

**Note:** This Work has been made available by the authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research and may not be copied or reproduced except as permitted by the copyright laws of Canada without the written authority from the copyright owner.

Chapman, Mark Denis. *Rebuilding the Broken Wall: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and Canadian Evangelicals*. MA, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1994.

# **Rebuilding the Broken Wall: The EFC and Canadian Evangelicals**

by

Mark Chapman  
Bachelor of Arts, University of Waterloo, 1991

## **THESIS**

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Master of Arts degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1994

© Mark D. Chapman 1994

## **Abstract**

An examination of a voluntary association of Canadian evangelicals, that is known as the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC), contributes to the growing body of knowledge concerning Canadian evangelicals. This thesis begins by indicating how the sociology of knowledge, voluntary association theory and network theory are relevant to the study of the EFC and of Canadian evangelicalism. It then discusses an alternate approach to defining evangelicals and briefly summarizes the history of Canadian evangelicals and of the EFC. Against this background the remainder of the thesis analyzes the nature of the EFC through an examination of five perceptions of the EFC (i.e. four individuals and the EFC's literature). This analysis shows how the EFC can be used as a model for understanding Canadian evangelicalism. That is, the four individual realities examined and the EFC's literature illustrate the interaction of evangelical networks and their importance in shaping, maintaining and legitimating the Canadian evangelical worldview.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many thanks to Harold Remus, my advisor, for his uncanny ability to find just the right word to get a point across and for his apparent ability to read my mind. I am also grateful to Peter Erb for his insightful comments and his efforts to help me make myself clear. Oscar Cole Arnal has been a great help in establishing the order and importance of various historical events and has also helped me by his effort to keep me grammatically correct. Gratitude is also due to my ever-present officemate, Jim Boyce, whose immortal cry "that is too academic, use simpler words" is forever ingrained in my mind. I also want to thank Tim Pigeau for proof-reading my final text to assure that I had not made too many grievous factual errors. Most of all I want to thank my wife Mary for tolerating my long hours away from home and allowing me to pursue my love of learning even when it complicates her life. It is to Mary and to my son Joshua that I dedicate this thesis.

## Table of Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>2 Theory: Sociological Ways of Viewing the World</b> .....	6
<b>2.1. The Social Construction of Reality</b> .....	6
<i>2.1.1. A Synopsis</i> .....	7
2.1.1.1 Influences on Reality	
The Process of Objectivication.....	7
2.1.1.2 Institutionalization and Objectivation.....	8
2.1.1.3 Institution Maintenance .....	9
2.1.1.4 Creation of Subuniverses and the Furthest	
Scope of Institutionalization .....	10
2.1.1.5 Legitimizing Institutions.....	11
2.1.1.6 Legitimizing Symbolic Universes	
Conceptual Machinery and Social	
Organization.....	12
2.1.1.7 Internalization by Socialization.....	13
2.1.1.8 Maintenance Structures for Socialization.....	15
2.1.1.9 Successful Socialization.....	16
2.1.1.10 The Internalization of Identity.....	17
2.1.1.11 Summary .....	17
<i>2.1.2 The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and the</i>	
<i>Social Construction of Reality</i> .....	18
2.1.2.1 General Applicability.....	18
2.1.2.2 Some Specific Examples.....	19
<b>2.2. Voluntary Associations</b> .....	21
<i>2.2.1 The Nature of Voluntary Associations</i> .....	22
2.2.1.1 The Characteristics of Associations.....	22
2.2.1.2 The Defining Characteristics of the Voluntary	
Association.....	23
2.2.1.3 Some Socio-Cultural Effects.....	24
<i>2.2.2. Relevance to the Study of the EFC</i> .....	25
<b>2.3 Networks</b> .....	26
<i>2.3.1 The Character of a Network</i> .....	26
<i>2.3.2 Relevance to the Study of the EFC</i> .....	28
<b>3 Evangelicals, the EFC, and the Search for a Defining</b>	
<b>Feature</b> .....	29
<b>3.1 Towards a More Accurate Definition of "Evangelical"</b> .....	30
<i>3.1.1 The EFC's Usage of "Evangelical"</i> .....	31
<i>3.1.2 The Historical Usage of the Term "Evangelical"</i> .....	33

3.1.3	<i>Classification Systems Used to Identify "Evangelicals"</i> .....	34
3.1.3.1	Definitions of "Evangelical" .....	36
3.1.3.2	Classification Schemes.....	38
3.1.3.3	The Polythetic Nature of Evangelicalism .....	41
3.2	<b>A Brief History of Evangelical Associations and Networks</b> .....	43
3.2.1	<i>Evangelicalism in the United States</i> .....	43
3.2.2	<i>Evangelical Interconnections in Canada</i> .....	46
3.2.2.1	Changing British Roles.....	48
3.2.2.2	The Nineteenth Century Social and Political Change.....	49
3.2.2.3	The Twentieth Century Evangelical Expansion.....	50
3.2.2.4	Postwar Canada Shifting Religious Loyalties.....	52
3.2.2.5	The 1970's and 1980's Refining the Evangelical Church.....	54
3.2.2.6	Networking into the Future.....	55
3.3	<b>The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and its Networks</b> .....	57
3.3.1	<i>Historical Background</i> .....	58
3.3.1.1	Beginnings.....	59
3.3.1.2	Expanding Associations.....	61
3.3.1.3	Legitimizing and Maintaining Networks.....	62
3.3.2	<i>Commonalities among EFC Members</i> .....	66
3.3.2.1	Shared Doctrine .....	66
3.3.2.2	Common Purposes .....	67
3.4	<b>Networks - the Unifying Feature of the EFC</b> .....	70
4	<b>Individual Socially Constructed Realities and the Networks that Produce Them</b> .....	72
4.1	<b>Brian Stiller, Executive Director of the EFC</b> .....	77
4.1.1	<i>Personal History</i> .....	77
4.1.2	<i>Reason for Involvement with the EFC</i> .....	79
4.1.3	<i>Perception of the EFC</i> .....	81
4.1.3.1	Function of the EFC.....	81
4.1.3.2	The EFC and its Constituents.....	81
4.1.3.3	Relation to Canadian Culture.....	82
4.1.3.4	Successes and Failures.....	83
4.1.3.5	Future Vision .....	84
4.2	<b>John Redekop, Past-President of the EFC</b> .....	86
4.2.1	<i>Personal History</i> .....	86

---

4.2.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC.....	87
4.2.3 Perception of the EFC.....	88
4.2.3.1 Function of the EFC.....	88
4.2.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents.....	89
4.2.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture.....	90
4.2.3.4 Successes and Failures.....	90
4.2.3.5 Future Vision .....	91
<b>4.3 Ian Rennie, Member of the EFC's General Council.....</b>	<b>92</b>
4.3.1 Personal History.....	92
4.3.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC.....	93
4.3.3 Perception of the EFC.....	94
4.3.3.1 Function of the EFC.....	94
4.3.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents.....	95
4.4.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture.....	95
4.4.3.4 Successes and Failures.....	96
4.4.3.5 Future Vision .....	97
<b>4.4 Ken Zorn, Member of the EFC's General Council .....</b>	<b>97</b>
4.4.1 Personal History.....	97
4.4.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC.....	99
4.4.3 Perception of the EFC.....	101
4.4.3.1 Function of the EFC.....	101
4.4.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents.....	101
4.4.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture.....	102
4.4.3.4 Successes and Failures.....	102
4.4.3.5 Future Vision .....	103
<b>4.5 Different Networks - Common Purpose.....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>5 The EFC's Literature and its Dialectical Worldview.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>5.1 What Does the EFC Do? .....</b>	<b>110</b>
5.1.1 Provides Resources for Members.....	111
5.1.1.1 Members and the Resources they Have Access to.....	111
5.1.1.2 The Nature of the Resources.....	114
5.1.1.3 The Function of the Resources Provided.....	117
5.1.2 Motivates Evangelicals.....	118
5.1.3 Influences Culture.....	123
<b>5.2 The EFC's Perception of Itself .....</b>	<b>126</b>
5.2.1 The EFC's Function.....	126
5.2.2 The EFC and its Constituents.....	129
5.2.2.1 Denominational and Geographic Background of EFC Members.....	130
5.2.2.2 EFC Assumptions About its Members Concerns.....	132

---

5.2.3 <i>Relation to Canadian Culture</i> .....	133
5.2.4 <i>Successes and Failures</i> .....	135
5.2.5 <i>Future Vision</i> .....	138
<b>5.3 The EFC as Protector of Evangelical Reality</b> .....	140
<b>6 Diverse Realities - One Association</b> .....	143
<b>6.1 Historical Realities</b> .....	143
6.1.1 <i>The Function of the EFC</i> .....	144
6.1.2 <i>Perceived Accomplishments</i> .....	147
6.1.3 <i>Future Vision</i> .....	150
6.1.4 <i>Shared History</i> .....	151
<b>6.2 Relational Realities</b> .....	152
6.2.1 <i>Interviewees and the EFC</i> .....	153
6.2.2 <i>The EFC and Evangelicals</i> .....	154
6.2.3 <i>The EFC and Canadian Culture</i> .....	156
<b>6.3 Shaping the Realities</b> .....	158
<b>7 Conclusion: Associated Diversity</b> .....	161
7.1 <b>Summary</b> .....	162
7.2 <b>Conclusions</b> .....	165
7.3 <b>Future Considerations</b> .....	170
<b>References</b> .....	172
1 <b>EFC-Produced Literature Consulted</b> .....	172
2 <b>Other</b> .....	174

### **List of Tables**

Table 1. Key Result Areas vs. Goals .....	111
Table 2. Protestant Church Membership by Denomination.....	131
Table 3. Protestant Population and EFC Membership by Location .....	132

### **List of Figure**

Figure 1. Hypothetical Dialectical Relationships Illustrating EFC Networks.....	169
--	-----

## Introduction

In October of 1993 the first book devoted entirely to Canadian evangelicalism was published (Stackhouse 1993a). Until that point there had been no comprehensive scholarly work on evangelicalism in Canada. Indeed, most studies ignored Canadian evangelicalism altogether or assumed that it was roughly the same as American evangelicalism.<sup>1</sup> Canadian Evangelicals continue to be characterized as a group on the fringes of Canadian society, much like the extreme fundamentalist groups of the United States. However, Canadian evangelical culture differs significantly from American evangelical culture and consequently the many excellent studies of evangelical Christianity in the United States cannot be applied directly to Canadian Evangelicals.

Evangelical Christianity in Canada is slowly becoming a significant component of Canadian culture. Although so-called mainline churches continue to have the allegiance of a significantly larger percentage of the

---

<sup>1</sup> In Ellingsen's 1988 book The Evangelical Movement, for example, Canadian Evangelicals are not considered to be significant enough to warrant separate attention. The subject index has a citation for Caribbean Evangelicals but not for Canadian Evangelicals. This is not to discount some of the excellent studies of evangelicalism and Canadian religion that are relevant to the study of modern day evangelicals but do not deal with it directly. For example, Richard Allen's The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (1971) and Michael Gauvreau's The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (1991).

Canadian population, "more Canadians who actually practiced Christianity in measurable ways [can] be counted among the evangelicals" (Stackhouse 1993a:3). Stackhouse goes on to illustrate this by noting that evangelicals currently run the two largest seminaries in the country, currently send out a significantly larger number of missionaries, have more successful children's clubs, dominate religious broadcasting and have a larger number of Canadians attending their churches than the mainline churches (Stackhouse 1993a:3-5)<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, a recent study by George Rawlyk of Queens University shows that "up to 15 percent of Canadians . . . call themselves evangelical" (Swift 1993:21).

Evangelicals at present hold prominent places of influence in Canadian culture. Prominent Evangelicals include Preston Manning, the leader of the Reform party, Brian Stiller, the Executive Director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and John Redekop, a professor at Wilfrid Laurier University. Canadian evangelicals have begun to interact with Canadian society in new and more obvious ways. They have appeared on Peter Gzowski's daily radio show on the CBC (Faith Alive November 1985:55) on the TV show Prime Time America (Faith Today January/February 1994:56) and run their own TV and radio programs (e.g. Crosscurrents on Vision TV and the daily radio broadcasts of the evangelical pro-family group, Focus on the Family).

In spite of such evidence, Evangelicals appear to be almost invisible in the popular media;<sup>3</sup> unfortunately this is also true in the academic world.

---

<sup>2</sup> These indicators cannot be taken to suggest that evangelical churches are either more vibrant, more significant or closer to "true" Christianity than the mainline churches. What these data do indicate is that evangelicals have become prominent in some of those areas that were traditionally considered to be the foundation of a healthy church and that evangelicals are having an increased impact on Canadians. This suggests a shift in the religious climate of Canada that is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss.

<sup>3</sup> Both the Canadian News Index 1992 and the Canadian Periodical Index 1992 have a section that covers evangelicals but neither of them had more than 20 articles listed and many of these were in denominational or other religious publications.

Recently several scholars have conducted studies that provide a closer look at Canadian evangelicalism (Bibby 1987, 1993; Stackhouse 1993a, 1993b; Rawlyk 1990a, Rawlyk has also commissioned an as yet unpublished survey<sup>4</sup>). Nevertheless, significant aspects of the evangelical community in Canada have not been studied. John Stackhouse's book and articles on Evangelicalism fill in many of the general historical details and survey many of its main organizations. Bibby and Rawlyk have assembled some excellent statistical information on evangelicals in Canada, and others have examined specific organizations or denominations using historical methods. Yet to be done is an examination of some of the sociological questions surrounding Canadian evangelicalism. Why have certain organizations developed, what contributes to their character, why are they maintained, and who is maintaining them? This thesis will address such questions to a particular evangelical organization.

The organization I have chosen to study has 27 employees, a budget of over \$2,000,000 and a history stretching back to 1968. It is a transdenominational voluntary association that claims to speak for at least 1.7 million evangelicals<sup>5</sup> as it attempts to build evangelical consensus towards common goals in Canadian culture. This organization is the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC). The only scholarly studies of the EFC that are currently available are a historical study and a comparison of the EFC with the National Association of Evangelicals in the United States (Stackhouse 1993a,

---

<sup>4</sup> Some of his findings have been published in the April 12, 1993 issue of Maclean's and the July/August 1993 issue of Faith Today.

<sup>5</sup> This number is the total membership of the member denominations of the EFC. Brian Stiller and Reginald Bibby estimate that evangelicals constitute approximately 10% of the Canadian population whereas a recent Angus-Reid poll places that number at 15% of Canadians, which would be 2.5 - 3 million people (Interview with Brian Stiller). See Stackhouse 1993b for a discussion of the degree to which the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada represents Canadian Evangelicals.

1993b). The EFC is a much more complicated organization than can be appropriately covered by a single scholar in two works. The objective of this paper is to expand the body of knowledge on the EFC to make it more intelligible to Evangelicals and non-evangelicals alike. I am attempting to give some insight into why the EFC is the way it is. To do this I have chosen to examine the "realities" of several people who are involved with the EFC and then, using this information and historical research, I will examine what these people's personal "realities" tell us about the EFC.

Chapter two is an examination of the theoretical concepts used in collecting and analyzing the primary data for this paper. The main theories examined are the relevant sections of Berger and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality (1966) and the concepts of voluntary association, and network. This chapter will explain why these theories are useful for the study of the EFC and how these theories will be used to analyze the EFC. Chapter three will define the usage of the term "evangelical" in this thesis and will briefly describe the history of Evangelicals in Canada and the history of the EFC. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a context for later discussion of the effect of personal worldviews on the EFC and the effect of the EFC on personal worldviews. Chapter four will examine the constructed worlds of the four individuals interviewed with an eye to determining how their worldviews have affected their involvement with the EFC. Chapter five examines the picture of the EFC's world that arises from an examination of their own literature. Chapter six compares the five world views examined previously (i.e. four individuals and the EFC's literature) and comments on the reasons for differences and similarities between them with a view to understanding how these various worldviews have shaped and been shaped by the EFC.

Through an examination of the relevant theory, history and relationships, this thesis will provide new information about the EFC, a sociological analysis of the relation between individuals and groups in the EFC, an explanation of how the EFC can be used as a model to understand Canadian evangelicals and proposes an alternate way of defining "evangelicals".

## **Theory: Sociological Ways of Viewing the World**

### **2.1. The Social Construction of Reality**

One of the most significant treatments of the sociology of knowledge in the latter half of this century is Berger and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality. It was Berger and Luckmann who swung the sociology of knowledge away from functionalist and positivistic conceptions of the discipline. And it was Berger and Luckmann who most strongly highlighted the relevance of the sociology of knowledge to the sociology of religion. It is not possible to capture all the nuances of Berger and Luckmann's theory in this short chapter; therefore this chapter will content itself with providing a brief synopsis of the sections of the argument that are relevant to the study of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC). This will include sections that are not directly applicable to the EFC to illustrate the flow of Berger and Luckmann's argument and the pertinence of their theory to the EFC. Rather than simplifying Berger and Luckmann's terminology, I have chosen to use it because it allows some complicated concepts to be summarized in a single word or phrase. Significant terms have been defined throughout the body of this chapter.

### 2.1.1. A Synopsis<sup>1</sup>

The reality that Berger and Luckmann are concerned about is not philosophical reality, rather it is the reality of everyday life as taken for granted by the common person (1966:19). This reality originates in, and is maintained by thought and action (1966:20). It is that which is considered self-evident to the individual and is the standard to which competing realities are compared. Restrictions on this reality are imposed primarily by biology and society (e.g. death, schedules) (1966:27).

#### 2.1.1.1 Influences on Reality: The Process of Objectivication

This reality of everyday life is influenced by elements of the social world that are inherent to everyday life (e.g. relationships). Reality is shared by others and is apprehended according to typification schemes (i.e. patterns we use to classify people) (1966:28,30). These typifications become progressively more or less anonymous depending on the amount of actual contact one has with with people being classified; moreover this contact can alter these typifications (1966:31) . Social structure can be said to be "the sum total of these typifications and of the recurrent patterns of interaction established by means of them" (1966:33).

Objectivication occurs when the products of human activity become understood as a reality "external to and other than" its producers (Berger 1967:4). Reality is possible because of human objectivations (1966:35). For example, symbols and signs (the most important of which is language) are not possible without objectivication (1966:37). Language is a good example of how objectivication takes place. Reality is affected by language which allows "human

---

<sup>1</sup> All references are to Berger and Luckman (1966), unless otherwise noted.

expressivity" to be objectivated (1966:34ff). Language originates in the "face-to-face" situation but can be detached from that situation and can serve to preserve meaning and experience over time (1966:37). Language is also reciprocal; it acts back on those who create it and imposes patterns upon them (1966:38) and it "builds up classification schemes to differentiate objects" (1966:41). This leads to a common stock of knowledge much of which is knowledge of established patterns (1966:41,42). This knowledge is socially distributed because everyone cannot know everything (1966:46).

Thus the personally controlled social relations of people become their "unchangeable" objectivated reality. That is, the interactions of the social world appear to its producers as having a reality of their own. The structure and activities of the culture or organization are no longer recognized as products of human construction and are perceived as having an existence independent of and not changeable by the human activity that originally produced it.

#### 2.1.1.2 Institutionalization and Objectivation

The process by which society comes to be seen as objective reality can be called institutionalization. Institutionalization begins with the interrelations of individual people that make up a given society. The process of becoming human takes place in relationship with one's environment; humans have no instinctually organized environments (1966:47,48). That is, there is no "human nature" that biologically determines socio-cultural formations. Humans produce themselves as "a subjectively and objectively recognizable identity" in a social context (1966:49,50,51). Therefore social order exists only as an ongoing human production. This ongoing human activity is subject to habitualization (i.e. any act, repeated frequently, that becomes a pattern that can be

reproduced with little effort and recognized as that pattern) (1966:53). "Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions" by the members of a particular group (1966:54). Institutions come to "imply historicity and control" in their usual manifestations as collectivities containing large numbers of people (1966:54,55). The historicity of this institutional world causes it to be experienced as an objective reality (1966:60). Humans produce a world that is experienced "as something other than a social product" (1966:61). This institutionalization and objectivation produces a dialectical relationship: "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality." Humans are social products (1966:61).

This humanly created institutional world needs some form of legitimation and social control to sustain it (1966:61,62). Thus every institution develops or acquires a body of knowledge that supplies the "institutionally appropriate rules of conduct"; deviation from which is considered to be a departure from reality (1966:65,66).

### 2.1.1.3 Institution Maintenance

This artificially created institution is sustained through the process of sedimentation. Human experiences that are retained in consciousness become sedimented; that is, they are established in memory as "recognizable and memorable" objects (1966:67). This happens intersubjectively, that is, shared experiences become part of the common stock of knowledge allowing them to be transmitted through history (1966:68). Both knowing and not knowing come to refer to what is socially defined as reality (1966:70).

The roles individuals take on also contribute to the construction and maintenance of the institutional order. "By playing roles, the individual

participates in a social world. By internalizing these roles, the same world becomes subjectively real to him [or her]" (1966:74). As the common stock of knowledge contains the "standards of role performance," all members of that social world can be held responsible for abiding by these standards (1966:74). These roles, through the process of "habitualization and objectivation," contribute to the creation and maintenance of institutions (1966:74). Roles also serve as "mediators of specific sectors of the common stock of knowledge," a process which leads to the rise of specialists (1966:76,77).

