nevertheless pursued this method given my desire to attain a deep and uncolored understanding of these texts for purposes of the grounded theory I sought. Finally, if clues in the Biblical texts were insufficient in themselves to establish reliable dates and locations, I consulted outside sources such as Brown (1997), Glover (2002/1925), and Lightfoot (1994/1904).

In all, the iterative coding process of Paul's correspondence yielded a very large dataset. To integrate as much of this data as possible, I proceed with my analysis by focusing on the problems that Paul encountered and the responses he offered to them.

Problem categories

As shown in Table 1, Paul's letters can be divided into two categories: letters to churches and letters to his apprentices. My primary but not exclusive focus will be his letters to

churches since these span all but the very last of his career. Why did Paul write these letters? The texts of these letters point to a number of varied events prior to Paul's writing that prompted him to take up his pen, but in general Paul wrote in lieu of or as a prelude to a personal visit to address problems and assess progress with a view to more firmly establishing the new faith in that community. The many problems addressed in the letters pose varying degrees of threat to the survival of the congregations. Paul's reactions to these problems range from annoyance and confusion to personal insult, bitter disappointment and anger. The major categories of problems to which Paul responded in his letters include challenges to his authority, the influence of teachers whose messages are either pseudonymous or in simple disagreement with his own, persecution, and general immaturity and error. These problem categories thread through many of Paul's letters and are illustrated in the passages below.

Concerning challenges to Paul's authority:

> "Some of you have become arrogant, as if I were not coming to you. But I will come to you very soon, if the Lord is willing, and then I will find out not only how these arrogant people are talking, but what power they have. . .What do you prefer? Shall I come to you with a whip, or in love and with a gentle spirit? 1 Cor 4:18-19,21

> "This will be my third visit to you. I already gave you a warning when I was with you the second time. I now repeat it while absent: On my return I will not spare those who sinned earlier or any of the others, since you are demanding proof that Christ is speaking through me." 2 Cor 13:1-3

Concerning conflicting or pseudonymous teachings:

> "I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting the one who called you by the grace of Christ and are turning to a different gospel—which is really no gospel at all. Evidently some people are throwing you into confusion and are trying to pervert the gospel of Christ. But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than the one we preached to you, let him be eternally condemned!" Gal 1: 6-8

> "And I will keep on doing what I am doing in order to cut the ground from under those who want an opportunity to be considered equal with us in the things they boast about. For such men are false apostles, deceitful workmen, masquerading as apostles of Christ. And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light." 2 Cor 11:12-14

". . .we ask you, brothers, not to become easily unsettled or alarmed by some prophecy, report or letter supposed to have come from us, saying that the day of the Lord has already come. Don't let anyone deceive you in any way." 2 Thes 2:1-3

Concerning persecution:

"We sent Timothy . . . to strengthen and encourage you in your faith, so that no one would be unsettled by these trials. You know quite well that we were destined for them. In fact, when we were with you, we kept telling you that we would be persecuted. And it turned out that way, as you well know." 1 Thes 3:2-4

Concerning immaturity and error:

"My brothers, some from Chloe's household have informed me that there are quarrels among you. What I mean is this: One of you says, 'I follow Paul'; another, 'I follow Apollos'; another, 'I follow Cephas [Peter]'; still another, 'I follow Christ.' . . . No doubt there have to be differences among you to show which of you have God's approval." 1 Cor 1:11-12, 11:19

"It is actually reported that there is sexual immorality among you, and of a kind that does not occur even among pagans: A man has his father's wife. And you are proud!" 1 Cor 5:1-2

"In the following directives I have no praise for you, for your meetings do more harm than good. When you come together, it is not the Lord's Supper you eat, for as you eat, each of you goes ahead without waiting for anybody else. One remains hungry, another gets drunk. What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you for this? Certainly not!" 1 Cor 11:17, 20-22

A tailored approach

These passages shed light not only on the congregations which were embroiled in the specified problems, but also on the approaches Paul takes in addressing these congregations. Paul's tone in the letters varied with the severity of the problems that prompted the letters. Also, the level of complexity of the arguments and challenges he poses to the church varies as a function of the maturity level of the church. As an illustration of this, consider the churches in Thessalonica, Galatia, Corinth, and Rome. As mentioned above, the chronology of Paul's work from Acts indicates that his letters to the church in Thessalonica were written only a few months after his initial visit to that community. His tone in the letter to this fledgling church was one of fond reminiscence, gentle paternalism, and glowing praise. The text of these letters is also clear that their errors were not perceived by Paul as being of an antagonistic or defiant nature.

> "You became imitators of us and of the Lord . . . you welcomed the message with joy . . . and so became a model to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia" 1 Thes 1:6-7
>
> "We loved you so much that we were delighted to share with you not only the gospel of God but also our lives as well, because you had become so dear to us." 1 Thes 1:8

In contrast, the tone in his letters to the churches in Galatia and Corinth, both of which had been established for several years at the time of writing, was much more harsh and censorious:

> "You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you? Before your very eyes Jesus Christ was clearly portrayed as crucified. I would like to learn just one thing from you: Did you receive the Spirit by observing the law, or by believing what you heard? Are you so foolish? After beginning with the Spirit, are you now trying to attain your goal by human effort? Have you suffered so much for nothing–if it really was for nothing? How I wish I could be with you now and change my tone, because I am perplexed about you!" Gal 3:1-4, 4:20
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> "Therefore, if you have disputes about such matters, appoint as judges even men of little account in the church! I say this to shame you. Is it possible that there is nobody among you wise enough to judge a dispute between believers? But instead, one brother goes to law against another–and this in front of unbelievers! The very fact that you have lawsuits among you means you have been completely defeated already. Why not rather be wronged? Why not rather be cheated?" 1 Cor 6:4-7

Finally, the letter to the church in Rome—which was not originally established by Paul and which had been in existence "for many years" (Rom 15.23) at the time of Paul's writing the letter, around AD 57—indicates that the church was large, mature, and very knowledgeable of the scriptures. For example, in marked contrast to his other letters, in Romans Paul greets 29 people by name and indicates that the church of Rome comprises at least five distinct congregations (Rom 16:1-15). Of their maturity level he comments: "I myself am convinced, my brothers, that you yourselves are full of goodness, complete in knowledge and competent to instruct one another" (Rom 15:14). Regarding their knowledge of the scriptures, Paul's letter to the church in Rome contains 59 references to the Hebrew Scriptures, or approximately one reference for every 180 words. In contrast,

eight of Paul's other letters have only one or zero references to the Hebrew scriptures, one book has four references, two have ten, and one has 17.[1] Finally, Paul also uses a high level of rhetorical sophistication in his letter to Rome, not only because of the maturity of the intended audience but also because of the critical significance of the church in the capital city of the Roman Empire and the impact he hoped his letter would have in furthering his institutional efforts. Over the course of nine chapters of this letter Paul develops a complex theological argument regarding the integration of Jews and Gentiles into a common faith, asking and answering a series of ten rhetorical questions to foster understanding and to ward off erroneous interpretations of his arguments.[2]

Considering the corpus of Paul's letters to churches as a whole, it seems that Paul tailored his approach to the churches, and that he did this based on the background of the audience, the severity of problems encountered in the congregation, and the overall maturity level of the church addressed in the letter. There is much evidence to support this. Consider the delicate request made by Paul in his letter to Philemon, a prominent member of the church in Colosse. The letter reveals that one of Philemon's slaves had run away to Rome where he had met Paul and become a convert. In this brief and very personal letter Paul asks Philemon to receive his slave back again not just with impunity, but as a free man and as a brother in a common faith. Paul is clear that although he could directly command Philemon in this matter, he is rather appealing to him on the basis of

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[1] The New International Version of the Bible inserts a footnote whenever Paul cites a passage from another Biblical book. I merely counted all of these footnotes from the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament) and computed totals for each letter. I computed word totals using Microsoft Word and the text of Paul's letters from www.biblegateway.org.
[2] See Rom 3:3-4, 3:5-6, 3:9, 6:1-2, 6:15, 7:7, 7:13, 9:14, 11:1, and 11:11

love, and expresses confidence that Philemon will exceed Paul's expectations—clearly not a request made to a young and vulnerable convert.

The two sermons recorded in Acts provide additional evidence of Paul's tailoring his message depending on the background and problematic tendencies of his audience. In Acts 13:16-41, Paul's sermon in the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch is drawn completely from the history and scriptures of the Hebrews, while his sermon to the gathered Athenian Areopagus in Acts 16 draws from Athenian poetry to debunk Greece's rampant idolatry and thus steer the members of the Areopagus toward his gospel, as the following quotes illustrate:

> "Paul then stood up in the meeting of the Areopagus and said: "Men of Athens! I see that in every way you are very religious. For as I walked around and looked carefully at your objects of worship, I even found an altar with this inscription: TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. Now what you worship as something unknown I am going to proclaim to you." Acts 16:22-23

> "'For in him we live and move and have our being.' As some of your own poets have said, 'We are his offspring.' Therefore since we are God's offspring, we should not think that the divine being is like gold or silver or stone–an image made by man's design and skill." Acts 16:28-29

In all, Paul's tailoring of his message to various audiences can be best summarized in his own words:

> To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law . . . so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law. . . so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some. 1 Cor 9:20-22

Having now analyzed the manner in which Paul approached his various audiences, I now turn to the constitution of Paul's message itself. Analysis of Paul's correspondence reveals several important features of his message that illuminate his institutional entrepreneurship method.

PAUL'S MESSAGE AS SENSEMAKING

In his letters, Paul undertakes a great deal of sensemaking—the highlighting, interpretation and representation of the significance and meaning of certain events and circumstances for his various audiences. Sensemaking is a central component in Paul's method of institutional entrepreneurship, and is in fact the essence of his gospel. Through sensemaking Paul tries to persuade his audience that recent events (i.e., the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus) consummate and fulfill the Jewish faith, and further, that these events signify that faith in the god of the Jews is no longer available to Jews only, but is in fact available to everyone who chooses to believe Paul's message. These ideas were new and highly controversial at the time. Part of Paul's challenge as an institutional entrepreneur was to articulate these ideas into a comprehensible and coherent framework, to contribute further to this framework over time as intervening circumstances dictated, and to explain and motivate the appropriate attitudes and behaviors to accompany this framework. He used sensemaking to do all of this, employing this method in many different fashions and along a variety of fronts, as I now show.

An important part of Paul's sensemaking effort involves his defining and reframing many symbolic and substantive elements of Judaism to support his understanding of God's redemptive plan for humanity. Foremost among these was his assertion that Jesus was the Messiah, the long-anticipated savior of the Jews:

> "We tell you the good news: What God promised our fathers he has fulfilled for us, their children, by raising up Jesus. . .Therefore, my brothers, I want you to know that through Jesus the forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to you." Acts 13:32-33,38

Paul also reframes several ancient and sacred elements of Judaism by interpreting them figuratively rather than literally and by arguing that what he claims they represent symbolically is now realized and fulfilled by his gospel. Such reframed elements include the code of Mosaic Law, the rite of circumcision and the Passover Festival.

> "Before this faith came, we were held prisoners by the law, locked up until faith should be revealed. So the law was put in charge to lead us to Christ that we might be justified by faith. Now that faith has come, we are no longer under the supervision of the law." Gal 3:23-25

> "Circumcision has value if you observe the law, but if you break the law, you have become as though you had not been circumcised. If those who are not circumcised keep the law's requirements, will they not be regarded as though they were circumcised? . . . a man is a Jew if he is one inwardly; and circumcision is circumcision of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the written code." Rom 2:25-26, 29

> "For Christ, our Passover lamb, has been sacrificed. Therefore let us keep the Festival, not with the old yeast, the yeast of malice and wickedness, but with bread without yeast, the bread of sincerity and truth." 1 Cor 5:7-8

Another controversial claim that Paul makes regarding Judaism—one for which he takes great pains to elaborate throughout his writings—is that faith in the God of the Jews is now universally available to everyone who believes his gospel:

> "For there is no difference between Jew and Gentile–the same Lord is Lord of all and richly blesses all who call on him, for, 'Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved.'" Rom 10:12-13

But this theoretical universalizing of the faith brought with it the very practical problem of the integration of diverse believers—particularly Jews with Gentile converts—a problem toward which Paul directed a great deal of sensemaking energy and effort. Paul's longest and most theologically complex letter, the letter to the church in Rome, is dedicated almost exclusively to this issue.

Paul's reframing of Judaism represents only one of several occasions of his using sensemaking to develop his own gospel in relation to or in contrast to other belief

systems. For example, in his letter to the Colossian church he argues to show its superiority to Gnosticism (Col 1-2, especially 2:16-19). Similarly, in his first letter to Corinth he defends his gospel over against Paganism by mocking current aphorisms used to justify the rampant sexual promiscuity for which the city was famous (1 Cor 6:12-13). In addition, Paul occasionally resorts to sensemaking to defend his own gospel from common misinterpretations, especially those which were maliciously intended (Rom 3:7-8).

More generally, Paul uses sensemaking to defend his gospel by defending *himself*, as both Acts and his correspondence repeatedly attest. A frequent and important component of his sensemaking is his interpreting and defending the veracity and legitimacy of his own conversion, gospel, and status relative to the apostles who had known Jesus personally.

> "I want you to know, brothers, that the gospel I preached is not something that man made up. I did not receive it from any man, nor was I taught it; rather, I received it by revelation from Jesus Christ." Gal 1:11-12

> "As for those [other apostles] who seemed to be important–whatever they were makes no difference to me; God does not judge by external appearance–those men added nothing to my message. On the contrary, they saw that I had been entrusted with the task of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, just as Peter had been to the Jews." Gal 2:6-7

> "But I do not think I am in the least inferior to those 'superapostles.'" 2 Cor 11:5

Further, when addressing Jewish audiences for whom his claims were particularly scandalous Paul frequently points to his impeccable Hebrew pedigree to show that he is not an imposter or a fraud.

> "I am an Israelite myself, a descendant of Abraham, from the tribe of Benjamin." Rom 11:1

"circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; in regard to the law, a Pharisee; . . . as for legalistic righteousness, faultless." Philpp 3:5-6

"Under Gamaliel I was thoroughly trained in the law of our fathers and was just as zealous for God as any of you are today." Acts 22:3

I have already shown Paul's sensemaking to include a reframing of Judaism, a process by which Paul essentially seeks to clarify the relationship between the old and the new in light of the revelations he had received. This is only one example among many of this type of differentiating conceptual work in Paul's institutional entrepreneurship. In fact, in terms of the actual content of his correspondence Paul spends more time explaining and clarifying relationships than he does anything else. For example, Paul offers commentary on such things as the relationship between the Christian convert and the code of Jewish law, between the Christian and God, between Christians and non-Christians, and between church leaders and church members. In Table 2 I provide a representative sample of the full range of the many relationships elaborated by Paul along with illustrative passages from Paul's letters for each of these. For each item I also identify the basic nature of the relationship Paul is advocating.

It is also worth noting the manner by which Paul explains many of these relationships and frames other important ideas in his gospel. His most frequent method is metaphoric illustration. Over 30 different metaphors are used to define and describe the many relationships and concepts elaborated by Paul in his letters, metaphors such as bodies and heads, athletics, marriage, slavery, soldiery, and light / darkness. Table 3 contains a number of these metaphoric passages and the relationships or ideas they were used to explain. Taken together, Tables 2 and 3 more clearly illustrate these facets of the

sensemaking process in Paul's institutional entrepreneurship work, and further demonstrate the analytic value of his correspondence as a complement to the data extracted from the text of Acts.