#### 2.1.1.4 Creation of Subuniverses and the Furthest Scope of Institutionalization

The scope of institutionalization depends on the degree to which relevance structures are shared (1966:80). Relevance structures are those aspects of an individual's reality that are most germane to that individual's pragmatic interests and situation in life (1966:45). Increasing division of labour and economic surplus makes it possible for people to engage in activities not directly related to subsistence; this reduces the degree to which relevance structures are shared and that in turn reduces the scope of institutionalization (1966:81). This leads to the possibility of deinstitutionalization and institutional segmentation, that is, "socially segregated subuniverses of meaning" (1966:81-85). These subuniverses can then act back on the individuals that make them up since "the relationship between knowledge and its social base is a dialectical one, that is, knowledge is a social product *and* knowledge is a factor in social change" (1966:87). These subuniverses have their own problems of legitimation (e.g. outsiders must be kept out and insiders kept in). This can be dealt with through "intimidation, rational and irrational propaganda . . . mystification and . . . the manipulation of prestige symbols" (1966:87). Further

problems can develop when institutions and subuniverses change at different rates (e.g. a feudal society with a modern army) (1966:88).

The furthest scope of institutionalization is known as reification, which is "the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things" (1966:89); that is, the apprehension of the social world as a preexistent non-humanly constructed reality. However, there are social forces that lead to dereification and for this reason institutions need some form of legitimation (1966:90-92).

#### 2.1.1.5 Legitimizing Institutions

Legitimation is needed to maintain institutions once they have been established. The establishment of the symbolic universe is the main legitimating construct. The crusade to legitimate institutions is motivated by the desire for integration (i.e. "the totality of the institutional order should make sense") and by the need to pass the institutional order to a new generation by "ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings" (1966:92,93).

This legitimation has different levels: incipient legitimation (e.g. "this is how things are done"), theoretical propositions (e.g. proverbs, moral maxims, wise sayings), and explicit theories (e.g. making use of a "differentiated body of knowledge") (1966:94,95). A fourth level is the symbolic universe, which is the strongest of these legitimations. It serves to order the different phases of biography, to protect against terror, to provide social significance and to order history (1966:99-103). "Symbolic universes are the furthest reaches of human projections of [one's] own externalized meanings into reality" (1966:104). Therefore, legitimation is best accomplished through the establishment and maintenance of symbolic universes.

#### 2.1.1.6 Legitimizing Symbolic Universes: Conceptual Machinery and Social Organization

Although the establishment of a symbolic universe presupposes theoretical reflection, its inhabitants can live in it naively (1966:104). When problems arise they are assumed to be with the institutional order, not with the symbolic universe (1966:104). Nevertheless, since all institutional orders are human constructions socialization is never completely successful; therefore symbolic universes must also be legitimated when they become problematic (1966:105,106).<sup>2</sup> Opposing viewpoints must be repressed, that repression justified and the official version maintained; one's own universe must be proved superior (1966:106,108). The success of these efforts is often related to the power of those who maintain them (1966:108). The conceptual machinery used to do this includes mythology, theology and philosophical/scientific theory (1966:110-112). Methods of using this machinery include therapy to keep "actual or potential deviants within the institutionalized definitions of reality" and nihilation to "liquidate conceptually everything *outside*" the universe (1966:112-114). The symbolic universe must be made to encompass the totality of everything the individual experiences as reality (1966:116).

In addition to conceptual machinery, universe-maintenance requires social organization. "Because they are historical products of human activity, all socially constructed universes change, and the change is brought about by the concrete actions of human beings" (1966:116). Change arises as complex forms of knowledge and economic surplus produce experts and intellectuals (i.e. experts "whose expertise is not wanted by society at large") (1966:126) who

---

<sup>2</sup> This is not to suggest that symbolic universes have no basis in empirical reality. Nevertheless, whatever their basis, their structures are human constructions.

become increasingly removed from the "pragmatic necessities of everyday life" (1966:117). This leads to social conflict between experts and practitioners and between rival experts (1966:118). The experts come to hold a monopoly "over all ultimate definitions of reality in a society" and rival definitions of reality are liquidated or integrated into the tradition (1966:121). The result is a high degree of social-structural stability (1966:122). "When a particular definition of reality comes to be attached to a concrete power interest, it may be called an ideology" which is often taken on primarily because it is conducive to the interests of the group (1966:123,124). Pluralism results when a shared core universe and "different partial universes [coexist] in a state of mutual accommodation" (1966:125). This presupposes a high level of division of labour, differentiation in social structure and economic surplus (1966:125). However, pluralism may lead to isolated sects or revolution (1966:127). A society may be organized by experts and intellectuals but it is often defined by the conflict among that society's various groups. Theories legitimate existing social institutions, but social institutions can also be changed to bring them into line with existing theories (1966:128).

#### 2.1.1.7 Internalization by Socialization

Socially constructed reality is not only legitimated to maintain symbolic universes, it is also internalized by the individual person. Internalization for the individual is a device for understanding other people and for apprehending the world as a meaningful social reality (1966:130). This involves socialization, which is the "comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or sector of it" (1966:130). Worlds are both mediated and modified by those who communicate them (1966:131). This

communication is important in both primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization is the initial process of induction in childhood and secondary socialization is anything subsequent to that (1966:130). Primary socialization is the most effective because it takes place in a highly emotional environment (1966:131). The self is a reflected identity, and it learns from interaction with its environment to internalize its world as the world; logically the contents of the self may vary from society to society (1966:132,134,135). This socialization process must be continual because "no individual internalizes the totality of what is objectivated as reality" in their society (1966:134). The process of primary socialization ends when "the concept of the generalized other [an understanding of the behaviors that are appropriate because everyone does them] . . . has been established in the consciousness of the individual" (1966:133, 137). This process of primary socialization is replaced by secondary socialization.

Secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional "subworlds" (1966:138). Secondary socialization must always deal with an already formed self and an already internalized world (1966:140). It needs only a limited amount of identification to be successful (some change results when the individual realizes that their world is not the only one); however, it also takes little to undo secondary socialization (1966:141,142). Primary socialization is taken for granted, but secondary socialization must be reinforced by pedagogic techniques. The better a continuity between the original world and the new world is established, the more readily the new world acquires the accent of reality (1966:143). These techniques may require an intensification process (e.g. initiation), variations in which depend on the degree of commitment required (1966:146). The same institution can proceed from primary to

secondary socialization or secondary socialization can undermine primary socialization (1966:146).

#### 2.1.1.8 Maintenance Structures for Socialization

Socialization is never complete, therefore maintenance structures must be established to guard against threats to subjective reality. Primary socialization is deemed successful if it is apprehended as inevitable, but this inevitability is threatened by the marginal situations of life (1966:147). Secondary socializations are more threatened by changing definitions of reality than by marginal situations which are usually irrelevant to them (e.g. death is more relevant to one's identity as a human than one's identity as a grocery clerk) (1966:148). The realities of everyday life maintain themselves by being embodied in routines and reaffirmed by interaction with others (1966:149). Therefore the most important vehicle of reality-maintenance is consistent and continual conversation with others, which serves to maintain and modify one's reality (1966:152,153). The disruption of significant conversation with the mediators of the plausibility structure can threaten subjective realities that socialization seeks to establish (1966:155).

Subjective reality is also maintained by sanctions (e.g. ridicule). These sanctions often become more explicit and intensive in a crisis situation (1966:155,156). However, they are not always successful, and subjective reality can be transformed by social process (1966:155,156). Near total transformation is called alternation, can only be maintained within community and requires re-socialization. Re-socialization is similar to primary socialization but must dismantle the preceding nomic (meaning) structure (1966:157). The new plausibility structure must displace all others. This is often accomplished

through segregation and conversation with new significant others. The new reality must legitimate the stages by which it is appropriated and maintained, "and the abandonment or repudiation of all alternative realities" and may involve a reinterpretation of past realities (1966:158-160).

To be successful socialization must make use of maintenance structures such as conversation, integration with a community and sanctions.

#### 2.1.1.9 Successful Socialization

"Socialization always takes place in the context of a specific social structure" (1966:163). Successful socialization entails a high degree of "symmetry between objective and subjective reality." However, either totally successful or totally unsuccessful socialization is rare (1966:163). Success is more probable if the society has a very simple division of labour and minimal distribution of knowledge. Unsuccessful socialization is usually the result of biographical accident that often produces stigmatization (e.g. "cripple," "bastard," "idiot," as Berger and Luckmann express it) but has only a limited effect on the rest of the world because it lacks a social base (1966:164,165). Counter-definitions of reality and identity result when individuals get together in socially durable groups. If they are large enough and durable enough they may create their own plausibility structure (1966:66). Unsuccessful socialization can also result from different significant others peddling different worlds during primary socialization (e.g. two cultures) or when there is a discrepancy between primary and secondary socialization (1966:167-171). Discrepant worlds can be internalized without identifying with them, therefore the possibility of using a reality in a manipulative manner for a specific purpose always exists (1966:172). This must be understood in the social-structural context that follows

from the social division of labour and the social distribution of knowledge (1966:173).

#### 2.1.1.10 The Internalization of Identity

As social context is important in discussions of internalization, so also are theories of identity. Identity is in a dialectical relationship with society; it is formed by social processes and it in turn modifies these social processes. Specific social structures lead to specific observable and verifiable identity types (1966:174). Theories about identity are embedded in more comprehensive theories about reality (1966:175). "Psychological status is relative to the social definitions of reality in general and is itself socially defined" (1966:176). "Radical changes in social structure . . . may result in changes in the psychological reality" (1966:179). There is always a dialectic between psychological theory and the phenomena it purports to explain (1966:176). There is also a dialectic between nature and society manifest in the "*mutual limitation of organism and society*" (e.g. longevity, sexuality, nutrition) (1966:180).

#### 2.1.1.11 Summary

Everyday reality becomes objectivated in the process of living. Institutionalization occurs when society and one's role in society come to be seen as objective reality. These institutions must be legitimated through the universe maintenance structure of socialization. Yet the division of labour, the social distribution of knowledge and economic surplus can lead to diversified meanings which congeal into subuniverses with their own legitimating structures.

### *2.1.2 The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and the Social Construction of Reality*

The purpose of this section is not to analyze the EFC in terms of its socially constructed reality but rather, to show how the social construction of reality is relevant to the study of the EFC.

#### 2.1.2.1 General Applicability

On a basic level Berger and Luckmann's theory is applicable because of the reality of everyday life. The EFC, like people and groups generally, takes the world we live in for granted; as a self-evident reality. This, of course, is not a significant argument in favour of using this theory over any other, as this feature is common to most sociological theories. However, it does illustrate the rootedness of the social construction of reality in the experiences of all individuals and organizations. The EFC would agree that social interaction is crucial to the construction and maintenance of reality and it would acknowledge that language is one of the primary ways this is done (note the large volume of written material they produce and the time they devote to public presentations). Yet these too are facets of reality that are characteristic of most sociological theories. However the EFC does fit Berger and Luckmann's typification of institutions. It is a collective held together by typified actions; even as it is a voluntary association composed of institutions, and individuals.

However, the EFC does take on some of the institutional characteristics of its member institutions. It attempts to legitimate its chosen worldview. It considers its worldview to be "reality" and any departure from it to be an aberration. And it both shapes and is shaped by its members. Furthermore, it helps to perpetuate the language and traditions that make the shared

experiences of the evangelical community available to all Canadians with the objective of passing these shared values on to the society as a whole and to future generations. The role of Christian and the role of Canadian have been internalized by the EFC as they attempt to homogenize the two. Thus the EFC can be seen as representing (or trying to represent) a particular subuniverse within Canadian society.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the EFC and this subuniverse are in dialectical relationship with each other and with Canadian society; the EFC, Canadian evangelicals and Canadian society all act on and influence each other. As a representative of the evangelical subuniverse the EFC is actively involved in the maintenance and promotion of that subuniverse.

#### 2.1.2.2 Some Specific Examples

The social marginality of the Canadian evangelical has led to dereification. The Canadian evangelical is typically not willing to accept Canadian society as "the way things are"; rather the Canadian evangelical wants to posit a different view of reality. The EFC is perhaps the most prominent means by which that is done. The EFC defends the Canadian evangelical symbolic universe and defends its right to see things according to this symbolic universe. The EFC is an instrument in the maintenance of that symbolic universe as it attempts to illustrate the social significance of the evangelical worldview in a larger universe that increasingly rejects it.<sup>4</sup> The EFC aids in helping evangelicals to see the evangelical universe as the superior one. It

---

<sup>3</sup> Although the EFC cannot be said to speak for all Canadian Evangelicals at all times (see Stackhouse 1993b), it can be said to represent some of their commonalities and it is the only national group that represents a diversity of evangelical denominations to the political system. For these reasons the EFC will be said to represent Canadian evangelicals.

<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that all Canadian evangelicals are aware of the struggle. As with any symbolic universe some of its inhabitants live in it naively.

expresses this to its members and tries to convince the rest of the culture of it.<sup>5</sup> The EFC is also subject to the same conflict between experts and practitioners and between rival experts that other purveyors of symbolic universes face, (although the experts are often drawn from the institutions that are its members).<sup>6</sup> The EFC fights for the right to the primary socialization of its members and argues that some of its values should be incorporated into the primary socialization of society in general. Furthermore its publications work hard at secondary socialization and at maintaining and/or transforming the subjective reality of those it comes into contact with (be they members of the evangelical community or members of the Canadian community). The EFC provides the "conversation" that helps people maintain the evangelical plausibility structure and convinces outsiders of its validity. Even though the EFC did not create the social structure, it does aid in its construction and maintenance. The Canadian evangelical world is a large enough and durable enough that it can create and maintain its own plausibility structure, which contains its counter-definition of reality (or, as evangelicals would argue, the "right" definition of reality). Their identity has been formed in dialectical relationship with Canadian culture and with evangelical culture, thus it is defensible to say that their reality is socially constructed. These features show the validity of using the social construction of reality as a means of analyzing the realities of prominent people involved with the EFC and how those realities have influenced the EFC.

---

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that of the two applications of conceptual machinery commented on by Berger and Luckmann (1966:112-115), which are used to convince people of the validity of a worldview, evangelicals are partial to therapy and are less comfortable with nihilation, which is more popular in fundamentalist circles.

<sup>6</sup> For example, there are a large number of denominational executives on the EFC's general council.

## 2.2. Voluntary Associations

Evangelicals and their organizations are often referred to as movements; much as socialism and feminism are called movements. To refer to socialism and feminism as movements is to typify them as a unified whole with a common outlook and/or methodology. Such a perspective does not do justice to socialism or feminism as it glosses over the diversity within these groups and encourages a simplistic critique of the entire group based on an exaggerated version of that groups views. Similarly the tendency to view the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada as an umbrella organization that represents the unified interests of evangelicals is also inaccurate. Brian Stiller, the current Executive Director of the EFC, explains that the "EFC is not primarily an 'organization'; rather, it's an *idea*, a *voice*, a *pen*, a *forum*, for evangelicals to come together and, in a spirit of cooperation and fellowship, honestly share concerns and develop strategies for a more effective national witness" (Faith Alive November 1983:38). John Stackhouse, in his book Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century, explains that the term "fellowship" denotes "a relationship of distinct elements united by limited, if crucial, common concerns and engaging in limited common activity" (1993a:16). George Marsden describes evangelicals as "a broader movement somewhat unified by common heritages, influences, problems and tendencies and as a conscious fellowship, coalition, community, family or feudal system of friends and rivals who have some stronger sense of belonging together" (1987:66). Although this definition uses the overly vague term "movement," it can be used to describe the EFC if the term association is substituted for movement. However, these definitions are too limited to adequately describe the functioning of the EFC. The EFC is not an institution or a movement in the traditional usage of those terms. Given this, a different

metaphor is needed to describe the EFC. This section will explain how scholarship on voluntary associations provides that metaphor.

### *2.2.1 The Nature of Voluntary Associations*

The term voluntary association commonly refers to a community or service organization (e.g. a church) but can have a much broader application. The concept gives us a valuable tool for understanding the makeup of our world and of our history. James Hunt explains that history is to be understood "chiefly in terms of the appearance and interplay of various types of associations and institutions" (1966:360). He goes on to quote James Luther Adams, who says that "the voluntary association concerned with public policy is an indispensable element of the democratic society" (1966:367). These observations resemble the EFC's picture of itself and illustrate the applicability of voluntary association research to the study of the EFC.<sup>7</sup>

#### 2.2.1.1 The Characteristics of Associations

Maclver and Page have drawn up a list of characteristics that constitute associations in general. "The association normally acts through agents who are responsible for and to the association"; "the association has no interests that are not the interests of some of its members"; the association "may own property that is not simply the aggregation of individual properties" (e.g. its funds are not at the disposal of individual members); and it may possess "rights and obligations, powers and liabilities which members cannot exercise as

---

<sup>7</sup> I am admittedly putting together a definition of voluntary association that is useful for my purposes and therefore have not attempted to follow any one person's thought or theory. This is not to suggest that I have picked and chosen among the various theories for the parts that most appealed to me but rather that I have attempted to put together the various aspects of voluntary associations in a way that makes it a coherent concept for the study of the EFC.

individuals" (1949:14). In addition to this there must be some form of leadership to consolidate interests (1949:438). However, as these characteristics can apply to any association, there are some additional characteristics that transform an association into a voluntary association.

### 2.2.1.2 The Defining Characteristics of the Voluntary Association

A voluntary association is more than just a group of people spending time together of their own volition (e.g. to watch a house burn down); rather it is a group that organizes deliberately and independently around a common purpose (e.g. forming an association to fight fires). This is more than class interest as the whole problem of class conflict is based on the reality that people do not choose the class they are born into and to some degree have trouble moving from one class to another. Membership in a voluntary association must be unforced and optional.<sup>8</sup> Robertson explains that when the choices are nonexistent or trivial then pluralism becomes meaningless (1966a:25). That is, if there is no choice then an association cannot be rightly called voluntary. A voluntary association is more than an informal inter-connection; it must be united around some commonality (this is usually the reason why they came into being in the first place although not necessarily why they are maintained).<sup>9</sup> However, the expressed commonality may be different from the commonality

---

<sup>8</sup> For example, the primary education system cannot accurately be called voluntary because the state requires all children to belong to it. Thus it is only voluntary in the sense that obeying stop signs is voluntary; although an individual can choose not to participate there are sanctions related to that choice that are designed to assure participation. This does not mean that, in a voluntary association, an individual's choice is unaffected by any sort of outside force. The process of socialization assures that some will be more attracted to certain voluntary associations over others.

<sup>9</sup> Maclver and Page note that the voluntary association is formed "provided their differences outside the field of this interest [the reason for its formation] are not so strong as to prevent the partial agreement involved in its formation" (1949:437).

that actually holds it together.<sup>10</sup> Once united around that commonality they must be prepared to identify with that organization in some way (e.g. participating in meetings, donating money, etc.). This unit must then persist over time and develop some sort of organizational structure and agents (e.g. officers, constitution, by-laws, etc.). A voluntary association can be composed of individuals, groups or a combination of the two. An individual or group may, of course, belong to many such voluntary associations.

#### 2.2.1.3 Some Socio-Cultural Effects

Voluntary associations are a significant part of social culture. As such they have both positive and negative affects.

In principle, they resist a monolithic order: they stand between the individual and the state and provide a means for dispersing power and opportunities for participation. They protect the freedom to criticize, the freedom to express newly felt needs, the freedom to define the situation in a new way, and the freedom to instigate or to implement social change (Hunt 1966:370).

They also may deal with injustice, shape public opinion, and train leaders (Hunt 1966:370).

Voluntary Associations can also have negative effects. For example, they do not always provide viable integration in the community, they can be motivated by narrow class ideology rather than structural need, they can serve special interests and function narrowly as pressure groups, they are susceptible to bureaucratization and may repress minority opinions. Conflict arises in these

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, four people may be getting together for the stated purpose of playing bridge when, in fact, what keeps the bridge club going is their common marital problems which they talk about and in which they support each other.

voluntary associations when professed interests cease to be actual interests, when individual interests conflict with corporate interests and when there are alternative opinions on how to pursue interests (MacIver and Page 1949:450-451).

### *2.2.2. Relevance to the Study of the EFC*

Clearly the EFC is a voluntary association. It is a group of people gathered together voluntarily across boundaries (in this case denominational and social) for a common purpose. It exhibits all the characteristics of an association: it has an *organizational structure*, it acts through agents (the Executive Committee and the General Council), it has assets that belong to the collective, it has rights and privileges that are not accessible to its members as individuals (e.g. access to the Prime Minister) and it persists over the course of time. Furthermore, some of the goals and tasks of the EFC coincide with goals and tasks of voluntary associations in general (e.g. resisting the established order, training leaders). The EFC is also susceptible to the negative aspects of associations. For example, it has a tendency towards bureaucratization and narrow pressure-group activity. Finally it has a leader who has served to consolidate the interests of its members.

To understand the EFC it is important to examine it as a whole organization and as a conglomeration of voluntary associates. For this reason I have attempted to accumulate broad information about what the EFC does, who belongs to it and how its members relate. The aggregation of this information produces a picture of the whole organization from which it will be easier to understand and analyze its parts.

## **2.3 Networks**

Within the voluntary association is a whole complex of interrelations that bring it together and keep it together. These interrelations can be called networks. The individuals involved with the EFC are not exclusively its members; they are also members in a vast number of other associations and organizations. To get an accurate picture it is important to take into account these other connections and relationships.<sup>11</sup> The patterns of social relationships that are encountered will tell us much about the function and purpose of the EFC. Theories of network analysis are admittedly more complicated than that presented here. However, this simple definition serves the purposes of this thesis.

### *2.3.1 The Character of a Network*

At its most basic a network is the interconnection of people or groups. Networks are "a set of ties linking social system members across [and within] social categories and bounded groups" (Wellman 1988a:21). "Informal links set network apart from association. They relate the individuals in a network to one another in a way that is not necessarily congruent with, and indeed may be quite distinct from, the manner intended by the rules that constitute and regulate organizations to which they may belong" (Remus 1993:3). Networks are not exclusive. They can interconnect with other networks and can contain or be contained by other networks. Nonetheless, commonalities are fundamental to networks, "whether of kinship, social status, needs, interests, or presuppositions and beliefs . . ." (Remus 1993:4). A key distinctive of the network is that it is not

---

<sup>11</sup> For example, Brian Stiller's success as Executive Director stems, in part, from his previous involvement with Youth for Christ an international, transdenominational organization.

confined to these traditional social boundaries. Another distinctive is that the ties linking people in the network are informal. That is, they have no organizational structure that informs their relations with the other members of the network. This lack of hierarchy is one of the reasons that networks can be effective support mechanisms.

The assumption behind the network is that individuals, groups, organizations or societies are not independent from the world in which they must function. This way of observing groups is explicitly antireductionist. To fully understand a voluntary association one must examine the networks that exist within it and the networks that its various members are involved with. Although individual voluntary associations can be isolated, their members are not independent from each other or from the rest of the social world. Therefore it is important to focus on relationships more than on inner or personal attributes (e.g. you can determine more about what an organization currently is by examining the relationships among members than you can by examining the minute details of its purpose statement). As Wellman and Berkowitz explain, "the study of patterns of social relationships yields more powerful sociological explanations than the study of personal [or organizational] attributes" (1988b:16).<sup>12</sup>

Recognizing the significance of networks within voluntary associations suggests ways of examining the interrelations of individuals within these associations. Wellman and Berkowitz charge us to

seek to describe networks of relations as fully as possible, tease out prominent patterns in such networks, trace the flow of

---

<sup>12</sup> This is not to say that one cannot find anything of use by studying personal attributes or purpose statements. However, studying personal attributes tells more about the psychological than the sociological aspects of an organization or individual.

resources through them, and discover what effects they have on individuals who are or are not connected into them in specific ways (1988b:16)

### *2.3.2 Relevance to the Study of the EFC*

The main contribution of the concept of the network to the study of the EFC is to facilitate examination of the EFC in its whole complex of relational connections and not only in terms of a few of its particular interests. The many different networks that the EFC's members are involved in are significant factors in the shaping of the EFC's reality and are crucial to gaining an understanding of the EFC.

### 3

## **Evangelicals, the EFC, and the Search for a Defining Feature**

Prior to examining some of the socially constructed realities that surround the EFC it is important to discuss the EFC's historical context. An organization's history is a significant factor in the creation of its reality, as its history is one of the foundations on which its reality is constructed. A discussion of the EFC must also examine what is meant by the term "evangelical" in order to clarify exactly who the EFC's constituency is. Section 3.1 provides a working definition of the pivotal term "evangelical" that will facilitate a study of the EFC and its constituents. The EFC's self-definition of its constituency is an instructive indication of its perception of itself but it is inadequate as a description of what an "evangelical" is. Therefore, in addition to explaining how the EFC defines "evangelical," this section also gives some historical background of the term and argues for a new method of defining it. Part of what makes the EFC hard to study is that the EFC, like "evangelicals" in general, constitutes a definitional problem. The EFC is a loosely defined association made from a loosely defined constituency and as such represents, in itself, the problem of defining "evangelical." In this sense the EFC can be used as a model to understand Canadian "evangelicals."

The historical sections (sections 3.2 and 3.3) provide a brief survey of the history of “evangelicalism” and a synopsis of the history of the EFC. This history is a social history, in that it attempts to highlight significant associations and links, rather than noting everything that happened. These sections will show how diverse Canadian “evangelical” backgrounds are, how elaborate their networks are and how important these networks are to Canadian “evangelicalism” and to the EFC.

### **3.1 Towards a More Accurate Definition of “Evangelical”**

The term “evangelical” has been widely used in a variety of different manners in a variety of different contexts. The term “evangelicalism” is commonly employed to refer to the so called “evangelical” movement with “evangelical” being a descriptive term for those who belong to that “movement.” As will become obvious, “evangelicalism” is neither a movement nor is it a monolithic group of people with a unified set of beliefs.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the term “evangelical” has been used to refer to a particular group of Christians and is a useful starting point to begin to understand the people who are said to belong to this group. This thesis is concerned with the character of “evangelicalism” and with a general description of the constituency of the EFC. However, a discussion of the broader problems related to defining “evangelical” helps to provide the context in which the term “evangelical” is used by the EFC specifically and in Canadian “evangelical” circles generally. Furthermore, an examination of the definition of “evangelical” leads to a new understanding of the nature of “evangelicalism” that is crucial for the comprehension of the EFC.

---

<sup>1</sup> See also section 2.2 for a discussion of the problems associated with the term “movement” as a descriptor of evangelicalism and section 2.3 for a discussion of the usefulness of network theory for a study of evangelicals.

A practical definition of “evangelical” should allow one not only to distinguish between “evangelicals” but also to determine who is and who is not an “evangelical.” Thus this section concerns itself with identifying the EFC’s constituency and with attempting to discern what it is that makes an “evangelical” an “evangelical.”

### *3.1.1 The EFC’s Usage of “Evangelical”*

The EFC’s Mission Statement explains that there is broad consensus that the EFC should “articulate what it means to be an ‘evangelical.’” Yet there is little evidence of a complete definition of “evangelical” in their literature other than to report on what some “evangelicals” are doing and on what some “evangelicals believe.” For example, the ad that the EFC is currently running in Faith Today (March/April 1994:17) also concentrates on what an “evangelical” does rather than what an “evangelical” is. Descriptions of “evangelical” activities and beliefs can disagree or contradict with each other, making them an unreliable basis on which to build a definition of “evangelical.” To get a more complete definition of “evangelical” from the EFC we must turn to its history.

John Stackhouse suggests that the pioneers of the EFC used “evangelical” to refer to those people who hold to “traditional” concerns such as “biblical authority, orthodox Protestant understandings of God, Christ, and salvation, personal piety, and evangelism” (1993b:17). In an ad for the EFC from the early 1980’s “evangelicals” are defined in a similar but more detailed manner as

those who trust in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, who affirm the high attitude to the Bible which He held, who receive the

ecumenical creeds, who acknowledge their constant indebtedness to the great movements of Christian renewal such as the Reformation and the Evangelical Awakening, and who are seeking to obey their Lord's command to preach the gospel to every creature and make disciples of all nations. (Thrust 13:2, p.2)<sup>2</sup>

Stackhouse's observation, the EFC's definition of "evangelical" in Thrust and its reliance on receptivity to its Statement of Faith as a qualification for membership suggests that the EFC has a doctrine-based definition of "evangelical."<sup>3</sup> This view is supported by the preamble to the EFC's constitution which, after describing some of the beliefs and goals of the EFC (Jesus Christ as saviour, the inspiration of the Bible by God, etc.), concludes that "To these ends we unite in the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and on the basis of our Statement of Faith." Doctrine is seen as the defining feature that brings "evangelicals" together.

These definitions are adequate for a voluntary association to define its constituency or for a group of people to establish a network of like minds. They are broad enough to encompass the diversity of "evangelicals" but narrow

---

<sup>2</sup> It must be noted that the EFC considers its publication division to be independent from the rest of the organization and rejects attempts to describe its magazines as organs of the EFC. The EFC's April 1993 Long-Term Strategy Report states that "*Faith Today was developed not to serve as an organ of the EFC, but rather to serve the evangelical community in Canada at Large*" (p.8). Nonetheless the EFC can hardly deny that an organization representing the views of Canadian evangelicals to society and the publication division of that organization, which has the express purpose of setting forth the views of Canadian evangelicals, must have a considerable amount of overlap. This is especially likely when the organization and its publication division share the same office and when the organization's Executive Director is the publication division's Editor-in-Chief. However, to take into account the EFC's disclaimer, I have confined my attribution of EFC opinion primarily to those voices in their magazines that specifically represent the EFC (e.g. members of the General Council, ads for the EFC, editorials by representatives of the EFC, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> See section 3.1.4 for a discussion of the problems associated with a doctrinal definition of "evangelical."

enough to exclude non-Christian religious groups (as well as some Christian groups). However, these definitions are inadequate for the study of “evangelicals” in that they are both too general and too specific. Such definitions apply quite well to many Lutherans although they would not be identified as “evangelical.”<sup>4</sup> Likewise it is unlikely that all Pentecostals, many of whom identify themselves as “evangelical,” can be said to “acknowledge their constant indebtedness to the . . . Reformation.”<sup>5</sup> Although these definitions of “evangelical” may be adequate for the EFC’s purposes, they are insufficient for a broad academic study of “evangelicalism.”

### *3.1.2 The Historical Usage of the Term “Evangelical”*

Part of the confusion surrounding the term “evangelical” and one of the reasons for its diverse definitions is rooted in its many historical uses. The term itself comes from the Greek word *euangelion*, the koine word which is usually translated as *gospel* and literally means “good news.” It was not a term that first-century Christians used for themselves; rather the term first came into widespread use during the Protestant Reformation to distinguish Protestants from Roman Catholics (Nash 1987:22, 23). Initially the term referred primarily to Lutherans but soon came to encompass all Protestants (Gerstner 1977:23). In Germany and Switzerland the term continues to be used to distinguish Lutheran

---

<sup>4</sup> The term “evangelical” or “evangelisch” in the names of Lutheran bodies in North America or Germany refers to their confession of the gospel (evangel) and/or to their history or status as heirs of the Lutheran Reformation. The Lutheran Church — Canada is an example of a Lutheran denomination that does not call itself “evangelical” and yet, to a large degree, would fit into these definitions.

<sup>5</sup> Many Pentecostals do officially recognize the importance of the Reformation to their tradition. However, popular understandings of Pentecostal heritage do not always reflect this official understanding. For example, Edith Blumhofer’s book *The Assemblies of God: A Popular History* (1985), makes no mention of the Reformation. Even Donald Dayton’s book on Pentecostal theology (1987) makes little mention of the Reformation.

Protestants from those following Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, who are known as "Reformed" (Stackhouse 1993a:6). In England the term is usually spelled with a capital "E" to "identify a particular part of the Church of England that arose in the eighteenth century to reinvigorate the church by emphasizing personal conversion, salvation by faith in the atonement of Christ, the unique authority of the Bible, the importance of preaching . . . and the imminence of Christ's second coming" (Stackhouse 1993a:6). "Evangelical" has also been used to refer to "the great revivals or awakenings that swept" England and the American colonies in the eighteenth century (Nash 1987:23). Other coalitions that have identified themselves as "evangelicals" include a group of Protestants throughout Europe who formed an association in 1846 to voice their common goals and concerns (Gerstner 1977:24,28). This movement was known as "The Evangelical Alliance."<sup>6</sup> In the early twentieth century a similar broad based coalition of "evangelicals" in North America broke apart because they could no longer agree on doctrine.

The historical lineage of the term "evangelical" highlights a variety of manners in which the term has been used but it is of little use to describe the character of twentieth century North American "evangelicalism" because the term's historical usage has been inconsistent in its application and has been used to refer to a variety of diverse and often unrelated groups.

### *3.1.3 Classification Systems Used to Identify "Evangelicals"*

In view of the historical difficulty of defining the term "evangelical," scholars have turned to various classification schemes to facilitate their study of this segment of the population and to allow them to get closer to what the term

---

<sup>6</sup> The "Evangelical Alliance" later came to include Americans.

means. Marsden (1987:58) provides a summary of the three main approaches to defining “evangelicals”. “Evangelical” can be defined doctrinally as (1) “a conceptual unity that designates a grouping of Christians who fit a certain definition”; historically as (2) “Religious groups with some common traditions and experiences, despite wide diversities and only meager institutional interconnections . . .”; and culturally or sociologically as (3) a “consciously ‘Evangelical’ transdenominational community with complicated infrastructures of institutions and persons who identify with ‘Evangelicalism’.” These definitions brings out some useful distinctions and degrees of specification of the word. However, the first two senses of the word are too general; applying equally as much to Gnosticism as to “evangelical” Christianity. The third sense of the term could be useful for a study of the EFC’s constituency. Nonetheless, despite its usefulness in identifying the EFC’s constituency, this definition tells us little about the character of “evangelicalism” that would allow us to identify “evangelicals” outside of their self-definition. Stackhouse’s comments on the usefulness of the term “fellowship” as applied to Canadian “evangelicals” fill out the third definition by removing the tenuous requirement of self-identification. He explains that the term “denotes a relationship of distinct elements united by limited, if crucial, common concerns and engaging in limited common activity” (Stackhouse 1993a:16). Stackhouse also points towards a more useful definition of “evangelicals” by describing them as “a largely informal network . . .” (1993a:16). However, before returning to this theme it is important to examine more closely the theological, the historical and the sociological definitions of “evangelical” to explain in more detail why they are inadequate.

### 3.1.3.1 Definitions of "Evangelical"<sup>7</sup>

David Moberg has suggested several schemes for classifying evangelicals. For example, letting evangelicals classify themselves and then examining their criteria for that classification or analyzing whom evangelical groups accept and reject for membership (Moberg 1977:164). The usefulness of this scheme is that it avoids the danger of allowing the framework to distort the group by judging the group partially on their own criteria. Unfortunately, at the time of his writing, such studies had not been done and I have found no evidence of any such definitional study done subsequently. Furthermore, such a study would not necessarily produce a definition that would separate evangelicals from other Christian groups. Nevertheless acknowledging the possibility of such a definition is a useful check on the definition-creating process.

Most scholars, lacking the definitional evidence Moberg longs for, have relied on doctrinal, historical, or cultural-sociological means of defining or classifying evangelicals. A doctrinal definition would be "a Christian believer whose theology is traditional or orthodox, who takes the Bible as his or her ultimate authority in matters of faith and practice, who has had a religious conversion (is born again), and who is interested in leading others to the same kind of conversion experience" (Nash 1987:15; see also Marsden 1991a:4). John Stackhouse gives an historical definition by explaining that evangelicalism has been defined "by the character of those Christians who belong to the broad historic stream that flows out of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, down through the Puritan and Pietist channels, and into

---

<sup>7</sup> The term "evangelical" has been placed in quotes to this point in the chapter to indicate the ambiguity of the term. The remainder of this thesis will not follow that convention as it will assume that the term will be understood in the context of this section.

the so-called evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century . . . *without departing from the central convictions that defined them in the first place* or who . . . later join up with the mainstream" (Stackhouse 1993a:7,8). A third definition looks to common cultural or sociological characteristics for the key to isolating evangelicals. For example, a sense of common enemies or a perception that the culture is in decay or chaos (Ellingson 1988:134). Marsden offers perhaps the most useful of these cultural-sociological definitions in his article "The Evangelical Denomination" in which he compares the "evangelical movement" with the term "denomination" (Marsden 1987:66). He defines evangelicals as "a broader movement somewhat unified by common heritages, influences, problems and tendencies. It is also a conscious fellowship, coalition, community, family or feudal system of friends and rivals who have some stronger sense of belonging together." Finally Dayton has suggested that we discard the term "evangelical" altogether because it has lost its usefulness (Dayton 1991:245). He claims that it is "inaccurate in some of its fundamental connotations and misleads our attempts to understand the phenomenon that we are observing" (Dayton 1991:246).

Unfortunately all of these methods of defining evangelicals have their difficulties. An historical survey of the term "evangelical" does little to clarify its usage today, other than to point to certain groups that use the term based on historical circumstances (e.g. Lutherans). These groups do not exhaust the usage of the term, as it has come to refer to Christians who do not use the term to identify themselves and to groups that have no connection with the evangelicals of the past. Thus an historical definition of evangelical may allow us to distinguish between Missouri Synod Lutherans and Pentecostals but it still does not tell us what an evangelical is. Stackhouse's more nuanced historical

definition runs into similar problems as following historical lineage excludes some groups that are clearly evangelical. Stackhouse attempts to deal with this shortfall by including the phrase “[those who] later join up with the mainstream,” but this attachment still only identifies recognizable groups rather than defining what an evangelical is. Furthermore, how are the criteria established for determining that a group has followed a certain historical stream or joined with the mainstream? Similarly doctrinal and cultural-sociological schemes allow us to distinguish between some evangelical groups but bring us no closer to a description of the nature of an evangelical. For example, the doctrinal classifications listed in 3.1.3 easily apply to many Roman Catholics. Conversely there are many evangelicals who have little interest (in practice if not necessarily in theory) of leading others to religious experience. Proponents of this type of definition may argue that the Roman Catholics in this example are the evangelicals and the self-described evangelicals are not. But this leads to the difficult question of how to decide what is a defining characteristic of evangelicalism and what degree of adherence to a given characteristic is required to be identified as an evangelical. Can a denomination be an evangelical denomination if some of its members deny a fundamental doctrine? The possibility of finding a set of doctrinal or cultural-sociological characteristics that are shared by all evangelicals and are not shared with non-evangelicals seems unlikely. Although these types of definitions contribute to an understanding of what an evangelical is they are inadequate in and of themselves.

### 3.1.3.2 Classification Schemes

In addition to definitional schemes other scholars have attempted to deal

with evangelicals by classifying them into groups. This section briefly summarizes some of these classification schemes and explains why they are inadequate.

Nash divides evangelicals into three different subcultures he calls "Fundamentalism, Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Mainstream" (Nash 1987:25).<sup>8</sup> Nash's book is not geared to the academic community and as such this classification scheme, although useful to allow the layperson to get the broad picture of American evangelicalism, uses generalizations that make it of little use for determining what identifies someone as an evangelical in Canada. Hill's differentiation of truth-oriented, conversion-oriented, spiritually-oriented and service-oriented evangelicals is more useful for studying individuals than broad coalitions (in Johnston 1991:258). Quebedeaux's classifications (in Moberg 1977:165) of separatist fundamentalists, open fundamentalists, established evangelicals, new evangelicals, and young evangelicals, is useful for a linear description of how the movement has evolved and split, but tends to divide up individual denominations (e.g. the same Pentecostal denomination may contain both separatist fundamentalists and young evangelicals) and does not adequately take into account the transience of theological opinion. Evangelicalism is not a monolithic movement; rather it might be better refereed

---

<sup>8</sup> It is not feasible to deal with all the definitional problems related to the use of the words "fundamentalist" and "fundamentalism" within the scope of this thesis, but it is important to offer some admittedly simplistic clarifications of its usage in this thesis. "Fundamentalist" is rapidly becoming a term that is applied to any extremely inflexible and intolerant group (e.g. some radical feminists, some Shi'ite Moslems, etc.). In this paper the term is not used in that sense but rather refers to two different groups of Christians who functioned primarily in the United States. The first group denotes those Protestant Christians who separated or distinguished themselves from the "modernists" in the early part of this century. Secondly, this term refers to a self-identified group of Christians that from the 1950's until today practice a policy of separation from culture and varying degrees of opposition to modernity. Section 3.2 will briefly describe the relationship between modern evangelicals and evangelical fundamentalism. The sense in which the term is being used throughout this thesis will be evident from the context.

to as a mosaic (Nash 1987:24) or network (see section 2.3). Evidence of this diversity is found in Robert Webber's book, Common Roots: A Call to Evangelical Maturity, in which he identifies fourteen different types of evangelicals, noting that evangelicalism "is too complex and dynamic to be fully explained by neat categories" (1978:32,33). Webber realizes that his classifications are inadequate. In addition to being unable to encompass the diversity of evangelicals they fail to take into account shifts in focus and theology among and between evangelical groups. Webber responds by retreating from the attempt to classify evangelicals and defines them as "united in the common faith of the Protestant heritage, yet diversified because of the specific historical, cultural, and social movements that have given them birth" (Webber 1978:34). He further complicates his definition by referring to differences produced by differing geographical locations. These attempts to classify evangelicals beyond the narrow confines of a singular purpose have not been successful.

Such inadequacies have led scholars to pick and choose among competing definitions according to what best applies to the group they are studying. Given such divergent opinions the temptation is to give up and agree with Leonard Sweet that the only "indisputable facts about the evangelical tradition" are that it is important, it is understudied and it is diverse (in Johnston 1991:252). In the following section I suggest a different approach to definition that I believe to be more useful and more readily applicable across doctrinal, historical, cultural-sociological and geographic boundaries. These observations will show that more can be said about evangelicals than that which Sweet believes and that, contrary to Dayton's dissenting opinion, there is some life and usefulness left in the word "evangelical."

### 3.1.3.3 The Polythetic Nature of Evangelicalism

The problem with the definitional and classification schemes that I have just discussed is not the information they have available to them; rather it is their way of grouping that information.<sup>9</sup> Most scholars who have written in this area have used what Jonathan Z. Smith calls a monothetic classification scheme. In a monothetic system the scholar looks for one (or more) unique defining characteristic(s) (e.g. doctrine, history, culture) without which the item would be something else (Smith 1982:2). In religious studies academics look for a single trait that is the “essence” of the tradition, “but the results are arbitrary and poorly defined” (e.g. primitive religion is defined by magic, Christianity is defined by love, etc.) (Smith 1982:7). Smith explains that “uniqueness is an *ordinary* presupposition of definition and classification” and that this uniqueness is often the result of misguided apologetics (1982:5, 6). However, there is no reason to suppose that there is one unique characteristic that distinguishes a given group from any other as there is also no reason to assume that any of the characteristics of a group are unique to that group. It is, in fact, more reasonable to assume that all identifiable groups in society share some of their characteristics with other groups in that society (although all groups do not share all characteristics). This, argues Smith, is why classification of religious groups should be based on a polythetic system. A polythetic definition would retain “the notion of necessary but [abandon] the notion of sufficient criteria for admission to a class.” A class would be “defined as consisting of a set of properties” of which each individual of the class must possess a “large” but unspecified number of these properties and each property should be

---

<sup>9</sup> This is not to suggest that these scholars did not see the deficiencies in the definitions they were using. They chose definitions that were adequate for the purpose they were using them for and were not necessarily concerned with these definitions’ broader applications.

possessed by a "large number" of individuals in the class with no single property necessarily being possessed by everyone (Smith 1982:4). In this system there is "no need to integrate the characteristics" of a given group and in fact one should not try to as the notions of strict division and "the unique and sufficient cause" have already been abandoned (Smith 1982:8).