Paul's sensemaking efforts in general and his use of metaphor in particular afforded him the advantage of being able to more readily rationalize and prescribe certain behavioral and attitudinal obligations for his audiences. This rationalization is also an important part of his sensemaking work. Over and over again in his correspondence Paul argues that a given attitude or behavior follows as a natural consequence of the relational or conceptual frame he elaborates. Consider this extended passage from Paul's first letter to the church at Corinth, in which he elaborates the body metaphor and draws behavioral and attitudinal obligations between believers from it:

> "The body is a unit, though it is made up of many parts; and though all its parts are many, they form one body. So it is with Christ. . . whether Jews or Greeks, slave or free . . . Now the body is not made up of one part but of many. If the foot should say, 'Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body, it would not for that reason cease to be part of the body. And if the ear should say, 'Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body,' it would not for that reason cease to be part of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where would the sense of hearing be? If the whole body were an ear, where would the sense of smell be? But in fact God has arranged the parts in the body, every one of them, just as he wanted them to be. . . The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I don't need you!' And the head cannot say to the feet, 'I don't need you!' On the contrary, those parts of the body that seem to be weaker are indispensable, and the parts that we think are less honorable we treat with special honor. And the parts that are unpresentable are treated with special modesty, while our presentable parts need no special treatment. But God has combined the members of the body and has given greater honor to the parts that lacked it, so that there should be no division in the body, but that its parts should have equal concern for each other. If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honored, every part rejoices with it. Now you are the body of Christ, and each one of you is a part of it."
> 1 Cor 12:12-27

Paul's sensemaking in this passage is meant to influence converts' perception of their differential abilities and positions so as to prevent jealousy, promote genuine mutual appreciation, and produce a congregation that is unified, egalitarian, peacefully

interdependent and cooperative. In addition to making relationally-situated behavioral commands, Paul derives other behavioral obligations from more ontologically based sensemaking, as in the following example in which Paul, in the process of advocating sexual purity, comments on the significance of the human body:

> Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit lives in you? If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy him; for God's temple is sacred, and you are that temple. . . Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God? You are not your own; you were bought at a price. Therefore honor God with your body. 1 Cor 3:16-17, 6:19-20

This pattern of sensemaking followed by the outworking of attitudinal and behavioral obligations is repeated over and over in Paul's correspondence, and comprises much of the centerpiece of his model of institutional entrepreneurship.

In all, Paul's sensemaking efforts may be summarily described as a lifelong quest to provide compelling and coherent answers to three simple questions: "what happened?" "what does it mean?" and "how should you and I respond?" For the first question Paul's sensemaking consists of the selection and description of events—his own background, conversion, the revelation by which he received his gospel, etc. For the second it consists of the interpretation of events and the reframing of existing knowledge—Jesus is Messiah, "I, Paul, am an apostle," Judaism symbolically reinterpreted, universalized faith, relational and conceptual metaphors, etc. For the third it consists of the prescription and rationalization of obligations, attitudes, and behaviors.

Having now fully grounded Paul's sensemaking I now turn to one final major component of Paul's methodology—embedding—before considering the integrated model of his institutional entrepreneurship work.

EMBEDDING THE MESSAGE

To this point I have generally emphasized the structural tracings of Paul's work and the manner in which he makes his message intelligible and credible to his audiences. What remains is to emphasize and outline the method by which he structurally reinforced and contained his message. This critically important and multifarious facet of Paul's institutional entrepreneurship involves the embedding of his message in various structures meant to both preserve its integrity and encourage its further propagation. Paul used a great variety of different tactics to accomplish this, many of which are illustrated in this section.

We know from the body of texts used for this study that Paul used correspondence with his churches to clarify, develop and defend his teachings. We also know that he made repeated visits to many of the churches for the same reasons:

> "Some time later Paul said to Barnabas, 'Let us go back and visit the brothers in all the towns where we preached the word of the Lord and see how they are doing.'" Acts 15:36

> "Now I am ready to visit you for the third time. . ." 2 Cor 12:14

Paul also uses several varieties of persuasion to embed his teaching in visible patterns of behavior. These include giving advice and making personal appeals—both weak forms of persuasion—as well as direct commands, tests of obedience, and comparisons among churches—all stronger forms of persuasion.

Weak Persuasion Tactics

"And here is my advice about what is best for you in this matter. . ." 2 Cor 8:11

"Now about virgins: I have no command from the Lord, but I give a judgment as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy. . ." 1 Cor 7:25

"Therefore, although in Christ I could be bold and order you to do what you ought to do, yet I appeal to you on the basis of love. " Philmn 1:8-9

Strong Persuasion Tactics

"To the married I give this command. . . A wife must not separate from her husband. But if she does, she must remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband. And a husband must not divorce his wife." 1 Cor 7:10-11

"The reason I wrote you was to see if you would stand the test and be obedient in everything." 2 Cor 2:9

"But just as you excel in everything. . .see that you also excel in this grace of giving. . . I want to test the sincerity of your love by comparing it with the earnestness of others" 2 Cor 8:7-8

Another embedding tactic employed by Paul is the use of his authority to discipline and censure wayward churches, as I have already illustrated (see 1 Cor 4:18-19,21 and 2 Cor 13:1-3 above). Yet another is Paul's mentoring and dispatching of apprentices to help the churches along. For example, Paul's letter to Colosse shows that this church was begun by Epaphras, one of Paul's assistants who was sent to Colosse during Paul's extended stay in nearby Ephesus (Col 1:7). Also, to more firmly establish the faith of new churches Paul and his assistants appointed local leadership once some of the converts were sufficiently mature (Acts 14:23, Titus 1:5). And whenever possible Paul or one of his apprentices stayed with a church for an extended period of time to more fully demonstrate the type of living they encouraged for the converts:

"For you yourselves know how you ought to follow our example. We were not idle when we were with you, nor did we eat anyone's food without paying for it. On the contrary, we worked night and day, laboring and toiling so that we would not be a burden to any of you. We did this,

not because we do not have the right to such help, but in order to make ourselves a model for you to follow." 2 Thes 2:7-9

"Therefore I urge you to imitate me. For this reason I am sending to you Timothy, my son whom I love, who is faithful in the Lord. He will remind you of my way of life in Christ Jesus, which agrees with what I teach everywhere in every church." 1 Cor 4:16-17

Other embedding tactics used by Paul are based on simple repetition and encouragement. For example, in his second letter to Timothy, Paul directs Timothy to "keep reminding them of these things" (2 Tim 2:14). Further, after offering some comfort to the distraught Thessalonian church, Paul advises them to "encourage each other with these words" (1 Thes 4:18), and to "encourage one another and build each other up, just as in fact you are doing" (1 Thes 5:11).

The final evidence of Paul's embedding work I will consider here is his use of mnemonic devices and doctrinal statements in the form of hymns or creeds, poetical renderings of important concepts, and self-styled "trustworthy sayings." For example, consider this passage from Paul's letter to the church at Philippi in which he quotes a segment of a creed or hymn containing doctrinal statements about Jesus:

"Who, being in very nature God,
   did not consider equality with God something to be grasped, but made himself nothing,
   taking the very nature of a servant,
   being made in human likeness. And being found in appearance as a man,
   he humbled himself
   and became obedient to death–
   even death on a cross! Therefore God exalted him to the highest place
   and gave him the name that is above every name" Philpp 2:6-9 (versification in original; cf. Col 1:15-20)

Also, in a well-known passage in his first letter to the church in Corinth, Paul expounds lyrically on the nature of love:

> "Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. Love never fails." 1 Cor 13:4-8

Finally, many times in his letters to Timothy and Titus, his apprentices, he calls special attention to a doctrinal statement by emphasizing its trustworthiness:

> "Here is a trustworthy saying that deserves full acceptance: Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" 1 Tim 1:15

> "But when the kindness and love of God our Savior appeared, he saved us, not because of righteous things we had done, but because of his mercy. . . This is a trustworthy saying." Titus 3:4-5,8

In all, Paul's various embedding efforts may be collected under two heads which represent the horizons toward which this segment of Paul's work tended. First, he sought to establish, validate, and perpetuate the formal leadership of the church. Second, he tried to guide converts toward steadfastness and maturity in the faith. These heads are not mutually exclusive, but nevertheless offer a concise summary of this facet of Paul's work.

At this point I have introduced and grounded all of the components in the method of institutional entrepreneurship modeled on Paul's career. I next present the fully integrated model of his method, and further elaborate each construct below. Figure 2 contains this model.

A MODEL OF INSTITUTIONAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Precipitating Events

The process of institutional entrepreneurship derived from these texts begins with

precipitating events. In the case of Paul, the foremost of these precipitating events is his

own conversion, which hinged on the epiphany he received concerning the meaning and

import of Jesus' life and teachings. An important corollary to his conversion is Paul's

perception and understanding of the responsibilities and obligations his conversion

implied for him. This is underscored frequently in his correspondence:

> "Yet when I preach the gospel, I cannot boast, for I am compelled to preach. Woe to me if I do
> not preach the gospel!" 1 Cor 9:16

> "I am obligated both to Greeks and non-Greeks, both to the wise and the foolish." Rom 1:14

This first phase of the model ends with Paul first taking true entrepreneurial action, a

point I mark as beginning in Acts 13:2-3, when Paul heads west from Antioch on his first

missionary journey to the Gentiles. It is important at this point to highlight that the

institutional entrepreneurial activity of Paul comprises a series of discrete but cumulating

institutional entrepreneurial acts. Each of these acts is constituted by Paul, the

institutional entrepreneur, exercising agency and challenging or extending the domain of

work already accomplished—his own or that of others. As my analysis shows, for Paul

these institutional entrepreneurial acts involve some measure of the translation,

transposition and imprinting of his internal personal convictions, revelations and

understandings onto an external audience or structure. I have therefore labeled the first

stage of my model *internalization* and the second, *externalization*. For Paul, the

externalization phase begins with audience selection.