Thus to define and classify evangelicals one would draw up the set of characteristics that are most common among each different group of evangelicals and identify an individual or a group as evangelical if they had a specified number of these characteristics. Some of these characteristics would be the "defining" characteristics highlighted in the previous sections such as conservative doctrine (e.g. Jesus as God, the Bible as authoritative, and particularly dispensationalism, pre-millennialism and Calvinism), specific history (e.g. the Protestant Reformations, the evangelical Awakenings or similar ethnic background), and individual characteristics such as a personal spiritual experience centered on Jesus Christ, a sense of the degeneration of the the moral and spiritual world and an affectionate affiliation with other evangelicals, to name but a few possibilities. Such a definition would facilitate both identification and description of evangelicals.

There are clearly some difficulties to be worked out before this definition can be fully used. How many characteristics have to be shared? What makes a characteristic important enough to be included in the set? Is this set of characteristics static or dynamic? But it provides enough of the seeds of a definition to explain my usage of the term in this thesis to illustrate the diversity of the constituency the EFC is trying to bring together. In this thesis, unless otherwise noted, the term "evangelical" refers to an individual or organization that shares the majority of their characteristics with other evangelical individuals

or groups. Both Stackhouse and Marsden suggest the possibility of this sort of definition of evangelical by referring to evangelicalism as a network, but neither scholar has expanded on this theme. This thesis will highlight how evangelical networks are fundamental to understanding and describing both Canadian evangelicalism and the EFC.

### **3.2 A Brief History of Evangelical Associations and Networks**

Evangelicalism is not a homogeneous community. It is a polythetic association of diverse individuals and groups united around elements of shared doctrine, history and culture (much of which is not shared by all the groups identified as evangelical). This section examines some of the historical connections and influences that have had an impact on the development of Canadian evangelicalism and the EFC. I have been purposely selective in my choice of history to include in this section. This section's purpose is not to write a history of evangelicalism in Canada; rather its focus is on the historical development of the associations and networks that have come to give Canadian evangelicalism much of its character.

#### *3.2.1 Evangelicalism in the United States<sup>10</sup>*

This section concentrates primarily on what happened in Canada; however, it is useful to be able to understand how the movement developed in the United States and the differences between the two movements. In the United States, Princeton Seminary Professors Charles Hodge and B.B. Warfield and the authors of a series of pamphlets known as "The Fundamentals"

---

<sup>10</sup> Except where noted, this section is based on Marsden 1991a, Marsden 1987:55-68, and Wells and Woodbridge 1975:10-16.

provided the name and some of the theology for the movement, which came to be known as "fundamentalism."<sup>11</sup> However, these efforts were not enough to hold it together. The period of 1870-1920 was a period of cultural change during which the broad-based evangelical coalition fell apart. The coalition divided into two groupings that can roughly be called the liberals or modernists and the conservatives or fundamentalists.<sup>12</sup> The modernists, for the most part, received the support of the church leadership. There was a widespread expectation that the evangelicals would fade away, as this split drastically reduced their influence. Additional fissures occurred among the conservatives as the doctrine of separation led to some groups' shunning not only the modernists but also holiness groups who still had connections to the conservatives. Further conservative withdrawal from society resulted from the perceived threat of evolution, Marxism, and theological liberalism.

In 1941 the fundamentalistic American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) was formed. But reservations were already developing about fundamentalism's increasing anti-intellectualism, stubborn independence, and narrow theology. A year after the formation of the ACCC, the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was formed by a group of conservatives uncomfortable with the direction that the fundamentalist movement was going. They claimed the term "evangelical" for themselves as it had been largely discarded in the United States. This group became known as neo-evangelicalism.<sup>13</sup> The neo-evangelicals desired to avoid some of the excesses of the fundamentalists and also wanted to restore some sense of unity to the

---

<sup>11</sup> The name was "coined by magazine editor Curtis Lee Laws in 1920" (Stackhouse 1993a:11).

<sup>12</sup> The terms liberal and conservative refer primarily to these groups' use of what was considered the "traditional" doctrine and should not be confused with the political usage of the terms.

<sup>13</sup> Harold Ockenga was one of the key figures of this movement.

evangelical movement. In the 1940's an evangelistic organization known as Youth for Christ began and chose a young preacher named Billy Graham as its resident evangelist. Increased interest in spirituality in the 1950's contributed to Graham's success allowing him a measure of independence from the rest of the movement which he used to promote a more "intellectual" variety of evangelical Christianity. Examples of this include starting the periodical Christianity Today with Carl F. Henry and sponsoring the World Council on Evangelism in 1967. The NAE and Christianity Today were to become two of the main defining forces of American evangelicalism.

However, this new coalition was not destined to be as broad based and cohesive as the pre-1920 coalition. There were significant rifts in opinion over the inerrancy of the Bible and over the degree of militancy and nationalism that was appropriate for an evangelical. In addition, the rapidly growing charismatic movement prompted a rethinking of some of the traditional evangelical ways of reasoning and functioning. Finally a variety of scandals rocked the fringes of the movement. Already in the 1950's some of the fundamentalists had had a problem with Graham's practice of including any Christian church that wanted to be involved with his crusades. These fundamentalists eventually broke from the evangelicals (who by this point had dropped the prefix "neo-") over this issue. It was not until the 1970's that some sectors of the fundamentalist movement began to see the benefits of engaging their culture and tentatively re-entered the public square (e.g. Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority). This blurred the lines between evangelicals and fundamentalists to the extent that by 1974 Ron Sider could say that, in the United States, the majority of Protestants were evangelicals (in Moberg 1976:176). Today there continues to be a cautious working agreement

between evangelicals and fundamentalists although, as always, there are groups on both sides that want nothing to do with the other.

### *3.2.2 Evangelical Interconnections in Canada*<sup>14</sup>

Although Canada is often grouped with the United States in discussions of evangelicalism there are some significant differences.<sup>15</sup> Brian Stiller writes that "to link Canadian and American [evangelical] movements is to be factually and historically inaccurate" (1986:32). This is not to deny that there was and is American influence on Canadian evangelicalism; the accident of geography has assured that. The point is that American evangelicalism was not and is not the only influence. There are also the influences of Canada's British and French heritages and the specific distinctives that come from developing in a particular country with particular concerns.<sup>16</sup> This section will trace some of the distinctives and interconnections that have resulted in a unmistakably Canadian form of evangelicalism.

Perhaps the most significant distinction of Canadian evangelicalism is that it, like Canadian culture at large, has tended to be less reactionary and more religiously tolerant than its American counterpart. American culture tends to be more shrill in its attitude to maintaining values; it has greater extremes and

---

<sup>14</sup> Unless otherwise noted, this section is based on Grant 1972, Noll 1992, Rawlyk 1990a, 1990b, Rennie 1986a, 1986b, Stackhouse 1992, 1993a, 1993b, and Wright 1990. For an examination of the church in Quebec see *Faith Today* January/February 1991:19-24.

<sup>15</sup> An example of the inattention of academics to the specific phenomena of Canadian evangelicalism is Ellingson's 1988 book *The Evangelical Movement: Growth, Impact, Controversy, Dialog* which lumps Canadian evangelicalism in with American evangelicalism. Canadian Evangelicals are not even featured in the index, whereas smaller groups of evangelicals are (e.g. Caribbean Evangelicals).

<sup>16</sup> In *Faith Today's* September/October 1989 issue the EFC is said to be following in the tradition of both the Evangelical Alliance in the U.K. and the National Association of Evangelicals in the United States.

sharper polarities. In contrast Canadian culture is more accommodating, not as quick to resort to organized protest and more likely to accept the status quo.<sup>17</sup> The Canadian religious scene and more specifically Canadian evangelicals reflect these cultural distinctions. For example, Rawlyk observes that "No Canadian prime minister in the twentieth century, to my knowledge, has publicly stated that he has experienced the New Birth, and no Canadian leader of any major federal Canadian political party in recent years has attempted to appeal directly and explicitly to any religious constituency. In fact, the evidence suggests that the vast majority of Canadian voters are not at all interested in the religious views of their politicians" (Rawlyk 1990a:271).<sup>18</sup> Brian Stiller, Executive Director of the EFC, describes some of the distinctives of the Canadian religious scene: "there isn't really a Moral Majority here. Canadians pride themselves on being fair, we don't let our leaders embarrass us, and we don't respond to the nationalist rhetoric coming out of the United States. A political party with a narrow theological base just won't work here. One religion can no longer build social convention" (in Graham 1990:329). Noll explains that "Canada was never to know the sort of unified vision of Protestant purpose for the nation that many evangelicals thought had been established in the States" (Noll 1992:246). Furthermore, the reaction to theological liberalism in Canada did not become as divisive in Canada as it had in the States. Canada

---

<sup>17</sup> There appears to be a shift in Canadian culture towards the more aggressive nature of American culture. However, this was not the case as evangelicalism developed in Canada and is largely not the case today.

<sup>18</sup> British Columbia's Bill VanderZalm initially seems to be an exception but on closer examination it appears that he was elected in spite of, not because of, his religious views (Rawlyk 1990a:271). The Reform party, despite its publicly evangelical leader, is not a religious party, does not focus its efforts on a particular religious constituency and does not promote any particular religious belief in its platform. A good example of this is the Reform parties call for a referendum on euthanasia even though many evangelicals regard active euthanasia as wrong regardless of what the majority of the country thinks (Bryden 1994; Faith Today November/December 1991).

continues to pursue its tolerant pluralistic ethos both culturally and spiritually. Tracing Canada's religious history will highlight both this ethos and the networks that have contributed to the distinctives of Canadian evangelicalism.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2.2.1 Changing British Roles

When Britain began the settlement of Canada in 1749 it was assumed that the traditional role of the church in the work of the state would continue. For example, in Upper Canada the British gave one-seventh of the revenue from the sale of crown land to the Anglican church. In Upper Canada the job of governing was left to aristocrats and other people of suitable social stature, but in Lower Canada the job was given to the Roman Catholic Church. That choice assured that Roman Catholicism would not be assimilated into the broader Protestant culture and would continue to retain its influence over Canadian culture well into the twentieth century. The impact of the Roman Catholic church and the increasing influence of new denominations in England and its North American colonies kept the British elite from successfully implementing their plans for a primarily Anglican influenced state. These new denominations sought a Christian society without a state church. Latter in the eighteenth century "Evangelical Awakenings" resulted in additional denominations turning to "evangelicalism" further invalidating the connection between the state and Anglicanism.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> For further discussion of the differences between American and Canadian religion see Posterski and Barker 1993:117-134.

<sup>20</sup> Rennie explains that "the Awakening spread so powerfully that the Baptists and Congregationalists were entirely converted, as were the majority of Presbyterians and a sizable minority of Anglicans" (1986b:36).

### 3.2.2.2 The Nineteenth Century: Social and Political Change

In the early nineteenth century Canadian Christians were influenced both by the United States and by England. However, the war of 1812 reduced the influence of the United States on Canada. It reduced the number of American itinerant preachers in Canada and Canadian Methodists become more like English Wesleyans. Noll explains that "the chance that Canadian Protestantism might follow the populist, sectarian, fragmented ways of the United States . . . came to an end because of the war" (1992:267). Noll goes on to describe some of this blending of cultures that was obvious by the end of the nineteenth century. Ontario Protestants were mostly evangelical but not "as democratically or individualistically evangelical as those in the States" (Noll 1992:275). The Canadian evangelical scene became a balance between the American emphasis on "innovation, optimism and personal liberty" and the British emphasis on "order, stability and tradition" (Noll 1992:276). Furthermore, the co-existence of two culturally, linguistically and religiously different cultures influenced Canadian evangelicals.

The war of 1812 further consolidated Canadian identity, even if that primarily meant not being Americans. The rebellions of the 1830's prompted Britain to move towards a more democratic rule and in 1867 Canada was founded on the tenets of "peace, order and good government," a decidedly different objective than the "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" set forth as ideals by their American neighbors. The objective in creating Canada seemed to be as much to avoid becoming American as it was to begin a new nation. The new country of Canada rapidly set about encouraging other regions to join it by building railroads to connect its vast regions together.

In England the Clapham Sect, led by William Wilberforce, sought to

reform English society. The resulting changes in England resulted in changes to the Canadian church in the areas of social reform, moral reform and philanthropy. These three emphases contributed to changes in Canadian society such as the rise of the welfare state, the cry for prohibition, pressure for universal education and an outcry against slavery. The legacy of these shifts, for the late nineteenth century, included evangelical involvement in all manner of Christian and social justice issues from Yonge Street mission to the YMCA/WCA and from China Inland Mission to the Hospital for Sick Children (Rennie 1984:6).

This period was also a time of rapid religious expansion. In Ontario in 1800 there were only 25 clergy for 20,000 people but by 1900 there were enough churches to seat all 2,200,000 residents of the province (Noll 1992:266). The late nineteenth century was a time of tremendous growth, but it also was the beginning of a time of change as Canada formed its identity as a nation, the networks that provided the seeds of twentieth century evangelicalism were developing and liberalism swept into the church.

### 3.2.2.3 The Twentieth Century: Evangelical Expansion

Between 1900 and 1914, 3,000,000 immigrants joined Canada's population of only 10,000,000 (Noll 1992:280). This trend and the North American rise of consumerism after World War II led to the increasing secularization and religious pluralism of Canada. The result was "a common dissatisfaction with conventional expressions of Christianity" (i.e. Roman Catholic and mainline Protestant) (Grant 1972:177) that contributed to the forces forging the Canadian evangelical identity.

For example, in the early twentieth century although some segments of

the established churches began to melt into the society at large, pursuing the privileged classes to support their cherished benevolent organizations and thus further distancing them from the marginalized sectors of society as others embraced the social gospel.<sup>21</sup> Reactions to both elitism and the radical social gospel isolated conservative groups. This became another factor in their identification with each other and increased the number of associations and networks between them. However, the perceived connection between social action and liberalism, the rise of premillennialism,<sup>22</sup> and the pressure of ultraconservative groups led to the gradual retreat of the conservative church from social action.<sup>23</sup>

Also significant for this era is the proliferation of Bible colleges that were started by and influenced generations of conservative church members. On the prairies alone twenty-seven Bible schools were founded between 1921 and 1947 (Wright 1990:166-167). Two of the most significant Canadian Bible colleges were Prairie Bible Institute and Toronto Bible College. Although these two colleges represented different traditions and had different stated purposes, they both served an important role in the training of future Canadian evangelical leaders and linking evangelicals from different denominations and geographical regions.

Another important contributor to Canadian evangelical identity has been

---

<sup>21</sup> See Gauvreau 1991:183-184 for a discussion of differing views on the impact of the social gospel on Canada.

<sup>22</sup> This doctrine led to the belief that Christ's imminent return meant that social involvement was of limited usefulness.

<sup>23</sup> This period is often characterized by referring to prominent personalities such as T. T. Shields and William Aberhart. I agree with John Stackhouse's thesis (1993a:13) that these two personalities, although important in the development of Canadian evangelicalism, played only a limited role. This does not mean that fundamentalists did not have any influence on Canada. See Robert Wright 1990:157-171 for a brief discussion of the affect of fundamentalism on Canadian Protestantism.

InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, a British transdenominational group that established itself first in Canada and then moved into the United States.<sup>24</sup> The general mood of the population provided fertile ground for the establishment and growth of new and/or imported evangelical denominations and organizations to establish themselves in Canada. Examples of these growing denominations include several varieties of Pentecostalism and the Salvation Army.<sup>25</sup>

When the depression hit, most Protestant churches suffered a loss of revenue, some Bible colleges closed and many pastors and church workers saw their salaries reduced. Yet, conservative Christianity continued to grow in popularity, largely because of increasingly successful radio ministries and itinerant evangelists and the networks created through evangelical interconnections in shared organizations like schools and parachurch ministries.

#### 3.2.2.4 Postwar Canada: Shifting Religious Loyalties

The postwar period ushered in an era of increased prosperity and social security for Canada. It also saw a wave of immigration second only to that of the early part of the century. The country began to assert its own identity, distinct from Britain, as Quebec began to establish its identity within and distinct from Canada.<sup>26</sup> Evangelical institutions established in the period between the wars continued to grow (e.g. Prairie Bible Institute, Toronto Bible College,<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> See Stackhouse 1993a for an excellent description of some of the dominant institutions of Canadian Evangelicalism (including Toronto Bible College, Prairie Bible Institute and InterVarsity Christian Fellowship).

<sup>25</sup> See Wright 1990:168-169 for a brief description of the growth of these movements.

<sup>26</sup> Note the introduction of a Canadian flag devoid of British symbolism in 1965 and the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

<sup>27</sup> In 1968 Toronto Bible College merged with the London College of Bible and Missions to form

InterVarsity Christian Fellowship). Conservative Protestant churches (increasingly identifying themselves as evangelical) experienced growth but also became increasingly disaffected from the general society. This general dissatisfaction was accentuated as Canada entered the recession of the late fifties.

Although the mainline churches continued to grow numerically their relative percentage of the total population continued to decline. Disaffection with the mainline churches is graphically illustrated by the success of Pierre Burton's The Comfortable Pew, a book that had been commissioned by the Anglican church to represent disaffected church goers. In this book Burton challenged the churches to be faithful to their own standards. The seeming inability of the mainline churches to be faithful to their own standards along with the forces of a struggling culture contributed to the already rapid changes within these churches. But change did not turn around their sagging fortunes. In the mid-1960s a survey of 23 mainline seminaries noted that 123 faculty were teaching only 667 students (Stackhouse 1990:213). In this period evangelicals attempted to provide values for an increasingly valueless society, they became increasingly involved in education, and they consistently sent out more missionaries than the mainline Protestant churches.

By 1967 most Protestants (particularly in Ontario) reflected a blend of American and British characteristics.<sup>28</sup> The religious scene of the late 1960's still displayed this tension of the late nineteenth century although the influences were less readily identified and more likely to be identified with Canadian culture.

---

Ontario Bible College. See Stackhouse 1993a:121 for a description of this merger.

<sup>28</sup> Note the influence of Englishman J.A.T. Robinson's Honest to God and American Harvey Cox's The Secular City (Stackhouse 1990:215).

Expo 1967 in Montreal foreshadowed changes to Canada's religious geography. The "Christian" pavilion was supposed to represent all Christians across Canada but instead it represented only some of them as evangelical Christians produced their own pavilion. This highlighted the coming shift in Protestant Christianity in Canada and was reflective of the increasing fragmentation of Canadian society in general. Evangelical Christianity did not become larger than mainline Christianity, but it did become more active in sectors of Canadian society that the mainline churches no longer paid as much attention to.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Expo 67 highlighted that Canadian evangelicals were ready to work together. Their increasing interconnectedness made them aware of enough commonalities that they could contemplate co-operating in a national association. In 1968 the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada began as a voice for those Christians who had turned to the increasingly popular evangelical Christianity.

#### 3.2.2.5 The 1970's and 1980's: Refining the Evangelical Church

These decades brought more changes to evangelical Christianity in Canada. Evangelicals began to work together and to get to know each other across the country. Their institutions continued to grow, improving in quality and increasing their level of acceptance with the general population. They became increasingly united by their commitment to certain "orthodox" principles (e.g. the authority of the Bible, personal salvation) and by common distaste for cultural trends (e.g. the breakdown of the traditional family). They also became

---

<sup>29</sup> Despite the relatively greater number of Canadians that affiliate with the mainline than with evangelical churches, mainline churches saw a reduction in the percentage of affiliates in the Canadian population (from 40% to 32% between 1961 and 1981) whereas the evangelical churches saw their percentage rise from 7% in the 1960's to 15% in 1993 (Bibby 1987:47, Swift 1993:21).

more active in the social and political arenas. Even groups that had traditionally been isolated or had isolated themselves began to be active participants in transdenominational evangelical organizations and schools.<sup>30</sup> Evangelicals continued to sponsor transdenominational schools such as Trinity Western University and Ontario Bible College, and publications like Christian Week. More than ever the polythetic nature of Canadian evangelicalism became obvious. Diverse evangelical groups with different distinctives were increasingly collaborating in transdenominational endeavors.

#### 3.2.2.6 Networking into the Future

General trends of evangelical alienation from culture and increasing evangelical networking have continued. In the Spring 1985 edition of Faith Alive, Brian Stiller noted some trends in Canadian evangelical churches: larger churches, increased emphasis on changing society and meeting human needs, a shift from large scale evangelistic crusades to "the winning of people to faith in Jesus Christ by personal friendship," increased efforts to plant churches, a return to theological conservatism, lay involvement in ministry, the growth of evangelical media and education, the specialization of churches (e.g. ethnic churches). Other smaller trends he anticipated included increased interest in worship, more women in ministry, the sending of professionals as missionaries, increased nationalism among denominations and increased interest in the supernatural. Canadian evangelical churches are seeing these predictions come true. These trends highlight the influence of evangelicals on each other and the impact of Canadian culture on evangelicals.