Audience Selection

The establishment of each new local church begins for Paul with the selection of a target audience, a process for which we can observe in the Biblical texts several guiding criteria in operation at several levels of analysis. For example, all of Paul's institution-building labors take place within the Roman Empire. Also, we know that Paul prefers to work in areas with no prior contact with the Christian gospel, and that upon entering a new area he first presents his message in the Jewish synagogue. This suggests that Paul selected areas throughout the Empire which had considerable Jewish populations. Also, I have already pointed out the hub-and-spoke structure of some of Paul's work, the system through which he first establishes a base in a sizeable metropolitan area then develops the church into surrounding towns and villages.

Other of Paul's guiding criteria for audience selection are more opportunistic in nature: his search for "open doors" (see 2 Cor 2:12, 1 Cor 16:8-9), or communities within which there are persons receptive to his message, and the general opportunism by which he seized every possible opportunity to present his message. Examples of the latter are myriad and include Paul's conversion of a slave while under house arrest in Rome (Philmn 1:10), his ministry to fellow prisoners and his guards while in prison (Acts 16:25-30), his preaching in an open-air marketplace in Athens (Acts 17:17), and his preaching to a group of women gathered by a river in Philippi (Acts 16:13-14).

Sensemaking-Embedding

Once an audience is selected Paul begins to present his message, which I have already

shown to be a process of sensemaking, tailored to the particularities of each audience. In

Figure 2 the heavy line represents activities that recur and may vary for different

audiences. It also demarks the bipartite, fundamental engine of Paul's institutional

entrepreneurship, the simultaneous and iterative coupling of sensemaking with

appropriate containment and preservation structures, both cognitive and relational.

Regarding this iteration, it is important to point out the various triggers that produce a

return to more sensemaking within a given congregation. One of these triggers is a direct

request from a church for Paul's guidance. For example, chapters 7 and 8 of Paul's first

letter to the Corinthians were written in response to a letter he had received from the

church in Corinth in which they asked for his advice about marriage and the consumption

of certain types of foods. Another trigger is a church's willing reception and successful

embodiment of some of Paul's teachings. Having enthusiastically embraced Paul's initial

teachings, a church could expect to receive additional doctrinal elaboration and

challenges from him. The letter to the church in Philippi and the first Thessalonian letter

are examples of this. These first two types of triggers are represented in the model by the

arrow returning from Embedding to Sensemaking in Figure 2.

On the other hand, problems and threats also served as triggers producing additional

rounds of sensemaking and embedding from Paul. These threats and problems can be

internal (within the church or its individual members) or external (originating from

without the church). Such problem triggers frequently served as occasions for Paul's correspondence, as in the letters to Corinth (sexual sin, factionism, challenges to Paul's authority) and Galatia (false teachings), which I have discussed previously. These problematic triggers are represented in Figure 2 by the arrows originating from the boxes above and below the heavy black box.

To summarize, the externalization phase of Paul's institutional entrepreneurship is comprised of two types of iterations. The first is between-congregation iterations and describes the process by which Paul continually sought new audiences to which he could address his message. The second is within-congregation iterations and describes Paul's working locally to develop maturity with a church with whom he already has contact. Each iteration may be considered an institutional entrepreneurial act. These acts cumulate over the course of Paul's career to institutionalize the faith. This point leads to the final stage of my model: the Outcomes / Institutionalization Phase.

Outcomes and Institutionalization

What is the cumulative outcome of Paul's methodology of institutional entrepreneurship? How do his labors lead to the institutionalization of Christianity? We see in this corpus of texts the footprints of a number of outcomes—both macro-structural and micro-relational—that jointly produce and reproduce this institution at the close of Paul's career. First I will consider the higher-order macro outcomes.

At least five higher-order outcomes are visible in Paul's institutional entrepreneurial work. The first of these is the result of the wide circulation of copies of Paul's correspondence throughout the congregations of the early church, even though these letters were situationally occasioned and were all addressed to specific audiences. This circulation resulted in Paul's sensemaking and embedding tactics coalescing into a body of generalized formal doctrine. It is clear that Paul was aware of this process and even encouraged it himself. In his letter to the Colossians he writes, "after this letter has been read to you, see that it is also read in the church of the Laodiceans and that you in turn read the letter from Laodicea" (Col 4:16). Also, Peter, head of the church in Jerusalem and a contemporary of Paul, writes the following in one of his own canonized letters:

> "... our dear brother Paul also wrote to you with the wisdom that God gave him. He writes the same way in all his letters, speaking in them of these matters. His letters contain some things which are hard to understand, which ignorant and unstable people distort, as they do the other Scriptures" 2 Peter 3:15-16

This passage indicates two important facts. First, it suggests that Paul's letters were already considered authoritative writ during his own lifetime, given that Peter equates them with the Scriptures. Second, it further suggests that Paul's letters were circulated freely beyond their initial recipients, since Peter and some of Paul's opponents had already read them.

The letter circulation process by which this body of doctrine emerged also contributed to the second higher-order outcome: the formation of a network of inter-congregation relationships. This network of relationships was further strengthened by the dispatching of local emissaries to other churches, as in the sending of Phoebe from Cenchrea to Rome

(Rom 16:1) and of some of the believers from Macedonia to Corinth (2 Cor 9:3). Also to this end, Paul's letters frequently contain updates and news about the happenings in other congregations, as well as encouragements to share material resources between churches (2 Cor 8).

Another higher-order outcome of Paul's work is a developed leadership hierarchy. While I have already pointed out that Paul appointed leaders in the local churches, in his letters to Timothy and Titus at the end of his life he formalizes this process by establishing clear criteria by which two specific tiers of local church leadership should be chosen (1 Tim 3 and Titus 1:6-9). In addition, Paul's letters indicate a further division of labor within the church as well as the ongoing work of training apprentices to carry on the work that he himself has been doing (Eph 4:11-12). As final evidence of the complexity and level of development of the leadership of the early church, Paul's correspondence indicates that some offices within the hierarchy of church leadership are received by appointment only (e.g., apostle and prophet; see 1 Cor 12:27), whereas others can be sought by individual aspirants (e.g., overseer, deacon; see 1 Tim 3:1).

The fourth and fifth higher-order outcomes are related but distinct. The fourth: Paul's labors resulted in the formation of new organizations and further expansion into new territories. His use of apprentices also ensured the continuance of these processes after his death. The fifth: Paul's work also resulted in the Christian faith having an institutional identity that is distinct and separate from its parent Judaism as well as from other social, cultural and political institutions. For example, while the very first

Christians in Jerusalem met in the Temple alongside the Jews (Acts 5:12), Paul's churches met primarily in homes since they were not permitted to practice Paul's model of worship in the synagogues. Also, the cumulative effect of Paul's commentary and directives concerning the many relationships of the Christian communities is the clear demarcation of a new and unique social entity (see Table 2). Finally, and as already mentioned, under Paul's guidance these new churches developed their own leadership, creeds, and other modes of worship, and so the whole movement took on its own identity, initially as "the Way" (Acts 19:9,23, 24:22), and later as the *ecclesia*, or "the church".

In addition to these macro, higher-order outcomes of Paul's institutional entrepreneurship efforts, a number of micro or individual and social outcomes also resulted. Basically, Paul's labors resulted in many individual converts, as well as the maturation of some these converts. In addition, the dense relational structures of these converts meant that believers were held accountable for their actions, and that local communities were to a degree self-regulated. Paul's letters to Corinth illustrate this through his directive to have the church disassociate from an errant convert (1 Cor 5:2,13) and later, to forgive and restore him (2 Cor 2:6-8), and this without Paul's direct oversight.

A final point concludes my description of my model: note that these micro and macro outcomes operate in tandem and are mutually reinforcing, such that the resulting institutional arrangement is robust to threats both internal and external. This reinforcement is represented by the double-headed arrow between the outcomes boxes. For example, Paul's body of formal doctrine serves as a guide for both current and

emerging church leaders and converts, and his apprenticing of new evangelists leads to

new converts and thus new congregations. So to Paul both of these outcomes were

necessary for the ongoing vitality of the church, as his recorded work demonstrates. He

believed that to have doctrine but no converts is to have the empty shell of a church, and

to have converts without clearly articulated and reinforced doctrine is to open the door for

heresy, nominalism, and the eventual dissolution of his new faith. Therefore his

institutional entrepreneurship shows the constant negotiation of this tension between the

continual push for expansion into new territories and the need to have the faith develop to

maturity in individual believers and local communities.

DISCUSSION

In this paper I have developed a grounded theory of institutional entrepreneurship from

the life and works of Paul of Tarsus found in Biblical texts. This theory shows the

emergence of a new institution as an iterative and cumulating process of principled

audience selection, tailored sensemaking, and embedding tactics, all employed by an

institutional entrepreneur who serendipitously finds himself in possession of knowledge

that he perceives to be of great value. Previous work on institutional entrepreneurship

has focused on identifying the types of social skills that these entrepreneurs have and the

types of strategic actions that they may take (Fligstein, 1997). My model extends this

work in at least two ways. First, Fligstein describes many categories of action, but gives

no guidance as to how entrepreneurs might cluster or sequence these strategies. By

showing sequences, patterns, and dynamic triggers in Paul's tactics, my model not only

serves as a possible stepping stone toward a normative or predictive theory of

institutional entrepreneurship (Carlile & Christensen, 2005), but it more closely meets the general criteria of theory development in Whetten (1989) and Strauss & Corbin (1998). Whetten argues that theories must be more than lists of constructs—they must also specify relationships and account for causes. Further, my model satisfies the criteria by which good grounded theories are measured (Strauss et al., 1998), particularly in that it adequately accounts for both process and variation in the phenomenon it seeks to illuminate. Second, by completely grounding this theory in a body of texts, I have (1) ensured its representativeness and accuracy—its generalizability will be considered next—and (2) fully illustrated its constructs and dynamics.

A fair skeptic could reasonably ask how such a theory rooted in ancient texts and contexts could meaningfully contribute to our current knowledge on the origin and transformation of institutions. I contend that it does so in many ways. My model suggests that there are multiple types of institutional entrepreneurship. We already know that some institutions emerge to establish some form of social control, particularly to resolve conflicts of interest among a field of competitive actors through a process of political or economic power maneuvers (Galaskiewicz, 1991; Ingram & Inman, 1996; Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, & King, 1991). The institutions formed and institutional entrepreneurship practiced in these instances are in many ways unlike that established and practiced by Paul, and my model does little to inform them. However, my model does illuminate the many instances of institutional entrepreneurship in which some sort of watershed conversion experience or revelation by an individual actor serves as a precipitating event in the formation of a new institution. I will briefly allude to three

modern examples of this type of institutional entrepreneurship, and there are certainly more: chiropractic medicine, modern homeschooling, and the recent revival and commercialization of the socio-cultural institution of traditional Irish music.

Table 4 offers a side-by-side comparison of these three institutions and the early Christian church during Paul's career. In all four cases the origins of the institutions can be traced to a dramatic and punctuated experience of the institutional entrepreneur: a particular revelation that radically reframed meanings within a domain and affected the perception of the role and responsibilities of the institutional entrepreneur within that domain. For example, for D. D. Palmer that revelation came in 1895 after his first mechanical spinal adjustment seemingly miraculously restored some of the hearing loss of a janitor who worked in Palmer's building (Wardwell, 1992).

Consider also the example of Seán Ó Riada, whose involvement in reviving Irish traditional music came about following a short period of time in 1960 when he first became convinced of the value inherent in the Irish national music—a cultural form that had for many years suffered decline in the wake of apathy and other more popular imported cultural forms such as American jazz (Ó Canainn, 2003). His transformation following his conversion was remarkable: he changed his name from John Reidy to its Gaelic equivalent Seán Ó Riada and forced his whole family to become fluent in Gaelic after relocating them from Dublin to the Gaelic-speaking village of Cúil Aodha. He presented a series of controversial radio lectures (published posthumously in Riada, 1982) in which he highlighted the "true" Irish elements of the music and jettisoned those

he deemed of foreign or dubious origins . In these lectures Ó Riada also attempted to demonstrate the inherent value of the music by developing theoretical language by which quality standards for composition and performance could be established. He also described a new idealized style of collaborative playing which allowed for the individuality of the players to remain intact—something that was unknown within this musical form at the time. The organization / ensemble he formed to illustrate all of his new musical principles to a wider audience—Ceoltoiri Chualann—was later reformed as the Chieftains, the world-renowned Irish group that has become the standard in form and substance by which all Irish traditional music is measured. This musical form subsequently became widely commercially viable and inspired many successful new ensembles and creative endeavors.

In the case of Seán Ó Riada, as in all of my other examples, the work of the institutional entrepreneur consumed the greater part of an entire career and resulted in the redefinition of domain boundaries, the elaboration of new meaning structures, and the formation of new practices and organizations, not to mention new industries. The histories of each of these institutional entrepreneurs also suggests the generalizability of the coupled sensemaking and embedding process that I have outlined in my model. Further, as in my model in each case these new meanings and practices were opposed by one or more members of the existing institutional field. This opposition often took the form of attacks on the legitimacy of those who embraced and practiced the new body of knowledge. For example, chiropractic medicine and chiropractors were so aggressively and maliciously opposed by the American Medical Association that a formal injunction was issued

against the AMA in 1987 for conspiracy against chiropractic in violation of US antitrust laws (Getzendanner, 1987). Similarly, parents who homeschooled their children were opposed in part because they were not professional educators (Seelhoff, 1999).

My model also extends our current knowledge in that it provides us with a new perspective on how institutional entrepreneurs formulate and advocate their causes. Regarding the formation of these causes, existing work emphasizes the ways in which institutional interests evolve and coalesce gradually, granting for the rapid formulation of such interests only in cases of market crises or regulatory interventions (Brint et al., 1991). Regarding the advocacy of these causes, others have emphasized the ways entrepreneurs employ personal social skills to perceive and exploit external opportunity structures in favor of values that they strongly hold (Fligstein, 1997). I sustain that types of conversion and revelation experiences such as I have described here both provide a viable alternative source for new institutional interests as well as alter the meaning and function of opportunity structures in theories of institutional entrepreneurship. Therefore, I argue that when examining institutional entrepreneurs theorists should pay particular attention to any conversion experiences and resultant convictions internal to the entrepreneur, and not only to external opportunity structures as such. In the cases I have identified it is such conversion and revelation that permits these entrepreneurs to see opportunity where others do not, and, more importantly, that compels these entrepreneurs to pursue opportunity where others will not, given the great personal sacrifice that such pursuits often demand from the entrepreneurs. My model suggests that opportunity structures for institutional entrepreneurs aren't simply "out there" waiting to be exploited.

It is often internal personal conviction that creates its own opportunity structures. Institutional entrepreneurs need not be calculating and utility-seeking opportunists so much as they are passionate and self-sacrificing visionaries who will not be deterred by circumstance.

> "I have worked much harder, been in prison more frequently, been flogged more severely, and been exposed to death again and again. Five times I received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods, once I was stoned, three times I was shipwrecked, I spent a night and a day in the open sea, I have been constantly on the move. I have been in danger from rivers, in danger from bandits, in danger from my own countrymen, in danger from Gentiles; in danger in the city, in danger in the country, in danger at sea; and in danger from false brothers. I have labored and toiled and have often gone without sleep; I have known hunger and thirst and have often gone without food; I have been cold and naked. Besides everything else, I face daily the pressure of my concern for all the churches." 2 Cor 11:23-28

Implications and Conclusions

My model also suggests some future directions along which institutional entrepreneurship theory can develop further. One of these directions is the incorporation of creativity theories to develop propositions. My model suggests several possibilities.