---

<sup>30</sup> An example of the first type would be the Pentecostals and, of the second type, some groups of Mennonites and Baptists.

Growth and change in Canadian evangelicalism is also apparent in the growth of evangelical infrastructure. Harold Jantz, the editor of Christian Week, notes in the March 1991 issue of the journal Ecumenism that if growth of infrastructure is any indication then evangelicals are doing increasingly well in Canada. Evangelicalism is growing both in the approximately 40 evangelical denominations in Canada and in the mainline churches.<sup>31</sup> Evangelicals continue to build large churches and large schools throughout Canada.<sup>32</sup> Their main lobbying group, the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, grew from two staff and a budget of \$60 thousand in the early 1980's to fifteen staff and a budget of one and a half million dollars by the end of the decade (Jantz 1991:16) and to 27 staff and a budget of over two million dollars in the early 1990's. Equally surprising is the increasing evangelical success among ethnic groups as varied as Afro-Caribbean and Filipino (Jantz 1991:16). Clearly the growth of evangelicalism in Canada is a trend that cannot be ignored.<sup>33</sup>

This trend appears more significant because as evangelicalism has been growing, committed religious affiliation among Canadians, has dropped

---

<sup>31</sup> It is pertinent to list a few examples of this trend. According to the 1991 Canadian census, between 1981 and 1991 churches that experienced a decrease in affiliation included the Presbyterian (22%), United Church (18%), Anglican (10%), and Lutheran (10%). whereas the Christian and Missionary Alliance (75%), Wesleyan (45%), Missionary Church (44%) and Pentecostal (29%) churches all experienced phenomenal growth (1991:1). The EFC has noticed this trend, has indicated to evangelicals some of the dangers that can result from rapid growth and posits itself as one key to avoiding these dangers (Mitchner 1983:2).

<sup>32</sup> The Christian and Missionary Alliance, Pentecostals and Mennonite Brethren all have churches in the Abbotsford B.C. area with attendance of over 1000 (the Alliance church seats 2300). This is all the more surprising because B.C. is widely considered to be the most irreligious part of the country. An instructive example is the ability of Briercrest Bible College to attract 700 students to their out-of the way campus just west of Moose Jaw on the Trans-Canada Highway (Jantz 1991:14). See Remus 1992 for an examination of some of the trends in Canadian Bible Colleges (particularly in Ontario).

<sup>33</sup> The purpose of this section is not to show that evangelical "success" indicates anything about the "rightness" of evangelicalism but rather that their numerical growth and increasing influence indicate their importance in Canadian Christianity and society and therefore the importance of studying them.

significantly. In 1982 Brian Stiller noted that 74% of Canadians are considered religiously "unfocused," that is "their religious orientation lacks both *content* and *commitment*" (1982:5).<sup>34</sup> Despite this impression, a recent study by George Rawlyk indicates that 78% of Canadians continue to affiliate themselves with a Christian church (in Swift 1993:21). The reconciliation of these views may be found in Reginald Bibby's observation that Canadians treat religion as a consumer item, picking and choosing among the available products with no particular loyalty to any of them (1987:234). The role of the association and of the network in Canadian evangelicalism is to assure the evangelical that their worldview is the most reasonable, to convince the average "consumer" of religion of the same and to give adequate evidence to legitimate and maintain that view.<sup>35</sup> The EFC is the most prominent Canadian evangelical legitimating association that brings Canadian evangelical networks together.

### **3.3 The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and its Networks<sup>36</sup>**

An examination of the history of Canadian evangelicalism illustrates how the development of Canada drove conservatives together into diverse but related networks and associations. Common concerns and beliefs united them in small groups which gradually became aware of each other's existence and began to work together. This resulted in the creation of many different

---

<sup>34</sup> Stiller bases this on an unnamed study done by University of Lethbridge sociologist, Reginald Bibby.

<sup>35</sup> See Posterski and Barker 1993:50-55 for a description of the dynamics of church switching within Canadian Christian groups.

<sup>36</sup> Unless otherwise noted this section is based on John Stackhouse (1993a, 1993b), and articles in the EFC's magazines Thrust, Faith Alive, and Faith Today. Interviews with Brian Stiller, John Redekop, Ian Rennie and Ken Zorn have been used to fill in additional details. Other information from the interviews such as individual opinions and impressions have been reserved for chapter 4.

transdenominational evangelical organizations.<sup>37</sup> This section examines the EFC as a national evangelical voluntary association formed to connect Canadian evangelicals and to increase awareness of evangelical concerns within the general population.

It is surprising that until the early 1990's no one had thought to study the EFC, an organization that since 1968, has claimed to be the national voice of Canadian evangelicals. Furthermore, the EFC continues to be widely unstudied and often even unheard of in religious studies departments. In an effort to fill part of this gap this section examines the character of this association of networks called the EFC.

### *3.3.1 Historical Background*

In his recent book on Canadian evangelicalism, John Stackhouse points to three trends he sees in Canadian evangelicalism:

greater self-consciousness and cooperation [among evangelicals] while simultaneously distancing themselves from the direction and institutions of the mainline churches [with the qualification that many evangelical leaders have come from the mainline denominations], . . . widening of this fellowship to include groups previously isolated in their respective enclaves, especially Pentecostals, Mennonites and Christian Reformed . . . [and] . . . the growing breadth of evangelicals' understanding of their vocation [that is, where they should be involved in the culture at large] (1993a:165).

These trends highlight the importance of the interconnectedness of the

---

<sup>37</sup> See Stackhouse 1993a for a discussion of some of these organizations.

evangelical community. As will be shown in this section, the EFC and its networks reflect all three trends.

### 3.3.1.1 Beginnings

Some Canadian evangelicals had been involved with the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in the United States since its beginning<sup>38</sup> and that experience was a contributing factor in their desire to have a similar organization in Canada. Many Canadians who attended the NAE found it too politicized (particularly Republican), too partisan, too militant and too militaristic.<sup>39</sup>

In 1964 the EFC began as a center for evangelical thought and fellowship and as a voice for Canada's evangelical community.<sup>40</sup> The small group of pastors that were initially involved with it included leaders both from mainline churches (e.g. Presbyterian and Anglican) and from uniformly evangelical groups. Dr. Harry Faught and Dr. Oswald Smith are the two people most commonly associated with the beginnings of the EFC. In 1966 the EFC's constitution was ratified and its work officially began with a budget of just over \$1000 and the main task of facilitating communication between evangelicals. The EFC became involved in organizing national conferences on issues relevant to evangelicals, took over the relief ministry Share Canada<sup>41</sup> from the Christian and Missionary Alliance and started a magazine initially called

---

<sup>38</sup> In particular, Oswald J. Smith of Peoples Church in Toronto.

<sup>39</sup> From an interview with John Redekop.

<sup>40</sup> Of course its beginnings were not without some conflict. The establishment of the EFC brought some initial minor struggles related to the problem of western Canadian alienation, where to locate the head office and how to fund the organization.

<sup>41</sup> Later to become the Canadian arm of World Relief.

Thrust.<sup>42</sup>

However, the organization did not obtain the significant national profile in Canadian culture it desired. By 1976 the EFC's budget was only \$30,000, and growth continued to be slow. This continued until 1983 when Brian C. Stiller was hired as the EFC's first full-time Executive Director and became the EFC's main spokesperson. That year was also the beginning of a new era for the EFC that would see it change directions and rapidly expand both in size and in activity. Stiller capitalized on the new emphasis of the revised constitution of 1981 that shifted the EFC's direction from reacting to external problems to improving the life of evangelical churches and also added a new goal that emphasized communicating with government more than getting to know each other.<sup>43</sup> In addition, this new constitution emphasized the development of church leadership and the promotion of unity among evangelicals and gave the EFC a broader mandate to interact with all levels of government.

The EFC was born more out of a desire to work for common purposes and a common sense of alienation from the culture than out of a need to put forward a common front against some real or perceived threat.<sup>44</sup> Thus the EFC's concerns of strengthening evangelical churches, evangelizing Canada and presenting evangelical concerns to the government and the public took place in an environment that had less of a preoccupation with rival organizations than that of the NAE in the United States. Unlike the NAE the

---

<sup>42</sup> Thrust eventually became Faith Today.

<sup>43</sup> Contrast this with the editorial in the 12:1 edition of Thrust that listed the signs of a collapsing culture as seen in Tutkanhamen's Egypt and then pointed to those signs in Canada (Shantz 1980:6-7).

<sup>44</sup> Stackhouse points out that fundamentalism never played the crucial role in Protestantism in Canada that it had in the United States; therefore there was no pressing need for Canadian evangelicals to distinguish themselves from fundamentalists. Furthermore the Canadian Council of Churches never had the influence of its American counterpart (1993b:7).

EFC has not attempted to create a “Christian Canada”; rather they have had “an explicit acceptance of a pluralized culture” (Stackhouse 1993b:19). The EFC strives to highlight that which unites and downplays that which separates in evangelical culture:

“In necessary things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity.” That statement by Puritan Richard Baxter summarizes the perspective of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

None of the 24 member churches is asked to compromise its fundamental convictions or to adopt views to which it objects.

At the same time, through EFC membership, each affirms its adherence to foundational Christian convictions and its spiritual unity with all who share such convictions (Faith Today May/June 1987:46).

The EFC appears to be aware of the polythetic nature of the evangelical worldview. Rather than attempting to insist on all associated groups having all characteristics in common, the EFC insists only on agreement in the “necessary” things. This choice to allow some differences to be unimportant has been one of the keys to the EFC’s ability to expand its membership to include a wide variety of evangelical networks.

### 3.3.1.2 Expanding Associations

The major shift in the EFC’s focus has been from its initial concentration on fellowship among evangelicals to its move in the early 1980’s to increased involvement with Canadian culture. As the organization grew it became more open to portraying other worldviews accurately. For example, Faith Today went

from getting the Sikh view of Jesus from a Christian who had been a Sikh (Singh 1987:36) to including the testimony of a Christian turned Muslim (Hogben 1991:32). The EFC's magazine grew from an appendage of the EFC to a voice for the diverse views of Canadian evangelicals, often reporting on an opinion or viewpoint not shared by the readership or attempting to maintain objectivity when the readership would prefer something less neutral.<sup>45</sup>

As the EFC has expanded its associations and networks from evangelicals to Canadian culture at large it has become less afraid to speak out on controversial issues.<sup>46</sup> It is not beyond suggesting that it has some influence with the media and with the government hierarchy as can be seen by advertisements showing Stiller at Parliament Hill or with former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Faith Alive November 1985:55, Faith Today July/August 1988:36). Additionally, in an effort to increase its understanding of the Canadian situation it has not hesitated to look to Canadian academics for guidance or understanding, further expanding its network of contacts.<sup>47</sup>

### 3.3.1.3 Legitimizing and Maintaining Networks

Having brought together diverse evangelical individuals and groups into the EFC, the EFC has established methods of maintaining the networks and

---

<sup>45</sup> Compare the March/April 1987 feature on women in ministry with the Evangelical Opinion Poll on gender roles, or the equal representation of opposing views on capital punishment in the July/August 1986 issue with the overwhelming support for capital punishment both in the letters section of successive months and in the Evangelical Opinion Poll in the March/April 1987 issue. For a complaint about the neutrality of an article see March/April 1991:8.

<sup>46</sup> For example, the EFC's petition to Brian Mulroney concerning the avoidance of war in the Persian Gulf (Faith Today March/April 1991:44).

<sup>47</sup> John Redekop, John G. Stackhouse Jr. and Reginald Bibby have all been contributors to Faith Today; Redekop and Stackhouse have also been involved with the EFC in administrative capacities. These academics are all sympathetic to the EFC's cause. It is possible that the EFC may not be as receptive to less sympathetic academics.

legitimizing the worldviews on which they are based. Three of these techniques are establishing an organizational structure, broadening exposure to the EFC and distributing literature.

A picture of the EFC's organizational structure can be gained from examining their current size, income and structure. The January/February 1990 issue of Faith Today reported that 27 denominations, 750 churches and 5,300 individuals currently belong to the EFC (para-church organizations and mission agencies can also be members) (p.21). EFC membership totals over one million when membership by denominations, individual churches and private individuals is taken into account. The EFC's ability to encourage financial support has also improved. Its income has expanded from \$60,000 in 1983 to over \$2,000,000 in the early 1990's. Denominations pay a nominal fee for their membership and in return receive a seat or two at the General Council and regular mailings. Congregations pay several hundred dollars and receive packets of information which include copies of Faith Today, Sundial, bulletin inserts and other information relevant to individual churches. For \$35 individuals get the periodicals Faith Today and Sundial as well as other mailings. Major decisions are made by the EFC's General Council, which is made up of delegates from member churches and denominations, and by the Executive Council, which is elected by the members of the General Council. The EFC is managed by an Executive Director and a Managing Director who takes care of the day-to-day administration of the EFC. Underneath the Managing Director are five departments: Publishing, Finance and Information Services, Public Affairs, Field Services, and Corporate Affairs. Within these departments, in addition to their administrative responsibilities, are many commissions and committees (both permanent and temporary) which study and

act on specific issues (education, social action, missions, native issues, religious liberty, the family, evangelism, etc.).

The EFC seeks to broaden its exposure in Canadian society. One way in which it accomplishes this is by being willing to work with groups that have goals in common with the EFC<sup>48</sup> and by forming strategic alliances to accomplish common goals (e.g. peace, relief, etc.).<sup>49</sup> Stiller has further broadened the EFC's exposure to the Canadian public by hosting the half-hour talkshow *The Stiller Report*<sup>50</sup> on Canada's interfaith network, VISION TV. An independent ratings agency has concluded that this show attracts between 250,000 and 300,000 viewers a week over several viewings, which is considered a reasonable rating for a Canadian show of this nature.<sup>51</sup>

The EFC also has a thriving publishing division. Stiller oversaw the changeover of Thrust (which he considered dull) to Faith Alive, and then to Faith Today.<sup>52</sup> The magazine was to be an instrument to "represent evangelicals to the broader community in a professional way" and to help evangelicals realize that they had a "substantive, legitimate and coherent message to offer the world" (Cambridge 1993:33). It contains devotional commentaries, news about the work of the EFC and its various taskforces, admonitions to Canadian evangelicals (e.g. to foster good leadership), discussions of current cultural issues (from the constitution to euthanasia) and

---

<sup>48</sup> For example, the EFC submitted a joint brief on abortion to the federal government with the Canadian Council of Catholic Bishops.

<sup>49</sup> This also is different from the EFC's American counterpart, the NAE, which is much more sectarian (Stackhouse 1993b:15, Conn 1994). However, there are some recent moves away from this in some segments of American evangelicalism (The Record Wednesday, March 30, 1994:C12).

<sup>50</sup> Renamed *Cross Currents* in 1993.

<sup>51</sup> From an interview with Brian Stiller.

<sup>52</sup> For a summary of the trends in the EFC's magazines see Faith Today's July/August 1993 issue (particularly John Stackhouse's article 1993c).

news about what is happening in Christian circles in Canada and around the world. The magazines have gone through several successive design changes in an attempt to make them relevant and accessible (Faith Today December/January 1986:3). Finally the EFC has used these magazines to conduct regular polls of its readers about a wide variety of issues (e.g. gender roles, capital punishment, etc.). In addition to Faith Today the EFC also produces Sundial, a newsletter for members that deals with issues in a more personal and emphatic way, and Understanding our Times, which is distributed to member churches and includes short reports on trends and happenings in Canadian culture. In addition the EFC publishes position papers, books and videos that set forth their opinion on social issues. It also sends briefs and mailings to various levels of government in an attempt to positively influence political decisions (Faith Today March/April 1988:38, Stackhouse 1993a:171).

The EFC calls itself a "national association of evangelicals." However it does not attempt to prevent members from speaking in favour of positions the EFC does not hold.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the EFC currently stands as the main national association that binds Canadian evangelicals together across denominational lines and it has become the third largest evangelical organization of this type in the world (after the American and British organizations). Its strong growth and rapidly growing acceptance is a sign that the EFC is having some success maintaining its networks and legitimating the worldviews of its members. Its organizational structure, its desire for

---

<sup>53</sup> Although its representatives acknowledge that what they are actually presenting is simply the majority position of those evangelicals who choose to join their organization, it is to the EFC's advantage to present itself as speaking for all evangelicals. For an excellent discussion of the mandate of the EFC as compared to its actual practice see Stackhouse 1993b. Stackhouse accurately points out that the EFC's purposes would be hurt if it referred to itself as "A *Partial* Evangelical Fellowship of Canada" (1993b:20).

broadening acceptance and its profuse literature are all instruments to support evangelical networks and to legitimate evangelical worldviews.

### *3.3.2 Commonalities among EFC Members*

This chapter has made the point that it is the EFC's ability to attract and hold together diverse groups of evangelicals without estranging any of them that has been the key to its success as a voluntary association. Nevertheless a voluntary association must have some commonalities or it would not be an association. Although it is hard to specify many commonalities that are held by all the EFC's members it is possible to highlight some common themes and some beliefs, such as doctrine and stated purposes, that the EFC expects its members to share.<sup>54</sup>

#### 3.3.2.1 Shared Doctrine

From the beginning the constitution of the EFC made its objectives clear. It desired to separate itself from contemporary attitudes that it considered unhealthy (e.g. "liberalism") and to unify evangelicals to be more effective and relevant, particularly in articulating "the great, historic truths of the Word of God" (Stackhouse 1993b:5). Its statement of purpose affirms most of the traditional evangelical concerns (loyalty to doctrine, fellowship, witness to the gospel, etc). Likewise its statement of faith keeps to traditional evangelical expressions. the authority of the Bible (although it avoids the use of the word "inerrancy"), "the

---

<sup>54</sup> Agreement to a given statement for the purpose of joining an association does not necessarily imply agreement with everything in the statement by everyone in the joining group. Furthermore separate interpretations of identical statements often lead to radically different understandings of those statements. However, some statements are more open to interpretation than others (e.g. contrast the definitiveness of belief in Christ's "virgin birth" with the vagueness of the evangelical understanding of Christ's "personal return in power and glory").

trinity of God, the divinity and salvific work of Christ, justification by faith, regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the unity of all true believers in the church, and the resurrection to salvation or judgement of all" (Stackhouse 1993b:5).<sup>55</sup> Such statements, though sometimes deliberately vague, were vital to attract an evangelical constituency.<sup>56</sup> This is not to imply that the leaders of the organization did not believe what they were writing; but the statement is worded in such a way as to attract as large and diverse a group of evangelicals as possible to facilitate the growth of the EFC into a viable organization. It is, of course, also worded in such a way that it is unacceptable to other religions and to some Christians (particularly some mainline and Roman Catholic Christians but also including some evangelicals).<sup>57</sup> Even though they may disagree on their implications and applications, it is around the commonalities of doctrine that the EFC's members join together.

### 3.3.2.2 Common Purposes

Common doctrine, however vague, does suggest some common purposes. Then-President Charles Yates expressed the founding purposes of the EFC in January 1980:

We believe evangelicals of Canada need to unite in their work and witness, to prayerfully strengthen their position against the assault of liberalism, apostasy and spiritual nihilism. We further believe evangelicals need to defragmentize their Christian work to the end that they might make their co-operative thrust more relevant and

---

<sup>55</sup> See Thrust 12:2 (p. 2) for a copy of the EFC's "Basis of Faith."

<sup>56</sup> See also section 3.1 concerning the diversity of evangelicals.

<sup>57</sup> It is not clear if the EFC is consciously including or excluding certain Christians or is just attempting to express its objectives in such a way as to be acceptable to its perceived constituency.

effective, particularly in the articulation of the great, historic truths of the Word of God (Thrust 12:1, p.15).

This statement goes beyond the traditional evangelical concerns of orthodoxy and evangelism to interacting with the general culture in a way that reflects the general trends of Canadian evangelicalism. In early 1980 the EFC commissioned a poll through Thrust to get a better idea of where its constituents wanted the organization to go. The poll results indicated general agreement with the stated goals of the EFC, great receptivity to the EFC's involvement in political and social issues and continued faith in the usefulness of Thrust (12:3, pp.16-17). Among the EFC's constituents, this general receptivity to the work and purposes of the EFC has continued.<sup>58</sup> This can be illustrated by examining Stiller's focus as Executive Director of the EFC and by examining the EFC's ads.

Although the EFC's purposes are no longer expressed as aggressively, it continues to be in general agreement with Yates' statement. For example, when Brian Stiller joined the EFC as full-time Executive Director he expressed his "action plan" as developing a magazine to reflect the views of Canadian evangelicals, establishing communication with Ottawa to aid the government in decision making and to voice the EFC's concerns and bringing together evangelical leadership (in the sense of working together, not in the sense of becoming the same) (Faith Alive November 1983:38). This action plan is consistent with earlier objectives of the EFC. Stiller also made an effort to personalize the work of the EFC, on occasion expressing his goals and the EFC's purposes as if he were petitioning a family to work together:

---

<sup>58</sup> See Faith Today January/February 1988:36 for a later survey that indicates membership approval. Note also the continued addition of members to the EFC.

Together we can shape a new spirit of cooperation among the evangelical community. Together we can express a dynamic interest in issues that concern us. Together we can forge a stronger, more credible witness in our land for Jesus Christ.

But it won't happen unless we act today. (November 1983:39)

As of 1993 there is no indication that these stated objectives have changed.

This consistency of purpose can be illustrated by the way the EFC has advertised itself. An advertisement for the EFC in an early issue of Faith Alive gives some of the objectives of the EFC as seeking spiritual renewal and revitalization, developing a greater understanding of Canada (with a missionizing motivation), creating a forum to answer the tough questions confronting its members and serving as a voice for evangelicals (Winter 1983:20,21). Two years later in the spring of 1985 another advertisement warned of the dual dangers of secularism ("the exclusion of God from man's thought") and humanism ("cultural values as the objects of man's worship"). The ad further explains that "together we can build a strong evangelical presence in our land" and warns that "they [Canadian evangelicals] couldn't be passive, doing nothing, isolated, removed from this generation" (Spring 1985:61). These ads reflect the sense of urgency that is common within evangelical denominations. Although later ads softened the message they continued to express concern that evangelical involvement is vital to the moral and spiritual well-being of the country (Faith Today July/August 1986:4, 5). This advertising emphasis was not without justification; member churches indicated in 1987 that they believed that "Canada needs a strong, united evangelical voice" and that they needed "up-to-date information on the Canadian church

and society" (Faith Today January/February 1988:36). This indicates the members basic agreement with the EFC's general purposes. As another campaign explained, the "EFC speaks when you can't" and "silence gives consent" (Faith Today July/August 1988:31, September/October 1988:65).

The purposes of the EFC, although diverse and constantly shifting in emphasis, do have some consistent themes. These include working together as evangelicals and impacting Canadian culture. The EFC's efforts in training Christians to understand and interact intelligently with their society and with each other are based, in part, on these shared purposes. The EFC's doctrine and purposes are the commonalities around which Canadian evangelical networks have united to form the EFC. Thus, although part of the EFC's success is related to its ability to support a diversity of worldviews, another aspect of its success is its ability to highlight the commonalities that Canadian evangelicals share. In doing this the EFC must make evangelical similarities obvious without exacerbating their differences. It is for this reason that a national coalition of evangelicals could only be a voluntary association.

### **3.4 Networks - the Unifying Feature of the EFC**

The history of Canadian evangelicalism and of the EFC is the history of how diverse individuals and groups have interconnected. The identification of commonalities have brought them together and the interaction of their differences has aided in keeping them there. Networks have given evangelicals common realities and these common realities united in a voluntary association to become the EFC. The EFC as a voluntary association of Canadian evangelicals has capitalized on these commonalities and has set out to expand and maintain the networks that surround them. This both perpetuates

the existence of Canadian evangelicalism and of the EFC. The EFC is a formal expression of the informal networking of Canadian evangelicals; what already existed the EFC endowed with a measure of permanence. Both Canadian evangelicals and the EFC are collections of diverse worldviews with enough commonalities that they can work together to common purposes. Chapter four examines four individuals who are involved with the EFC to highlight how their individual networks and worldviews have contributed to the network that is the EFC and how the views of the individuals and of the EFC are dialectically related. These individuals will serve as an illustration of the polythetic nature of Canadian evangelicalism and by extension of the EFC.

## 4

### **Individual Socially Constructed Realities and the Networks that Produce Them**

The history of Canadian evangelicalism and of the EFC highlights how associations and networks have contributed to shaping them into what they are today. Constant conversation between evangelical groups creates, legitimates and maintains the evangelical reality. Conversation with other religious groups and with Canadian culture in general also shapes evangelicalism and the EFC by dictating the mode of conversation in Canada, by establishing the public policy agenda, by reinforcing their perception of the breakdown of Canadian society and sometimes by fostering a common perception of isolation from the mainstream. The EFC is a voluntary association based on common purposes and goals created to facilitate networking and to maintain the evangelical reality. Network theory suggests that to understand the whole association one must examine that association as a unity; the resulting picture is most often of a polythetic association. That is, by its nature an association has commonalities but it also has a wide variety of differences and sometimes even contradictions within the worldviews of its members. An examination of the socially constructed realities of four individuals involved with the EFC will explicate the roots of some of these differences and will identify some of the networks that

have drawn Canadian evangelicals together and have contributed to the creation and maintenance of the EFC. These individuals and their networks are microcosms of the EFC as a whole. The ambiguities of a polythetic description of the EFC seem less significant as an examination of these four individuals shows that a voluntary association of a polythetic type is the only sort of organization that could have brought evangelicals together. The diverse realities of these individuals could not have been reconciled into a common worldview. An attempt to do that would have fragmented rather than consolidated Canadian evangelicals. Groups that have fought hard for their distinctives and sometimes suffered for them are rarely willing to give up those same distinctives to join an organization that is not concerned exclusively with their affairs. It is these hard-fought-for distinctives that have produced the EFC's socially constructed reality. The EFC is and could only be a collection of diverse characteristics based on the commonalities of doctrine and purpose.

Previous chapters have provided the theoretical and historical background necessary to get a sense of the perspective and heritage of these individuals. This chapter will concentrate on individual histories, and on these persons relations to and perceptions of the EFC. The first section is a description of the individual most closely involved with the EFC and the last section discusses the individual least involved with the EFC, so that the earlier sections may supply information needed to understand the later sections.

Not only is it not necessary that these individuals be entirely representative of the EFC but it is also not possible. The polythetic nature of the EFC means that it has no single defining characteristic but rather is a collection of diverse and occasionally contradictory characteristics such that one

individual could not adequately represent the whole. However, the EFC is also a voluntary association brought together around certain commonalities, a characteristic that these four individuals illustrate. The nature of these four individuals involvements suggests that they are good examples of how the EFC sees itself and how it desires to be seen.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, they serve as good illustrations of the dialectical relationship between the EFC, its members and Canadian culture. In these limited senses they can be said to represent the EFC.

Brian Stiller is the Executive Director of the EFC. Under his leadership the EFC has grown from a small organization with limited resources and limited impact to an organization with a budget of over \$2 million and a staff of 27. For the last ten years Stiller has been the EFC's front man and has become almost synonymous with the organization itself. John Redekop says of him that "he has no private opinions in public" because his public presence has become tantamount to that of the EFC. Although Stiller cannot be equated with the EFC, he continues to have a significant impact on the organization as he continues to be its Executive Director and its main spokesperson. In addition to his significance as head of the EFC Stiller is a representative of the activities that take place in the head office of the EFC. For these reasons it was essential that

---

<sup>1</sup> I have not chosen four men without being aware of this gender exclusivity. This choice is not because I was more interested in the views of men than of women but rather because the majority of the leaders of the organization are men and because the leaders I had easy access to were men. This is not to say that women are not involved with the EFC. The Director of Corporate Affairs of the EFC is a women. However, I wanted only one representative of the EFC's head office and it seemed most important to interview the Executive Director as I was more interested in worldview concerns than in administrative concerns. The current editor and the previous editor of Faith Today are both women. Women are regular columnists, contributing authors and are regularly interviewed in Faith Today. However the EFC considers Faith Today to be an independent voice from that of the EFC (see note 3 in section 3.1.1). Although it would be an interesting and useful study to examine the role of women in the EFC, that is beyond the scope of this thesis and therefore must be left for another time.

he was included in this study.

John Redekop is a professor of political science at Wilfrid Laurier University. He presently serves on the EFC's Executive Committee as Past-President and has been a regular contributor to Faith Today and to the EFC's TV program. He also writes a regular column for the Manitoba-based, evangelical publication Christian News. Redekop has been actively involved with the EFC almost since its inception and continues to be an important spokesperson and contributor to the organization. Yet because he lives and works in Waterloo he is separated from the EFC in a way that Stiller cannot be.

Ian Rennie is Vice-President, Academic Dean, and professor of history at Ontario Theological Seminary. He is a member of the EFC's General Council and has had a long history as a contributor to the work of the EFC. Rennie has also been a staff worker with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, a professor at Regent College and a convocation speaker at Trinity Western University (Stackhouse 1993a.187). He provides a somewhat different perspective on the EFC because of his occupation as an historian and because of his involvement with other evangelical organizations. This background may give him a broader perspective on the EFC's role in Canadian and in global evangelicalism than those more closely connected to the EFC. Finally, his occupation as an historian is valuable in providing details of the EFC's history.

Kenneth Zorn is a "randomly" chosen "end-user" of the EFC's services. He was chosen for his involvement in starting an evangelical ministerial association that chose to use the EFC's statement of faith as its own, because of his proximity to my center of research and because he currently sits on the EFC's General Council. I have interviewed Zorn to provide the perspective of

someone who has less involvement in the daily running of the EFC and from that outlook can provide some insight into the EFC that may be missed by those with a closer involvement in its day-to-day operations.

Information about these four individuals' perceptions of the EFC is based primarily on the interviews conducted to emphasize their current understanding of the diverse aspects of the EFC. Such a perspective is less available in published works, which tend to concentrate primarily on well thought-out opinions on specific issues.

The description of various aspects of the EFC in this section should not be taken as the official view of the EFC or as the established view of its constituency (although there may be some correlation); rather these descriptions are the perspectives of particular individuals who are involved with the EFC. The goal of this chapter is to present the backgrounds that have created the realities of these four people and to discover what this tells us about the EFC. The intention is to show how these four individuals' networks have contributed to their socially constructed realities which have prompted their involvement with the EFC and their dialectical relationship with the EFC.

Although I do not always refer specifically to socially constructed reality, voluntary associations or networks, it should be obvious how the past associations and networks of these individuals have shaped their view of reality and of the EFC.<sup>2</sup> The implications of these social constructed realities for the EFC will be examined in subsequent chapters.

---

<sup>2</sup> References to the changing realities of these individuals refer to the changing spectrum of life impressions that they take for granted (see section 2.1.1). A study of the degree to which the perceptions that make up their realities are a reflection of actual spiritual or physical reality is beyond the scope of this thesis.

#### 4.1 Brian Stiller, Executive Director of the EFC<sup>3</sup>

##### 4.1.1 Personal History

Brian Stiller's background has uniquely suited him to work with the EFC. This is true not only of the things he has done but also of where he has done them and with whom he has done them.

Early in Brian Stiller's ministry he came across a passage in 1 Chronicles 12:32 that became his "trademark or sense of calling." This passage speaks of a time when David, king of the ancient Hebrews, was preparing for battle and depicts the sons of Issachar as having an "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do." This phrase became the defining focus of Stiller's career and life. With this focus in mind he wrote a book called A Generation Under Siege that dealt with understanding the culture in order to minister better to youth. Stiller explains that his ministry, regardless of the organization he worked for, has focused on helping people understand the culture they are a part of and helping them know what they ought to do.

As Executive Director of the EFC, Stiller manages its general operations. He speaks regularly in churches and with various levels of government to raise the EFC's profile and to accomplish its goals. He is also responsible for fund raising, serves as a member of the Executive Council and is Editor-in-Chief of Faith Today. In addition to his regular duties with the EFC<sup>4</sup> and to books he has written previously,<sup>5</sup> Stiller is currently writing two books, tentatively titled Don't

---

<sup>3</sup> This section is based primarily on statements by Stiller in the EFC's publications and on an interview by the author with Stiller on December 31, 1993. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the interview.

<sup>4</sup> This includes supervising a staff of twenty-seven and a budget of over two million as well as raising funds, meeting with members of various levels of government, and meeting with various church and parachurch leaders.

<sup>5</sup> Stiller's most recent book is Critical Options for Evangelicals (1991), a compilation of essays

Let Canada Die by Neglect and From the Tower of Babel to Parliament Hill, which deal with the role of faith in Canadian culture.

Stiller is a graduate of a Pentecostal school and of the Anglican Wycliffe College in Toronto. He was ordained in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and served as the director of the Christian organization, Youth for Christ in Canada. After 16 years with Youth For Christ, Stiller decided that it was time to move on. After a bit of exploration he settled on taking a position with a church in western Canada. Prior to revealing his decision to this church he went to Collingwood, a northern Ontario vacation city, to think and pray about the decision. Stiller explains what happened in this way;

I considered ministering to a large church. While trying to decide, I went off for 24 hours alone to think, pray and read the scriptures. As I was thumbing through the Word, I stopped at the book of Nehemiah, jotting down notes as I read.

When I finished I was astonished to read what I had written: "Find a broken wall ... find a broken wall that has no resources to build ... find a broken wall that people ignore ... but whatever you do, find a broken wall ..."

Shortly after that, the EFC executive challenged me with this task [being Executive Director of the EFC]. Now I've served as a volunteer with EFC for 6 years, so I knew what there was to work with. But at that moment I knew I had found my "wall" (Faith Alive, November 1983:39).

After this experience, Stiller phoned the church and declined the position. Soon after that he got a call from a close pastor friend who explained that Stiller

---

concerning evangelical interactions with Canadian culture.

should not take the church position and gave reasons why. Stiller explained that he had already made that decision but wanted to know if his pastor friend knew what he was supposed to do. His friend replied that he had had lunch with Harry Faught (the first president of EFC) and they believed that Stiller should take over the EFC. The EFC was to become Stiller's broken wall. His goal became to build a voice for evangelicals that understood the culture and showed evangelicals what to do. Ten years later, he still describes joining the EFC in reference to this experience. Although Stiller is not building walls quite as literally organizationally as he was at first, he continues to see himself as building a wall, although now a wall of "witness."

Stiller's reality is both a product of his networks and a function of his socialization. His networks confirm to him the "truth" of the reality he has already internalized. Their constant conversation with him reinforces his understanding of the external world. Having been convinced of this reality, Stiller is involved in maintaining this reality among evangelicals and propagating this reality in the general culture.

#### *4.1.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC*

Stiller's background makes his reasons for getting involved with the EFC clear. This background includes his education, his involvement with Canadian Pentecostals and his sixteen year-leadership of Youth for Christ.

Unusual for a Pentecostal, Stiller got some of his theological education at the evangelical Anglican Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto. This placed him in contact with a wider range of Christians than is usual for a Pentecostal. Among Christians Stiller met and was influenced by was Dr. Harry

Faught,<sup>6</sup> who was the first president of the EFC. Toronto, as the centre for many of the head offices of other evangelical organizations,<sup>7</sup> would have afforded Stiller many opportunities to interact with the countries evangelical leadership. Later Stiller became a Pentecostal minister. The Pentecostals are distinctive among Canadian evangelicals in that they have significant numbers in all regions of Canada<sup>8</sup> (Statistics Canada 1993:10-11). As a Pentecostal minister, Stiller had contact with people from across most of Canada. Finally, as President of Youth For Christ Stiller expanded his network across denominational, regional and national lines. Youth for Christ's international nature and its concern for youth would have brought Stiller into contact with other parachurch organizations throughout the world. As a graduate of a prominent Canadian university centered in Canada's largest city, as a pastor of one of the largest and most regionally represented denominations in Canada and as the former head of the Canadian segment of an international parachurch ministry, Stiller is uniquely suited to lead the EFC.

Nonetheless, Stiller believes that it was not so much these networks that drew him to the EFC but rather the impressions he had received as a fervent student of the Bible. Both of the biblical passages that Stiller has taken to be his own pointed him to involvement with the EFC (i.e. I Chronicles 12:32 and the story of Nehemiah rebuilding the wall around Jerusalem). Stiller wants to "have an understanding of the times to know what evangelicals ought to do" and he must "rebuild the broken wall". These two functions were best met by his

---

<sup>6</sup> Also a Pentecostal, but trained at the "evangelical acceptable Dallas Theological Seminary" (Stackhouse 1993a:166).

<sup>7</sup> For example, the head offices of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Christian Blind Mission and World Vision are all located close to Toronto.

<sup>8</sup> With the exception of Quebec, where no evangelicals have significant numbers (see Table 2 in section 5.2.2.1).

involvement with the EFC where the reality created by these impressions could best be supported.

#### *4.1.3 Perception of the EFC<sup>9</sup>*

##### 4.1.3.1 Function of the EFC

Stiller understands the EFC's main purposes to be: to function as a fellowship for evangelicals, to provide a forum where evangelicals can act together, to be a voice for evangelical concerns, to encourage people to engage their culture and to provide the resources to allow them to do that. In addition the EFC seeks to provide resources to the social/political establishment to aid it in its decision-making. The EFC seeks to maintain the evangelical reality and shift the cultural reality towards that evangelical reality.

##### 4.1.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents

Stiller estimates that approximately ten percent of Canadians are evangelical. If one were to include all the members of the denominations that are members of the EFC they would number approximately 1.7 million Canadians. Stiller believes that the EFC does a good job of representing all evangelicals, even those who have not joined the EFC. He argues his case on the basis that there is general agreement on fundamental issues in the evangelical community and that the EFC solicits opinions from evangelicals who are not its members. The EFC finds out about other evangelical groups'

---

<sup>9</sup> In this section and in the perception sections that follow all the stated functions and goals and the majority of the empirical information about the EFC has been taken from the interviews and reflects the perception of the interviewee, not necessarily the official view of the EFC or its constituency. For example, in the interview Stiller was very careful to distinguish between his opinions and the "official" policy of the EFC, indicating that he did not believe that they were necessarily the same thing.

concerns by inviting one of their pastors to be involved with the EFC or by attending these other groups' conferences as observers. Although, the EFC is a national organization, Stiller explains that it has a disproportionate number of members per population in western Canada because of the large number of evangelicals in the west.

#### 4.1.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture

Stiller views the EFC's philosophy of Christian engagement in the public sphere as being over against culture although within the last ten years he has observed a shift, within Canadian Evangelicalism, towards a more transformational view of how to relate to the culture.<sup>10</sup> However, he notes that, evangelicals are not homogeneous and there is a wide diversity of opinion on how to engage culture. Issues appear to draw people to a transformative view, but evangelicals are ordinarily withdrawn, local-church-centered, non-engaging, and over against culture. The EFC is a pro-active group and therefore is more transformative; although it can appear as over-against because, when it believes it is appropriate, it opposes government policies and actions it disagrees with.<sup>11</sup> It believes that it is better to help develop right policy than to wave placards criticizing the government. It seeks to work with government as an enabler. The EFC's approach is based on a high view of government that believes that good policy enables good living and that bad policy does the opposite. Therefore its objective is to try to find a way to write good policy. In the near future it wants to open an office of national affairs in

---

<sup>10</sup> See Niebuhr 1975 for further discussion of the relations between religious beliefs and culture.

<sup>11</sup> For example, it plans to oppose Bill C45 (the Ontario human rights bill that includes sexual orientation) because it is going into a third reading and therefore the government has already established its intention to pass the bill.

Ottawa to spend time developing close relationships on the Hill, and to keep abreast of what is going on.

The EFC works closely with other groups towards common purposes. It has worked with evangelical groups such as Citizens for Public Justice and Focus on the Family. It has also worked with non-evangelical groups such as the Canadian Council of Catholic Bishops and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. In addition the EFC is working with Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, and Jews on educational issues in Ontario. This expansion of networks beyond Canadian evangelicals indicates a considerably less secretarian view of culture than the more well-known evangelical groups in the United States.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.1.3.4 Successes and Failures

Stiller qualified his comments on the successes and failures of the EFC by indicating that he didn't think that the 10 years of his tenure was long enough to adequately evaluate the long term success or failure of the EFC. He explained that the paradigm of winning and losing was difficult to use because in public policy and in cultural change when you think you have won you have lost and vice versa. With that qualification he does indicate some areas that can be called successes or failures. He considers the establishing of consensus of thought among evangelicals and the enabling of them to speak and act based on that consensus as successes. He also noted modest success in influencing the passage of bills (the federal pornography bill was passed). Even the failure

---

<sup>12</sup> For example, it is unlikely that the NAE would develop the sort of strategic alliances with non-evangelicals that the EFC has (see Stackhouse 1993b:15 for an examination of this issue). John Redekop also holds this opinion (Interview November 25, 1993). However, the recent creation of the document Evangelicals and Catholics together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium suggests that there is some movement towards inter-Christian dialogue and cooperation in the United States (The Record 1994:C12).

to encourage enough support for the abortion bill (which was lost by one vote) was to some degree a success because it "woke people up to the art of public policy." The EFC has had some success building credibility in Ottawa and some success in its legal interventions (the case of the gay couple that wanted rights like a married couple; Sue Rodriguez's petition to the Supreme Court for the right to die). Stiller is encouraged by a sense that Canadians are engaging the culture for Christ.

Failures include the inability to get certain important bills passed (the abortion bill, in particular) and the tendency to center the EFC's attention on single issues. Regarding internal disagreement, Stiller could recall only two occasions, one where some constituents perceived the EFC as having a pacifist view of the Gulf War conflict and another where some accused the leadership of encouraging support of the Charlottetown constitutional accord. The common theme in these successes and failures is their impact on motivating different evangelical groups towards a common end goal.

#### 4.1.3.5 Future Vision

Stiller's vision for the EFC's future is to encourage Christians to be faithful to "the calling" to help Canadian Christians understand their culture, to be faithful to scripture, and to evangelize the nation by declaring the evangel.<sup>13</sup> Evangelical Christians need to learn to make an impact on all of life from all their various occupations. That is, he hopes that evangelicals will further internalize, act on and propagate the evangelical worldview.