First, my emphasis on the role of conversion and conviction relates to models of creativity which emphasize intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. Much creativity theory rests on empirical evidence that suggests that intrinsic motivation is more powerful than extrinsic motivation in producing truly creative outcomes (Collins & Amabile, 1999). My emphasis on conviction and the self-sacrificing effort it produces suggests one reason why this may be so. Also, like my model and examples, some creativity theory takes a long-term or career-oriented perspective on creative work (Gruber & Wallace, 1999; Policastro & Gardner, 1999).

Creativity theory also differentiates between work that exhibits mastery of existing forms and creative work that creates new forms and therefore irrevocably alters the domain in which the creative work is done. Policastro & Gardner (1999) write that truly creative work influences all subsequent work within its domain. By this definition the works of all four of the institutional entrepreneurs in my examples are creative in the domain-altering sense. The language of Policastro & Gardner bears striking resemblances to the language of institutional change (cf. Holm, 1995), and suggests a conceptual relationship between domain-altering creative work and that done by institutional entrepreneurs.

Finally, taking a philosophical approach to the problem of creative work, Michael Polanyi (1959; 1967) writes that the extension of an existing domain of knowledge is necessarily a function of tacit knowledge originating in the mind and body of an individual. He describes the process of creativity and knowledge extension as one in which the creator employs tools and structures of any number of forms to externalize this tacit knowledge. It remains a promising future opportunity to investigate how Polanyi's conception informs the work of institutional entrepreneurs of the type I have studied here.

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Figure 1: Detail of a Personnel Timeline Developed from Acts

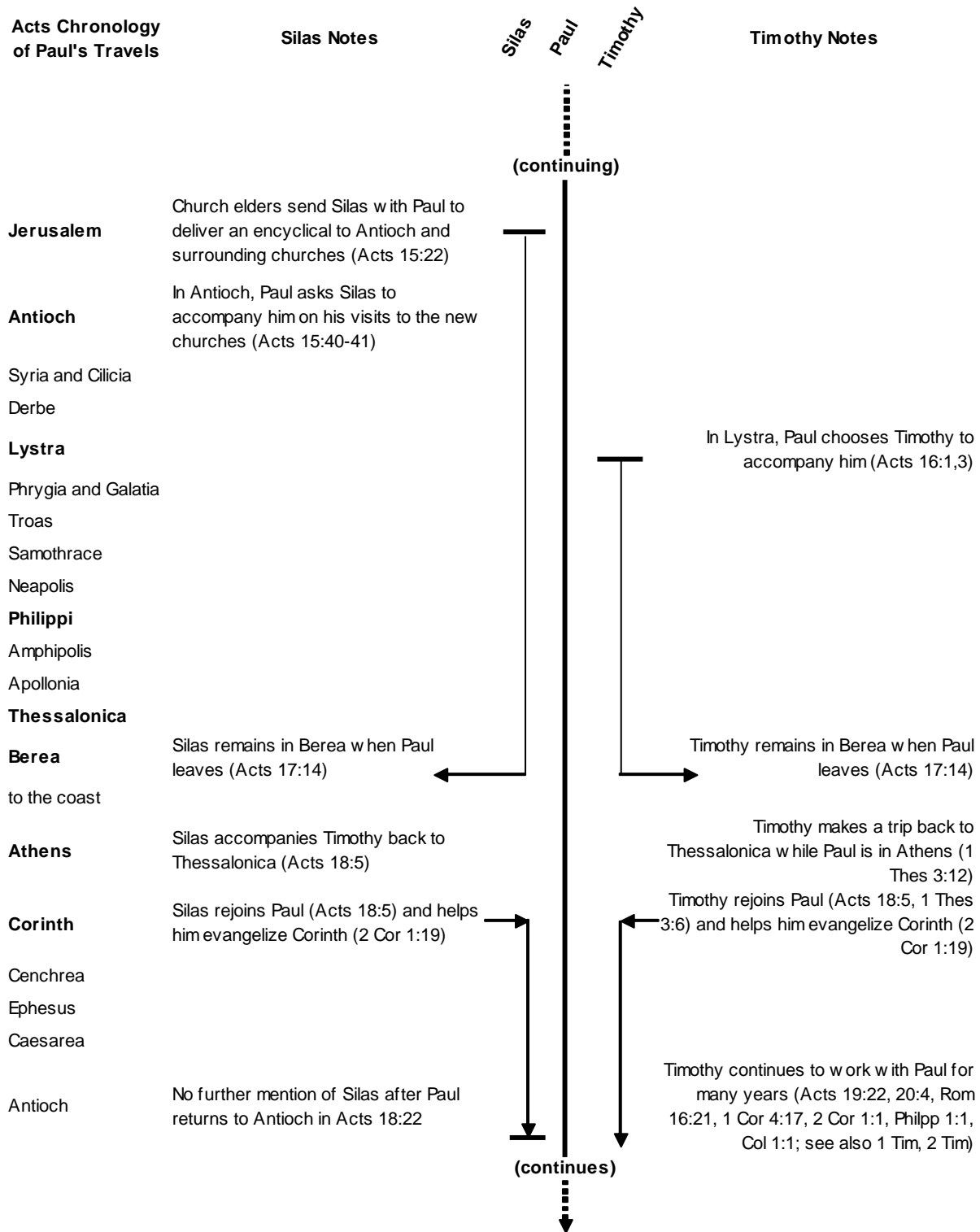| Acts Chronology of Paul's Travels	Silas Notes	Silas	Paul	Timothy	Timothy Notes
			(continuing)		
Jerusalem	Church elders send Silas with Paul to deliver an encyclical to Antioch and surrounding churches (Acts 15:22)				
Antioch	In Antioch, Paul asks Silas to accompany him on his visits to the new churches (Acts 15:40-41)				
Syria and Cilicia					
Derbe					
Lystra					In Lystra, Paul chooses Timothy to accompany him (Acts 16:1,3)
Phrygia and Galatia					
Troas					
Samothrace					
Neapolis					
Philippi					
Amphipolis					
Apollonia					
Thessalonica					
Berea	Silas remains in Berea when Paul leaves (Acts 17:14)				Timothy remains in Berea when Paul leaves (Acts 17:14)
to the coast					
Athens	Silas accompanies Timothy back to Thessalonica (Acts 18:5)				Timothy makes a trip back to Thessalonica while Paul is in Athens (1 Thes 3:12)
Corinth	Silas rejoins Paul (Acts 18:5) and helps him evangelize Corinth (2 Cor 1:19)				Timothy rejoins Paul (Acts 18:5, 1 Thes 3:6) and helps him evangelize Corinth (2 Cor 1:19)
Cenchrea					
Ephesus					
Caesarea					
Antioch	No further mention of Silas after Paul returns to Antioch in Acts 18:22				Timothy continues to work with Paul for many years (Acts 19:22, 20:4, Rom 16:21, 1 Cor 4:17, 2 Cor 1:1, Philpp 1:1, Col 1:1; see also 1 Tim, 2 Tim)
			(continues)		

Figure 2: A Model of Institutional Entrepreneurship Grounded in Biblical Texts of the Life and Works of Paul of Tarsus