Perhaps Stiller's view can best be summarized by his account of one

---

<sup>13</sup> According to Stiller, the evangel is "the good news that Jesus Christ has come. And because he has come we see all of life, including death, differently" (Stiller 1994:78).

encounter he had with Brian Mulroney, then Prime Minister of Canada. The Prime Minister's Office had requested that Stiller meet with the Prime Minister. So Stiller and Mulroney met infrequently but regularly for one-on-one conversation and Stiller would put forward the concerns and agenda of the EFC. Before one such meeting Stiller had as usual gone over the day's agenda with the EFC's Social Action Committee.<sup>14</sup> However, while sitting in a side room, waiting for his meeting with the Prime Minister, he was thumbing through his Bible and noticed Daniel 11:1, which said something along the lines of, "In the first year of King Darius I arose to be an encouragement and protection for the king."<sup>15</sup> Stiller sensed the Spirit (i.e. God) saying to him, "Drop your agenda, Bless the King." His first reaction was to wonder how the Social Action committee would react to his dropping the EFC's agenda but he decided to drop it anyway. After some small talk the Prime Minister asked what his agenda was. To Mulroney's surprise Stiller indicated that he had no agenda but just wanted to encourage him. Stiller then went on to explain the EFC's understanding of leadership, using several biblical passages (Romans 13, Colossians 1:16, and the story of Mordecai and Esther) and prayed with him. The Social Action Committee was not impressed that he did not deal with the agenda, but there was little they could do after the fact. The next week, on a flight to western Canada, Stiller met Ramon Hnatyshyn, a friend of Stiller's and at that point a cabinet minister.<sup>16</sup> Hnatyshyn explained that the Prime Minister had got up in caucus and described his meeting with Stiller. Hnatyshyn then inquired about

---

<sup>14</sup> The Social Action Committee is the committee responsible for setting EFC policy.

<sup>15</sup> Stiller's memory is accurate. In the New American Standard Version of the Bible, Daniel 11:1 reads, "And in the first year of Darius the Mede, I arose to be an encouragement and a protection for him."

<sup>16</sup> Hnatyshyn and Stiller are both from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

what had gone on between them. Stiller thought that he had overstepped his boundaries and hesitantly asked what the Prime Minister had said. Hnatyshyn explained that the Prime Minister had said that it was one of the most encouraging meetings he had been to and that if they (i.e. the Conservative government) ignored the evangelicals then they are the losers. In Stiller's view this uncalculated meeting of encouragement opened many doors of opportunity by manifesting the EFC's commitment to enable the government. To Stiller, this story symbolizes the EFC's approach and echoes the concerns of the evangelical community. By acting coherently with their evangelical worldview that worldview will be strengthened and as evangelicals interact with other groups those groups will become convinced of the value of the evangelical worldview.

## **4.2 John Redekop, Past-President of the EFC<sup>17</sup>**

### *4.2.1 Personal History*

John Redekop was living in California lecturing when he first heard of the formation of the EFC.<sup>18</sup> Intrigued, he wrote for literature about it. Shortly after that, in September of 1968, he took a faculty position at what was to become Wilfrid Laurier University in Ontario. At that point he attended an information meeting about the EFC and within a few months became involved with the organization. He served as the first chair of the EFC's Social Action Commission. Although he had little time and almost no staff he was able to produce a small number of statements (assumedly on Canadian social issues).

---

<sup>17</sup> This section is based primarily on an interview by the author with John Redekop on November 25, 1993. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from this interview.

<sup>18</sup> Although it was not clear from the interview what kind of lecturing Redekop was doing, the context suggests an academic setting. See Redekop 1972a:46 for a brief description of Redekop's career.

After that he represented the Mennonite Brethren Church in Canada on the EFC's General Council. In 1982 he was elected to the Executive Council to serve as Vice-President and beginning in 1991 served a two-year term as President. Redekop's goal as President was to steer the EFC to tackle societal issues such as Canada's unity problems, the increasing ethnic nature of the evangelical community and poverty (Faith Today July/August 1991:38). He is currently serving a two-year term on the Executive Committee as Past-President and may continue on the General Council as a representative of the Mennonite Brethren. He also serves on the Advisory Committee of and writes articles for Faith Today and is often called upon to speak for the EFC. By Redekop's own admission, the EFC is one of the significant organizations in his life. Other significant involvements include being a professor of political science at Wilfrid Laurier University and working with the Mennonite Central Committee.

#### *4.2.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC*

With most people there is rarely one reason for their involvement with anything, but it is usually still possible to isolate a few significant influences. With John Redekop there are two that deserve mention. The first is his employment with Wilfrid Laurier University. He is a respected scholar in political science and has written a variety of books that are directly connected with the nature of the EFC's task.<sup>19</sup> As should be clear from the history of the EFC (as outlined in section 3.3), one of the EFC's goals is to interact with Canadian culture in a Christian way. Redekop's publications illustrate that he also has a significant interest in seeing Christians interact with Canadian

---

<sup>19</sup> These include the pamphlet Making Political Decisions: A Christian Perspective (1972a) and the book Labour Problems in Christian Perspective (1972b).

culture. There is a clear match between Redekop's interests, as shown by his publications, his chosen occupation, and the goals of the EFC.

The second significant influence on Redekop's involvement with the EFC is his Mennonite heritage. Social involvement is part of the Mennonite tradition. It was Mennonites who established the first registered religious lobby in Ottawa.<sup>20</sup> Redekop explains that a Mennonite conception of the appropriate response to society means that, in a democracy, obligation + opportunity = responsibility. The Mennonite method is to begin meeting needs as they see them and then to invite governments to follow their example. This worldview contributes to Redekop's desire to see the EFC at the pluralistic table, in a religious and in a political sense, making and shaping government policy. The Mennonites and the EFC's constituency alike believe that they have something to say at a time when they perceive that their values are being threatened.

Given Redekop's background both as a political scientist and as a Mennonite it is not surprising that he is drawn to the work of the EFC. The worldview of the political scientist and the worldview of the Mennonite converge in the worldview of the EFC.

#### 4.2.3 Perception of the EFC

##### 4.2.3.1 Function of the EFC

Redekop sees the EFC as an association and a presence in Canada. He argues that the term "fellowship" is now a bit of a misnomer as the goal of the EFC is no longer primarily to help evangelicals get to know one another; rather it is to be a presence in society making its needs and wishes known. It is to be a voice in the public square and a facilitator of networking, not a denomination or

---

<sup>20</sup> This is especially ironic since an earlier generation of Mennonites would not even have voted.

a mission. The EFC wants to be a voice for morality, values and absolutes, making no apologies for its defense of its religiously motivated interests. It desires to be an evangelical voice at the policy-making table that, while pluralistic, is also assertive about its concerns.

#### 4.2.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents

Based on internally done surveys and on external surveys commissioned by the EFC, Redekop believes that in most instances the EFC does an excellent job of representing its constituency and that there is a large amount of satisfaction with the activities of the EFC. This is not to say that Redekop is not aware of disagreements within the constituency; it is just that he does not think they are significant. It is adequate, he believes, for the EFC to speak even if there is only 70%-80% agreement on the issue and he is comfortable with the EFC's decision not to speak when agreement is not that clear. He sees one of the objectives of the EFC as listening and informing. This means allowing room for diversity on policy issues, strategies and emphases. Redekop celebrates the diversity of opinion leaders, institutions, agencies, denominations and publishing houses that are involved with the EFC. The EFC is not a monolith. It has a diversity that extends to significant differences concerning such fundamental moral issues as capital punishment and the role of women in the church. Despite such differences Redekop argues that the EFC is agreed on the essentials of "historic Christian faith" and has broad unity on the "basic significance of key traditional conservative values." His argument seems to be that as long as the EFC's constituents agree on basic doctrine and values, disagreement on some of the applications of that doctrine and those values to

Canadian society is not crucial. This receptivity to diversity may also be a product of his background as a Mennonite and a university professor.

#### 4.2.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture

Redekop argues that evangelicals are a diverse slice of Canadian society. People as different as educators, business people, tradespeople, factory workers and journalists are evangelicals. Despite such diversity, Redekop is clear that it is the spiritual side of the EFC that undergirds everything the organization does. Even though Christian and humanistic traditions may come to the same conclusions, their conclusions are based on a different set of assumptions. It is the Christians' religious convictions that should inform their interaction with government and provides the foundation for all they do. Redekop explains that "on the basis of their understanding of human dignity, which is rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, we [the EFC] believe that a policy makes sense" or does not make sense. This conclusion is communicated both to its constituents and to the government.

When asked what the EFC does, Redekop chose to concentrate on those activities that reflected the EFC's interaction with Canadian culture rather than those activities that involved communicating to its constituency.

#### .c4.4.2.3.4 Successes and Failures

One of the successes that Redekop talks of is the EFC's achieving of a more pluralistic approach to social action. He is very much in favour of strategic alliances based on common interests and concerns be these abortion, peace or the environment. This is one of many positive aspects of the EFC that leads Redekop to believe that the EFC has positively affected political decisions (that

is, political decisions have turned out to be congruent with its worldview).

Redekop also believes that the EFC has been relatively successful in communicating its agenda to Canadians through such means as its "flagship periodical" (Faith Today) which is distributed to many major libraries, and its program on Vision TV. Redekop sees Stiller's overwhelming presence in the EFC as necessary for establishing a national presence but stresses that Stiller is not the EFC and that the EFC is looking to change its image.<sup>21</sup>

The few failures that Redekop believes the EFC has had are related to his worldview. He is disappointed that the EFC has not yet established a permanent Ottawa office to keep abreast of the Canadian political scene. In this vein he believes that the EFC has not always come up with policy statements when it should have (e.g. on immigration and multiculturalism). Betraying his Mennonite, political science background he would like to see the EFC have more input on the international scene, such as their controversial submission on the Gulf War. He is also concerned about the EFC's rapid growth and its ability to make good use of its staff and funding, although he was not willing to call its current organization of these areas either a failure or a success.

#### 4.2.3.5 Future Vision

Redekop hopes the EFC will seek to encourage societal and government involvement in social issues by being an example of what should be done. The objective, he believes, is not just to complain but also to encourage. To this end

---

<sup>21</sup> For example, Stiller is no longer in the EFC's ads. The Long-Term Strategy Report explains that, "Members of the EFC are well aware of the leadership of our executive director. This has been an advantage to its development. However, it has been his [Stiller's] expressed concern that as the EFC enters a new phase, the vision should be broadened and the risk of dependency on a single person reduced" (April 1993:4).

he would like to see more and better quality research and better publications. Better communication is a better legitimator of the evangelical worldview, and this legitimation is necessary to maintain evangelical networks.

### **4.3 Ian Rennie, Member of the EFC's General Council<sup>22</sup>**

#### *4.3.1 Personal History*

The earliest significant influence on his Christianity that Ian Rennie refers to is his involvement with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship in university. It was there that he first began to meet Christians from around the world. To Rennie this became the single most important influence on his Christian growth. It opened his eyes to see beyond his own situation and at the same time he was encouraged by Christian vitality in other countries. Further study abroad exposed him to a diversity of Christian faith and life. His chosen career was as a Presbyterian minister, a capacity in which he served across Canada and the United States. Rennie was pastoring in Vancouver when the EFC started, and he became involved with it because of William Fitch, one of the early presidents of the EFC. Earlier Rennie had been one of Fitch's assistants at Knox Presbyterian Church in Toronto. In Vancouver Rennie helped to start a local Evangelical Fellowship. Later he returned to Toronto to teach at Ontario Theological Seminary (OTS) and became more directly involved with the EFC, at one time serving as Vice-President on the Executive Council. He currently holds a position on the General Council serving as an individual rather than as a representative of OTS or of the Presbyterian Church.

Rennie's connection with the evangelical community is extensive. As

---

<sup>22</sup> This section is based primarily on an interview with Ian Rennie on December 6, 1993. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from this interview

Vice-President, Academic Dean and Professor of Church History at OTS, he is involved in one of the largest and most influential evangelical seminaries in Canada. As a Presbyterian he is connected to one of the major historical denominations in Canada. As a Presbyterian minister he has had experience in ministering to Canadians and gains respect among most evangelicals in that capacity. As a member of the EFC's General Council he has a hand in directing the main lobby and information group for evangelicals in Canada. And as a competent writer whose articles have appeared in Faith Today he has access to the groups that disseminate information to evangelicals in Canada. The point of this long list of credentials is to illustrate how Rennie's various networks within Canadian evangelical Christianity work together to reinforce common worldviews and to work towards common goals.

#### *4.3.2 Reason for Involvement with the EFC*

As a pastor, as an administrator at a seminary and as an historian, Ian Rennie is in a position to comment on the state of evangelical spirituality in Canada. He notes that traditionally Canada has had a dearth of spiritual leadership. The EFC was needed because evangelical Protestants had little knowledge of each other and furthermore had little interest in knowing each other (unless they belonged to the same denomination). In a conversation between Rennie and Leighton Ford, associate evangelist with Billy Graham, Ford remarked that the Billy Graham Association considered Canada to be the neediest country spiritually in the English-speaking world. To illustrate this, Rennie noted that Canada is looking constantly to Britain and the United States for spiritual leadership because of the lack of homegrown leadership and

because of the regional fragmentation of Canada. Rennie explains that spiritual leadership is needed to transcend regions and to bind people together. This is the passion that appears to have motivated Rennie's interest in the EFC.

Rennie's background has contributed to this passion. Rennie's experiences with InterVarsity and his work in the United States and Britain have shown him examples of spiritual vitality and leadership that, he believes, are rare in Canada. Finally, as a professor at OTS he has an excellent opportunity to train and influence some of the people that will become Canada's future spiritual leaders. To Rennie the EFC is one way of developing and maintaining the spiritual leadership needed in Canada today.

Rennie's interconnectedness with the evangelical community made him well qualified for involvement with the EFC. Rennie's concern about the spiritual neediness of Canada and his conviction that the EFC could help is the passion that fostered his interest in the EFC.

#### *4.3.3 Perception of the EFC*

##### *4.3.3.1 Function of the EFC*

The EFC, in Rennie's conception, is an instrument to bring about a greater degree of unity among Canadian evangelicals and to encourage and train Canadian spiritual leaders. He sees Stiller as a man who has bridged some of these gaps because of his strong connections across Canada and across denominations. He believes that Stiller is given and should be given a fair amount of freedom in running the EFC, although he should remain accountable to the Executive and the General Council.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Brian Stiller's September 24, 1993 report to the General Council echoes this same opinion.

#### 4.3.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents

Rennie believes that the EFC has now gained a fair amount of support among evangelical denominations (including some of the larger ones such as the Pentecostals and the Salvation Army). Although he notes that there will always be criticism, he believes that most of these denominations are pleased with the direction the EFC has taken. Some large denominations have not joined (e.g. some Ontario and Quebec Baptists), but this does not necessarily mean that they disagree with what the EFC is doing.

Rennie is unaware of any significant disputes concerning goals and policy statements but readily admits that that may be because he is not close enough to the situation. Nonetheless, he is confident that there is general agreement on major issues. The strong stands that the EFC takes are generally well supported by its members.<sup>24</sup> There are, of course, controversial issues that produce tension but Rennie believes that most evangelicals are tolerant of other evangelical viewpoints.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.3.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture

The EFC has become a “spokesperson” for evangelicals. Yet Rennie makes it clear that, although this role is good, the EFC must not accept the

---

<sup>24</sup> The only notable exception he could think of was the EFC's support of the 1980's abortion bill that would have allowed abortions only in extreme cases such as rape or disability. Rennie explains that Stiller argued the pragmatic view that “politics is the art of the possible. You can't always get everything; get as much as you can.” Rennie noted that Stiller was supported in his position by the EFC Executive Council and that even this issue did not cause a significant amount of tension.

<sup>25</sup> For example, concerning the controversial issue of women in ministry, Rennie explains that most “thoughtful” Christians realize that there is a great deal in the Bible that points in two directions; therefore it is prudent to take a “live-and-let-live and wait-and-see-what's going to happen” position.

world's views of how religion affects society because the prayers of the saints (i.e. Christians) have more effect than anything else, and the preaching of the gospel leads to God working in the society. He has a transformative view of the EFC's relation to Canadian culture but this transformation has a spiritual base. "God's grace works in hidden ways in society," therefore "we must be careful" about how success is measured.

Although Rennie would profess that the goals of the EFC come from "Christian dynamics" he is quick to point out that we are all creatures of culture (some of which is good) and that it is difficult to draw the line between captivity to the culture and separation from the culture. It is hard to tell if the EFC has dealt with this in a better way than any other group .

#### 4.3.3.4 Successes and Failures

The EFC's impact can be seen in the raised profile of evangelicals. This has drawn evangelicals together and encouraged them to work with one another. The EFC has highlighted that evangelicals have a legitimate point of view that should be acknowledged. This raised profile has encouraged academics to study and explore the world of the evangelical, often with surprising findings.<sup>26</sup>

Although Rennie insisted that he was willing to raise criticisms of the EFC he had very few significant concerns and believed that this is generally the case among the EFC's constituency. The only major concern that Rennie mentioned throughout the interview was that the EFC should include more involvement from and with the mainline churches, — a not surprising emphasis for a

---

<sup>26</sup> See Maclean's April 12, 1993, "God is Alive," and Lois Sweet 1992 for examples of this in the popular media.

Presbyterian.

#### 4.3.3.5 Future Vision

Rennie's vision for the EFC is that it will continue to draw evangelical Christians together for fellowship, inspiration and encouragement. It will seek to speak on public issues with a somewhat united voice without becoming reductionist in its Christianity (beating one drum all the time). Canada, he believes, is a very spiritually needy country and it needs all the help it can get. It is Rennie's evangelical worldview, part of which is a product of his various networks, that shapes his perception of the needs of the EFC.

### **4.4 Ken Zorn, Member of the EFC's General Council<sup>27</sup>**

#### *4.4.1 Personal History*

Ken Zorn was raised as a Christian in Saskatchewan and refers to himself as "saved as far back as I can remember."<sup>28</sup> As a young man he believed that God had called him to full-time ministry. As a result of this conviction he went to a Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod college in Edmonton and then to the Missouri Synod's seminary in St. Louis, Missouri. Since that time, he has worked as a pastor in locations such as Burlington, Ontario; Regina, Saskatchewan and Kitchener, Ontario for the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. In 1969 he came to Kitchener as a pastor for Hope Lutheran Church and, as he puts it, "God has not moved me since." Although most Missouri Synod Lutheran churches in Canada joined the Lutheran Church -

---

<sup>27</sup> This section is based primarily on an interview with Ken Zorn on December 3, 1993. All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from this interview.

<sup>28</sup> In this case the term "saved" refers to a personal relationship with Jesus Christ that directs and guides one's life.

Canada when it was formed, his church did not join because it did not have the emphasis on missions that Zorn believed was needed. Zorn saw his main task as a pastor to be to plant new churches or to encourage very small churches to grow.

Zorn's passion is evangelism and his position at Hope Lutheran has allowed him to pursue that passion. His church supports, by itself, over 100 foreign missionaries, students and orphans.<sup>29</sup> Zorn explains that 60%-70% of the congregation have been converted from the community, not taken from other churches. He notes that he had a hand in the conversion to Christianity of most of the converts in his church. In addition to his work with his church, Zorn has been heavily involved in local evangelistic efforts including bringing the Billy Graham Association's films and the evangelists Barry Moore and Terry Winter to the Kitchener area. Although most local Lutherans are not evangelical,<sup>30</sup> Zorn is well known among Kitchener evangelicals for his involvement in evangelistic efforts, his input into the local evangelical ministerial and his leadership of a morning prayer meeting for evangelical pastors.

Zorn's involvement in the EFC began with the creation of the Kitchener-Waterloo evangelical ministerial in the late 1970's. The ministerial was started because of a perceived need to bring evangelicals together to share in fellowship and resources, to build spiritual contact and encourage spiritual growth and to fight for evangelical causes (e.g. pro-life). This was not being done in the Kitchener-Waterloo area so Zorn took on the task, becoming the ministerial's first chair.

---

<sup>29</sup> Such a large number is possible because the majority of these people are in India where living expenses are very inexpensive. Nevertheless, the church does give away a significant amount of money. According to Zorn, Hope Lutheran gives away half of its income.

<sup>30</sup> See the note 4, section 3.1 for a discussion of the relation between Lutherans and the term "evangelical."

The ministerial's first action was to join the EFC in order to get its mailings and guidance, to be made aware of its work, and to collaborate in its activities when they wanted to (e.g. the March for Jesus, distribution of the "Jesus" video). The ministerial's goals were developed to match the EFC's mission statement. Several months after the ministerial's first involvement with the EFC, the EFC contacted Zorn for permission to hold a pastors' preaching workshop at Hope Lutheran church. It was at that meeting that Zorn met Brian Stiller who requested that he get further involved with the EFC. Initially he was not on the General Council but soon the EFC sought him out as a representative of a denomination that had chosen not to join the EFC.<sup>31</sup>

The defining feature of Zorn's life is his passion for evangelism, a passion that has shaped his life choices and his involvement with the EFC.

#### *4.4.2. Reason for Involvement with the EFC*

Although reasons for joining any organization can initially appear simple, there is usually a diverse background of experiences and choices that contributes to that apparently simple choice. This is the case with Zorn. The simple reason for his involvement in the EFC is that he believes that the EFC will further the evangelical task. As he expresses it, "my mission is to get the message [of Christianity] out to Canada," therefore he "will be involved in things which do that."

This vision and passion can be traced back to his Lutheranism. As

---

<sup>31</sup> According to Zorn, there is no involvement by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC) in the EFC (which is not "evangelical" in the sense being used in this paper; see section 3.1.1). However, there is involvement by congregations that belong to the Lutheran Church - Canada (which is "evangelical" although it does not use the term, most likely to distinguish itself from the ELCIC) even if this denomination has not joined the EFC.

already noted, Zorn has been immersed in conservative Lutheran Christianity since his childhood. The post-secondary schools he attended were both schools of the conservative Missouri Synod segment of the Lutheran church. Since the mid-1930s the Missouri Synod has had a strong emphasis on mission both within and external to its own culture. This drive was transmitted to Zorn who took up the task with a passion rare even among pastors. This interest in missions is apparent in the tasks that Zorn has chosen to take on. He has been heavily involved in the evangelistic campaigns in the Waterloo Region where his church is located.<sup>32</sup> Within the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church -Missouri Synod he has been the evangelism director, the public relations director, the main spokesperson for their social concern committee and has been on the board of directors. Zorn records that his branch of the Lutheran church stands for the same things as the EFC (he notes, in particular, their strong stand on the authority of the Bible).