External Threats
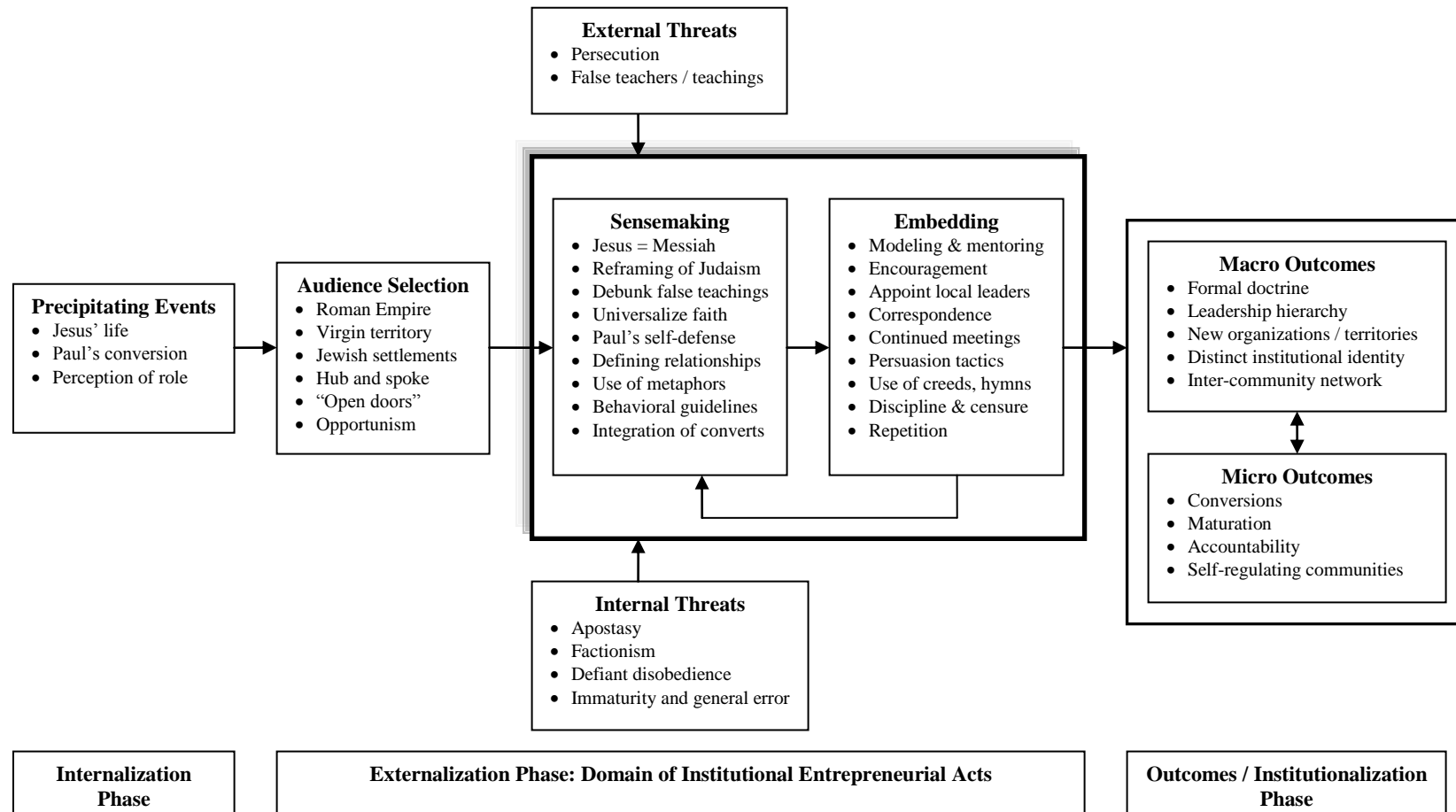- Persecution
- False teachers / teachings

Precipitating Events
- Jesus' life
- Paul's conversion
- Perception of role

Audience Selection
- Roman Empire
- Virgin territory
- Jewish settlements
- Hub and spoke
- "Open doors"
- Opportunism

Sensemaking
- Jesus = Messiah
- Reframing of Judaism
- Debunk false teachings
- Universalize faith
- Paul's self-defense
- Defining relationships
- Use of metaphors
- Behavioral guidelines
- Integration of converts

Embedding
- Modeling & mentoring
- Encouragement
- Appoint local leaders
- Correspondence
- Continued meetings
- Persuasion tactics
- Use of creeds, hymns
- Discipline & censure
- Repetition

Macro Outcomes
- Formal doctrine
- Leadership hierarchy
- New organizations / territories
- Distinct institutional identity
- Inter-community network

Micro Outcomes
- Conversions
- Maturation
- Accountability
- Self-regulating communities

Internal Threats
- Apostasy
- Factionism
- Defiant disobedience
- Immaturity and general error

Internalization Phase

Externalization Phase: Domain of Institutional Entrepreneurial Acts

Outcomes / Institutionalization Phase

Table 1: Biblical Texts Used in this Study

Text	Length in words*	Title of Biblical Book	Abbreviated Title	Author(s)	Recipient
chronicles of the early Christian church and its apostles	24,029	Acts	Acts	Luke	NA
the letter to the church in Rome	10,604	Romans	Rom	Paul	church
the first letter to the church in Corinth	10,361	1 Corinthians	1 Cor	Paul and Sosthenes	church
the second letter to the church in Corinth	6,531	2 Corinthians	2 Cor	Paul and Timothy	church
the letter to the Galatian churches	3,396	Galatians	Gal	Paul and "all the brothers"	church
the letter to the church in Ephesus	3,266	Ephesians	Eph	Paul	church
the letter to the church in Philippi	2,359	Philippians	Philpp	Paul and Timothy	church
the letter to the church in Colosse	2,184	Colossians	Col	Paul and Timothy	church
the first letter to the church in Thessalonica	2,000	1 Thessalonians	1 Thes	Paul, Silas, and Timothy	church
the second letter to the church in Thessalonica	1,155	2 Thessalonians	2 Thes	Paul, Silas, and Timothy	church
the first letter to Timothy	2,528	1 Timothy	1 Tim	Paul	apprentice
the second letter to Timothy	1,775	2 Timothy	2 Tim	Paul	apprentice
the letter to Titus	1,033	Titus	Titus	Paul	apprentice
the letter to Philemon	485	Philemon	Philmn	Paul and Timothy	church member

* these figures represent the number of English words in the *New International Version* (NIV) of the Bible

Table 2: Examples from Paul's Correspondence of his commentary on various relationships

Relationships	Emphasis*	Illustrations from Paul's Correspondence
between Jew and Gentile converts to Christianity	unity	"You are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal 3:26-28 "For he . . . has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility. . .His purpose was to create in himself one new man out of the two, thus making peace, and in this one body to reconcile both of them to God through the cross, by which he put to death their hostility." Eph 2:14-16
between believers and non-believers in general	separation	"Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols?" 2 Cor 6:14-16
between household servants and masters	mutual respect	"Slaves, obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart, just as you would obey Christ. Obey them not only to win their favor when their eye is on you, but like slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from your heart. Serve wholeheartedly, as if you were serving the Lord, not men, because you know that the Lord will reward everyone for whatever good he does, whether he is slave or free. And masters, treat your slaves in the same way. Do not threaten them, since you know that he who is both their Master and yours is in heaven, and there is no favoritism with him." Eph 6:5-9
between church members and church leaders	honor	"The elders who direct the affairs of the church well are worthy of double honor, especially those whose work is preaching and teaching. For the Scripture says, 'Do not muzzle the ox while it is treading out the grain,' and 'The worker deserves his wages.' Do not entertain an accusation against an elder unless it is brought by two or three witnesses." 1 Tim 5:17-19
between believers and governing authorities	submission	"Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. . .Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also because of conscience. This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God's servants, who give their full time to governing." Rom 13:1,5-6
between believers and their possessions	detachment and generosity	"Command those who are rich in this present world not to be arrogant nor to put their hope in wealth, which is so uncertain, but to put their hope in God, who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment. Command them to do good, to be rich in good deeds, and to be generous and willing to share. In this way they will lay up treasure for themselves as a firm foundation for the coming age, so that they may take hold of the life that is truly life." 1 Tim 6:17-19
between believers with differing convictions on disputable matters	acceptance and non-condemnation	"Accept [each other] without passing judgment on disputable matters. One man's faith allows him to eat everything, but another man . . . eats only vegetables. The man who eats everything must not look down on him who does not, and the man who does not eat everything must not condemn the man who does, for God has accepted him. Who are you to judge someone else's servant? To his own master he stands or falls. . .Therefore let us stop passing judgment on one another. Instead, make up your mind not to put any stumbling block or obstacle in your brother's way." Rom 14:1-4,13

* In the selected passages only. On some topics Paul modifies his position as he deems appropriate for a given context.

Table 2 (continued):

Relationships	Emphasis*	Illustrations from Paul's Correspondence
between believers in good standing and those who are disobedient or disruptive	disassociation	"If anyone does not obey our instruction in this letter, take special note of him. Do not associate with him, in order that he may feel ashamed. Yet do not regard him as an enemy, but warn him as a brother." 2 Thes 3:14-15 "Warn a divisive person once, and then warn him a second time. After that, have nothing to do with him. You may be sure that such a man is warped and sinful; he is self-condemned." Titus 3:10-11 "I have written you in my letter not to associate with sexually immoral people–not at all meaning the people of this world who are immoral, or the greedy and swindlers, or idolaters. In that case you would have to leave this world. But now I am writing you that you must not associate with anyone who calls himself a brother but is sexually immoral or greedy, an idolater or a slanderer, a drunkard or a swindler. With such a man do not even eat." 1 Cor 5:9-11
among believers in general	honesty, forgiveness, compassion, equality	"Therefore each of you must put off falsehood and speak truthfully to his neighbor, for we are all members of one body. 'In your anger do not sin': Do not let the sun go down while you are still angry, and do not give the devil a foothold. He who has been stealing must steal no longer, but must work, doing something useful with his own hands, that he may have something to share with those in need. Do not let any unwholesome talk come out of your mouths, but only what is helpful for building others up according to their needs, that it may benefit those who listen. . . Get rid of all bitterness, rage and anger, brawling and slander, along with every form of malice. Be kind and compassionate to one another, forgiving each other, just as in Christ God forgave you." Eph 4:25-32 "Our desire is not that others might be relieved while you are hard pressed, but that there might be equality. At the present time your plenty will supply what they need, so that in turn their plenty will supply what you need. Then there will be equality, as it is written: 'He who gathered much did not have too much, and he who gathered little did not have too little.'" 2 Cor 8:13-15

* In the selected passages only. On some topics Paul modifies his position as he deems appropriate for a given context.

Table 3: Examples from Paul's correspondence of his use of metaphor as a sensemaking vehicle

Metaphor	Usage	Illustrations from Paul's Correspondence
athletics	To argue that faith requires endurance, discipline, and sacrifice	"Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown that will not last; but we do it to get a crown that will last forever." 1Corinthians 9:24-25
marriage	To liken the relationship between husband and wife to that of Christ and the Christian church	"Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her to make her holy, cleansing her by the washing with water through the word, and to present her to himself as a radiant church, without stain or wrinkle or any other blemish, but holy and blameless. 'For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.' This is a profound mystery-but I am talking about Christ and the church." Ephesians 5:25-27, 31-32
childbirth	To describe Paul's church-building efforts	"My dear children, for whom I am again in the pains of childbirth until Christ is formed in you" Gal 4:19
soldiery	In general, to describe the relationship and responsibility of the believer toward evil and hardship	"Therefore put on the full armor of God, so that when the day of evil comes, you may be able to stand your ground, and after you have done everything, to stand. Stand firm then, with the belt of truth buckled around your waist, with the breastplate of righteousness in place." Eph 6:13-14 "Endure hardship with us like a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No one serving as a soldier gets involved in civilian affairs-he wants to please his commanding officer." 2 Tim 2:3-4 "Fight the good fight of the faith." 1Tim 6:12 "The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds. We demolish arguments and every pretension that sets itself up against the knowledge of God, and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ." 2 Cor 10:4-5
vines and branches	To describe the relationship between non-Jew converts and God	". . .some of the branches have been broken off, and you, though a wild olive shoot, have been grafted in among the others and now share in the nourishing sap from the olive root" Rom 11:17
parents and children	To describe the relationship between Paul and his churches and the relationship between God and the church	"Be imitators of God, therefore, as dearly loved children" Eph 5:1 "As apostles of Christ we could have been a burden to you, but we were gentle among you, like a mother caring for her little children. . .For you know that we dealt with each of you as a father deals with his own children, encouraging, comforting and urging you to live lives worthy of God" 1 Thes 2:6-7,11-12 "Now I am ready to visit you for the third time, and I will not be a burden to you, because what I want is not your possessions but you. After all, children should not have to save up for their parents, but parents for their children. So I will very gladly spend for you everything I have and expend myself as well." 2 Cor 12:14-15 "For you did not receive a spirit that makes you a slave again to fear, but you received the Spirit of sonship. And by him we cry, 'Abba, Father.' The Spirit himself testifies with our spirit that we are God's children." Rom 8:15-16

Table 3 (continued) Examples from Paul's correspondence of his use of metaphor as a sensemaking vehicle

Metaphor	Usage	Illustrations from Paul's Correspondence
seeds and growth	To describe Paul's evangelism and the process of maturation in the faith	"I planted the seed, Apollos watered it, but God made it grow. So neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but only God, who makes things grow. The man who plants and the man who waters have one purpose, and each will be rewarded according to his own labor. For we are God's fellow workers; you are God's field" 1Cor 3:6-9
veils and blindness	To describe the state of unbelievers	"The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers, so that they cannot see the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God." 2 Cor 4:4 ". . .for to this day the same veil remains when the old covenant is read. It has not been removed, because only in Christ is it taken away. . .But whenever anyone turns to the Lord, the veil is taken away." 2 Cor 3:14,16
aroma and fragrance	To describe the effect of Paul's message on people	"But thanks be to God, who always leads us in triumphal procession in Christ and through us spreads everywhere the fragrance of the knowledge of him. For we are to God the aroma of Christ among those who are being saved and those who are perishing. To the one we are the smell of death; to the other, the fragrance of life. And who is equal to such a task?" 2 Cor 2:14-16
citizenship	To explain the relationship between believers and God	"Consequently, you are no longer foreigners and aliens, but fellow citizens with God's people and members of God's household" Eph 2:19 "But our citizenship is in heaven" Philpp 3:20
light and darkness	To contrast the lives of believers with those of unbelievers	"For you were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord. Live as children of light (for the fruit of the light consists in all goodness, righteousness and truth) and find out what pleases the Lord. Have nothing to do with the fruitless deeds of darkness, but rather expose them. For it is shameful even to mention what the disobedient do in secret. But everything exposed by the light becomes visible" Eph 5:8-13
building construction	To describe the work done by apostles like Paul	"By the grace God has given me, I laid a foundation as an expert builder, and someone else is building on it. But each one should be careful how he builds. For no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ. If any man builds on this foundation using gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay or straw, his work will be shown for what it is" 1Cor 3:10-13
body and head	To describe the relationship between Christ and the church	"Instead, speaking the truth in love, we will in all things grow up into him who is the Head, that is, Christ. From him the whole body, joined and held together by every supporting ligament, grows and builds itself up in love" Eph 4:15-16 "And he is the head of the body, the church" Col 1:18
slavery and bondage	To describe the relationship of unbelievers to sin	"Don't you know that when you offer yourselves to someone to obey him as slaves, you are slaves to the one whom you obey-whether you are slaves to sin, which leads to death, or to obedience, which leads to righteousness? But thanks be to God that, though you used to be slaves to sin, you wholeheartedly obeyed the form of teaching to which you were entrusted. You have been set free from sin and have become slaves to righteousness" Rom 6:16-18 "But the Scripture declares that the whole world is a prisoner of sin, so that what was promised, being given through faith in Jesus Christ, might be given to those who believe. Before this faith came, we were held prisoners by the law, locked up until faith should be revealed" Gal 3:22-23

Table 4: A Comparison of the Formation of Four Institutions

	Early Christianity	Chiropractic Medicine	Homeschooling	Irish Traditional Music
institutional entrepreneur	Paul of Tarsus	D.D. Palmer	John Holt	Seán Ó Riada
entrepreneur background	Roman citizen, schooled in strict Pharisaic Judaism	alternative medicine practitioner	professional educator and reformer	avant garde composer; also radio, musical theatre and film scoring
date of career	c. 36 AD - c. 65 AD	1895-1913	fl. 1960s-1970s	fl. 1950s-1960s
conversion / revelation	Jesus is Messiah; worship of the God of the Jews also permissible for non-Jews	spinal column adjustment is efficacious for many symptoms previously believed to be unrelated	parents can successfully educate their own children without professional educators or state funding	Irish traditional music is a viable art form suitable for theoretical elaboration and formal presentation
formal opposition	strong	strong	strong	moderate
institutional context	Judaism, Paganism, Hellenism, Roman Empire	Western medical models; medical doctors as only legitimate caregivers	Public schooling; university-trained teachers as only legitimate provider	Foreign cultural forms (esp. US and UK); deeply-rooted inferiority complex due to centuries of colonization
new meaning structures	grand redemption narrative, doctrine, rites and rituals	new theories of illness and methodologies of treatment	individualized teaching techniques; new theories of education	music recast as a national treasure rather than vestige of backward Irish peasantry; theorization of the music
new organizations	congregations, professional clergy, regional church affiliations	clinics, schools, licensing and accrediting body, scholarly journals	conferences, co-ops, newsletters, curriculum developers	new ensemble types; professional career musicians
new industry	no	yes	yes	yes