A second factor that contributes to his interest in the EFC is his personal background. As a young man he received a call to "the ministry" that has had an impact on him ever since. He is a calm yet passionate man and his personality expresses itself with energy and friendliness. The many committees and volunteer commitments that he has had attest to his single-minded pursuit of evangelism. His main critique of the EFC is what he sees as its slow movement in the area of evangelism. This passion for evangelism shapes his worldview, which in turn shapes his interaction with everyone he meets.

Thus Zorn's stated reason for joining the EFC is that it furthers the task of evangelism. The underlying factors that contribute to that passion are his

---

<sup>32</sup> For example, he is currently involved in an evangelistic campaign that wants to offer the "Jesus" video to all the homes in Waterloo region.

personal character, his strong view of the Bible, his call to ministry and his conservative Lutheran background.

#### 4.4.3. *Perception of the EFC*

##### 4.4.3.1 Function of the EFC

When asked to define the EFC Zorn directed me to the EFC's mission statement.<sup>33</sup> Most of my "official" questions were answered by reference to some sort of official document produced by the EFC. When asked for his perception of the organization he gave me his admittedly biased opinions on its work.<sup>34</sup> To his eyes the EFC "has done an excellent job presenting a biblical stance and standing up in government situations." The evangelical ministerial Zorn is involved in concentrates primarily on local issues. However, he believes that his evangelical colleagues both in the ministerial and in his own church are receptive to the work of the EFC.

##### 4.4.3.2 The EFC and its Constituents

General agreement on fundamentals leads to what Zorn considers the defining feature of evangelicals. To him the fundamental issue that makes the EFC evangelical is its belief in the infallibility of the Bible. This is clearly an important issue for him as he highlights this in relation both to his denomination and to the EFC. It is a strong belief in this sacred text that provides the direction for his passion. The "infallible" text of the Bible provides the motivation and the

---

<sup>33</sup> To "be a public advocate of gospel of Jesus Christ," to help create and maintain evangelical identity, to develop and present biblical views on critical issues, and to assist members in proclaiming and promoting Christian values, etc. (Long-Term Strategy Report April 1993:2).

<sup>34</sup> That is, he admitted that he joined the EFC because he thought that it was furthering the task of evangelism and that his personal passion was evangelism.

command for evangelism. He sees the EFC and by implication its constituents as having goals that are congruent with this passion.

#### 4.4.3.3 Relation to Canadian Culture

Zorn believes that the EFC has had an impact on general Canadians through its use of television and on the government through its lobbying efforts. The EFC has given the government a better understanding of the perspective of "biblical" Christians. He also believes that the EFC has become better at responding to the social needs of the culture.

#### 4.4.3.4 Successes and Failures

Zorn sees the EFC's success in terms of its interaction with governments. As a result of the EFC's work he believes that there is now more understanding of the "biblical" Christian perspective on government policy, particularly when the EFC chooses to intervene on policy issues.<sup>35</sup> Another area of success that Zorn highlighted was a recent emphasis on getting denominational leaders together to pray. He believes that this will have significant impact on the work of the EFC (to the end goal of transmitting the gospel). Reflecting his passion for mission, he notes that the EFC is weak on evangelism although this area of emphasis is improving. He sees no general disharmony within the organization and believes that the members of the EFC are in "general agreement on the fundamental issues."

---

<sup>35</sup> The EFC issues regular statements to various levels of government and applies to intervene in court cases that it believe it has an interest in (e.g. the right of New Horizons group homes to fire staff that do not comply with their moral code).

#### 4.4.3.5 Future Vision

Zorn explains that the EFC's growth and maturity have led to a greater evangelical consciousness of the social needs of people, and a realization that evangelicals are not the only Christians. That is, you can be a Christian without calling yourself an evangelical, an opinion shaped by his Lutheran heritage. To Zorn this understanding relates to the task of evangelism in that recognizing other Christians allows one to work together towards that common goal. Zorn's vision of the future of the EFC, like his understanding of the present, is centered on evangelism.

It is clear that Ken Zorn's conservative evangelical background and his personal call and passion have led to his focus on evangelism and this in turn shapes his view of the EFC.

#### **4.5 Different Networks - Common Purpose**

Having examined four different individuals worldviews and perceptions of the EFC, it is pertinent to note some similarities and differences between their individual perceptions and draw out the implications of these similarities and differences for the EFC. The EFC is effective as a voluntary association not only because of the similarities of its members, but also because of their differences. It is clear how common concerns for evangelism, connecting evangelicals and making an impact on Canadian culture could draw different people together but it is not as clear how their differences help keep them together. However, a closer examination of these individuals shows that their differences are one of the key factors in maintaining the EFC and the evangelical worldview.

Although we may describe the EFC by reference to what it does or who

belongs to it, it is hard to capture and describe it in a definitive way. This is because what the EFC is depends on the vantage point from which one is looking at it. This can be illustrated by examining differences in individuals' perceptions of the EFC. For example, to Zorn the EFC is a tool for evangelism whereas the other three individuals interviewed mentioned that function only in passing. To Rennie one of the main functions of the EFC is a means for promoting much needed evangelical fellowship whereas Redekop thinks that the EFC's function is no longer primarily fellowship. It is not that some people have a more accurate conception of the EFC (although this is most surely the case); it is that the EFC is multi-faceted and encompasses the concerns and desires of many different groups.

These four individuals have different networks, different reasons for becoming involved with the EFC, different levels of involvement within the EFC and different perceptions of how it functions.<sup>36</sup> However, these differences are crucial to the successful functioning of the EFC. The various networks that these individuals are involved in illustrate how differences among members benefit the EFC. That is, the involvement of different networks in the EFC keeps it from stagnating and from being overly concerned with a single area of evangelical life. For example involvement with the EFC may help Rennie see a relationship between the concerns of Presbyterians and Lutherans; Redekop may notice some of the common concerns of Mennonites and Lutherans; and Zorn may begin to understand how Redekop's political science background can aid in evangelism. The interaction among various networks within the EFC can alter the perceptions of these networks held by those who belong to them. These different networks and the worldviews they influence serve to enrich

---

<sup>36</sup> Chapter six will examine the dialectical relationship between these individuals and the EFC.

rather than detract from the EFC.

In one sense the EFC needs no specific common worldview; its various worldviews are compatible enough for its functioning. However, it does need some commonalities to continue to exist as a voluntary association. For example, the four interviewees value the EFC partly because of their perception that it represents the common underlying unity of evangelical beliefs. Stiller believes that the EFC can represent all Canadian evangelicals and Redekop, Rennie and Zorn referred specifically to the understanding that within the EFC there is unity on fundamental beliefs. It does not matter that many of these common beliefs are shared by other non-evangelical groups nor does it seem to matter that there are some significant disagreements on important issues (e.g. the role of women in the church). The EFC is not an institution that needs a unified vision and exact doctrine; but it does need its members to perceive it as representing their commonalities. The EFC cannot have a single worldview because of the diversity of its members worldviews. These characteristics aid it in attracting a diversity of evangelicals to its cause and motivating them in similar directions.

The diversity of these four individuals mirrors the EFC as a whole. Their multiple individual networks are a microcosm of the EFC's many networks. Every individual and group that joins the EFC brings to it its own networks and associations. In addition to the organizational links mentioned in this chapter, these individuals also have many geographic and interpersonal connections. Stiller knows Ramon Hnatyshyn from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Redekop first heard of the EFC in California. Zorn has lived in Saskatchewan, Ontario and St. Louis and has connections in India. Rennie has connections in Europe and has

conversed with Leighton Ford of the Billy Graham association, one of the most significant forces in American evangelicalism. This diversity of geographic and interpersonal experience is all brought to the EFC and shapes the EFC as the EFC, thus shaped, disseminates these differing perspectives to its entire constituency.

As these individuals have a diversity of networks that they try to reconcile, so too does the EFC. Evangelical organizations with connections to the EFC such as Citizens for Public Justice in Toronto, Focus on the Family in Vancouver and Ontario Theological Seminary in Toronto also have their own networks. These organizations all bring together evangelicals from different denominations and geographic regions to work together towards common goals. The EFC's networks also include groups who do not share their goals but with whom the EFC has some common purposes. These groups include the Canadian Council of Catholic Bishops and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. The EFC's program on Vision TV and its publications further expand its networks. Interaction with all of these different networks influences the EFC much as the interviewees' interaction with their networks influences them. The enriching diversity of the many networks (individual and institutional) the EFC is involved in is the very characteristic that keeps the EFC from having one focus and yet precisely this may be the key to the EFC's ability to attract a diversity of Canadian evangelicals.

The similarities and differences between the various networks that make up the EFC's constituency are crucial to its identity. The EFC's existence and continued functioning is partly a result of the diverse networks of its members. It is these networks of different people with different concerns united together in their common goals that maintain and legitimate the EFC. The breadth of the

EFC's identity allows many different evangelical groups to be comfortable about being involved with it, and the commonalities that the EFC defends are vital to bringing evangelicals together as a voluntary association. It is this ability to maintain the right combination of similarities and differences that keeps the EFC together.

## The EFC's Literature and its Dialectical Worldview

The task of discerning the important issues of an evangelical worldview, identifying all of the EFC's members, determining what these members believe on each of these issues and bringing all this information together into a single worldview is both impractical and unmanageable. As I argued in section 3.1 evangelicals should be seen as groups having similar sets of characteristics that connect them to each other but should not be seen as a single movement having identifiable, totally unique defining characteristics. The EFC has chosen to concentrate on those things which unite Canadian evangelicals and not to speak, in any official way, on those issues which divide them.<sup>1</sup> Although the EFC's members do have some common views (e.g. the utility of the Bible to speak to everyday life) they also have some significant differences (e.g. the role of women in ministry). Given this, any attempt to produce a single worldview would be to create an artificial construction that represents only part of each individual evangelical group. Similarly it would be unproductive to attempt to derive a synthesized worldview of the EFC. However, this does not mean that the EFC's worldview shares nothing with the worldviews of its members. The

---

<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that they do not deal with divisive issues. They do hold conferences on these controversies and report on various sides of a given issue in Faith Today.

EFC's worldview, like its reality, reflects and maintains the realities of its members, even as those members' realities influence the EFC. Using the EFC's literature, this chapter illustrates this dialectical relationship between the EFC and Canadian evangelicals.

The literature that will be examined includes official publications (Faith Today, for general audiences; Sundial, for members), church information sheets (Understanding our Times, mailings to churches concerning specific issues), briefs to various levels of government and internal documents (the EFC's constitution, by-laws, Executive Director's report to the General Council, and Long-Term Strategy Report). The majority of these documents were not produced to explain the function of the EFC, some were not intended to serve as organs of the EFC,<sup>2</sup> and some were only produced for internal use. However, the same organization has produced all of this literature and the same Executive Director is responsible for it. The use of documents that are directed at a variety of different audiences assures that commonalities and trends will not be identified without due consideration. Although it is unlikely that the worldview presented in the literature exactly matches the worldview of any given member, it is reasonable to assume that there is nothing in the literature that is considered heresy by the EFC's members and that the commonalities observed are reflective of some common goals. References to the worldview and/or opinion of the EFC, in this chapter, are derived principally from its published literature and should not be taken as the entire worldview of the EFC or of its constituents.

---

<sup>2</sup> For example, the express purpose of Faith Today is to represent the diversity of views found among Canadian Evangelicals, not to represent the views of the EFC.

Using the EFC's literature, then, the first section of this chapter examines three of the main activities of the EFC and illustrates the inter-relatedness of Canadian evangelicals as facilitated by the EFC. The second section examines the EFC's perception of itself and its relationships. The final section notes the implications of the EFC's perceptions of itself as summarized in sections one and two.

### **5.1 What Does the EFC Do?<sup>3</sup>**

The EFC's Mission Statement and Key Result Areas, as described in the EFC's Long-Term Strategy Report, provide a summary of what the EFC does (1993:2-11). The mission statement has four main elements that summarize the EFC's reason for existing: evangelical identity, Biblical critique of current issues in the Canadian culture, public advocacy and ministry assistance (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:2).<sup>4</sup> In addition to these functions the EFC has noted nine "Key Result Areas" that it defines as "a strategic emphasis which, when supported by a specific action plan, will help to move the organization towards its mission" (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:6). This has been cross referenced, by the EFC, into a table (see Table 1). The cross-referencing of these "result areas" and goals in the Long-Term Strategy Report demonstrated the interrelatedness of the EFC's Mission Statement and Key Result Areas and highlights the main areas of the EFC's activities. In the chart, items 3,4, and 8 are administrative requirements for any longstanding organization and therefore will be dealt with only incidentally. The remaining result areas can be

---

<sup>3</sup> Except where noted, all the information in this section has been derived from EFC-produced literature.

<sup>4</sup> See section 5.2.1 for a more detailed description of these functions.

KEY RESULT AREAS	Evangelical Identity	Biblical Critique	Public Advocacy	Ministry Assistance
1. Prayer	X	X	X	X
2. Evangelism	X			X
3. Membership and Funding	X	X	X	X
4. Organization	X	X	X	X
5. Communication	X	X	X	X
6. Decision Making	X	X	X	X
7. Influencing Canadian Culture	X	X	X	X
8. Budgeting				X
9. National Leadership Consultation	X			X

divided into three main tasks: providing resources for members (5, 6, 9), motivating evangelicals (1,2,5,6,9) and influencing Canadian culture (7). This section will look at these three tasks in sequence detailing how they have shaped the EFC's worldview and that of its constituency by creating and shaping Canadian evangelical networks, associations and realities.

### *5.1.1 Provides Resources for Members*

#### 5.1.1.1 Members and the Resources they Have Access to

Before examining the nature of the resources the EFC's members have access to, it is relevant to look briefly at how these resources are distributed to the EFC's constituents and what the general categories of constituents are. This section briefly examines who these members are and what resources are

available to them. Although the EFC produces a variety of different resources this section concentrates on its written resources. Much of the EFC's literature is available to anyone that requests it, but most of it was produced specifically for the EFC's members.<sup>5</sup>

The basic requirement for membership in the EFC is to adhere "without reservation to the statement of faith and to support the EFC" (Constitution 3). Having fulfilled this basic requirement there are a variety of ways in which a person can become a member of the EFC (By-laws 1,2). A person can join as an individual by making an annual contribution to the EFC. This kind of membership currently costs \$35 per year and entitles the individual to the bimonthly periodical Faith Today a "newsfeature" magazine, the quarterly newsletter Sundial which analyzes current events and issues, National Alert bulletins which "prompt and aid" a personal response to urgent issues and Parliamentary Briefs the EFC's research proposals prepared for various levels of government (Faith Today July/Aug. 1993:19). Individual congregations can become members by a majority vote of their ruling body. For several hundred dollars they receive copies of the information given to individual members, regular mailings about important happenings in Canada and a semi-regular insert to put in their bulletin called Understanding Our Times. A denomination becomes a member by a majority vote of its governing body. Denominational members receive all the benefits of individual congregations but also are granted representation on the EFC's general council according to the size of the denomination. Parachurch agencies and other associations can join the EFC, provided they have purposes consistent with the EFC. They get similar access

---

<sup>5</sup> The main exception to this is the social action briefs to government. However, these briefs are distributed to the EFC's members and serve both as a statement to the government and as a formulation of evangelical opinion on social issues.

to the EFC's research but do not automatically gain membership on the General Council. The EFC also publishes books and produces videos that are available to its constituents.

Members of these various evangelical congregations, denominations and parachurch agencies may be unaware of the EFC but they cannot be free from its impact. As is the case with most associations, it is the leadership, in consultation with the members, that sets the agendas in evangelical groups. Perspective changes in the leadership are eventually communicated to constituencies who internalize this new perspective.<sup>6</sup> The constituents, in turn, communicate to their leaders, who transmit this information to the EFC, which may result in changes to the EFC. Thus members of these groups are also involved in a dialectical relationship with the EFC, albeit indirectly, whether they are aware of it or not.

It is significant that each of these different types of members receive similar information. Inter-relationships are formed as members share resources and participate in the EFC as a voluntary association. These shared resources, provided by the EFC, facilitate the creation of evangelical networks and maintain existing networks.

---

<sup>6</sup> In very large groups (e.g. a country, the United Nations) there may be a variety of different groups and leaders attempting to convince the same constituency of the validity of their perspective. This makes it less likely that the "official" leadership will be able to convince all its constituents to internalize its perspective.

#### 5.1.1.2 The Nature of the Resources<sup>7</sup>

The literature provided by the EFC is one form of communication that facilitates Canadian evangelical networking. Shared literature from the EFC contributes to evangelical common knowledge and thus aids in communication. The effect of shared literature on evangelical networking can be illustrated by examining the main reoccurring themes in Faith Today. Given the EFC's mandate to reflect the diversity of Canadian evangelicalism it is not surprising that over the years the EFC's periodicals have touched on hundreds of different aspects of Canadian living, from preaching to politics, and from recreation to education. It is possible to discern some trends in this literature.

What is provided is primarily Canadian in content; although there have been references to international events, they are usually related to Canadian involvement. The EFC's periodicals initially had an emphasis on Christian discipleship with articles of a contemplative or expository nature. Although this has continued (primarily through regular columns), the focus has shifted to helping Canadian evangelicals respond to and deal with life in Canada. Faith Today has had a small number of articles dealing with the lives of evangelicals (e.g. in the arts, in sports, in business, etc.) but the largest number of articles were related to political and social concerns. Examples include reports on new political parties, instructions on how to write letters to politicians and articles on abortion, medical ethics and labour-management relations. In addition a large amount of space was dedicated to sexuality. Everything from homosexuality and AIDS to sexual abuse and pornography have received attention in the

---

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the significance of themes not found in Faith Today see Stackhouse 1993c. This section concentrates on the themes found in the literature distributed externally. The internal literature is of a formal nature (by-laws, constitution, faith statement, etc) that, although it does inform the external literature, is not regularly accessed by most members. In fact, individual members may not have seen it.

pages of Faith Today. Significant attention was also paid to families and the issues that affect families (divorce, education, abuse, etc.).

A list of the topics of the EFC's social action briefs gives a good profile of the sort of social concerns currently presented in the EFC's literature. These topics include one day of rest in seven, inclusion of "sexual orientation" in the human rights code, child care, religious education in public schools, AIDS and the church, pornography, abortion, new reproductive technologies, and religion and broadcasting. As would be expected, these are all issues where evangelicals can come into conflict with culture.

These themes in the EFC's periodicals both reflect and alter the evangelical community. It was the Canadian evangelical community that mandated the EFC into existence and gave its periodical the task of reflecting Canadian evangelicalism. At the same time the very existence of the magazine changed the face of the people it was reflecting. The concerns of one part of Canadian evangelicalism became the concerns of all of Canadian evangelicalism. Whereas at one time the struggles of the United Church over the ordination of homosexuals would have been a topic of little concern to evangelicals, in the 1990's it became a feature article in Faith Today, increasing awareness of homosexuality in the church for evangelicals across the country. The presence of advertising in Faith Today suggests that both the EFC and the advertisers think that someone is influenced by the magazine. The organ created to encourage existing evangelical realities has been an instrument to create a new Canadian evangelical reality. This should not be surprising to the EFC as its mission statement calls it to "Provide an evangelical identity which unites Canadian Christians of diverse backgrounds." The EFC has knowingly

created this new identity or reality as a tool in its effort to influence the culture.<sup>8</sup> This new and changing reality is also an invaluable instrument in maintaining the voluntary association that is the EFC. A voluntary association unites around commonalties. The unifying and redefining of Canadian evangelical identity that takes place through the EFC's literature assures that those commonalties will be maintained and even strengthened. In addition the EFC has become an association that has rights and privileges that are not available to its individual members (e.g. access to the Prime Minister's Office). This encourages individual members to associate with the EFC to gain access to these rights and privileges. Likewise, networking is easier when you already have some idea what others are doing and how that is working. A church considering a style change in its service is no longer limited, to a large degree, to its town or denomination for ideas. In theory, it has access to the experiences of churches across Canada thanks to reports and articles on style changes in the pages of Faith Today.

The resources provided to the EFC's members through its literature have an effect on the socially constructed worldview of those members. The elements of the EFC's worldview, that is their self-evident reality, that can be discerned from the content of the EFC's literature include the significance of the relationship between the EFC and Canadian evangelicalism, the primacy of the Canadian context to the EFC's concerns and the need to make a difference in that context, the necessity of living as a Christian in all aspects of Canadian life, the importance of the (traditional?) family, the relevance of social issues to

---

<sup>8</sup> Although the EFC's methods and concerns have changed considerably its basic theology has changed little. From 1981 to 1993 its Statement of Faith has maintained the same basic content changing only in style and in response to secondary cultural shifts. For example, Christ is still God in the Flesh but it is "humanity" that is now lost and sinful not just "men." This, of course, is seen as a change in wording, not a change in meaning.

evangelicals, and the importance of a unified Canadian evangelical community. Canadian evangelicals unite around the commonalities they share. The common theme of this literature is the bringing together of Canadian evangelicals towards common goals. The EFC is a product of these evangelical networks but also supports and produces these networks. The reality both of the EFC and of Canadian evangelicals is partly an outgrowth of these literature produced networks.

#### 5.1.1.3 The Function of the Resources Provided

The sheer volume of the literature that the EFC produces indicates that the EFC's resources are a significant instrument in constructing and maintaining its reality. Its varied literature is the voice by which it constructs the evangelical world even as it attempts to reflect it. Evangelical groups that at one time would have developed independently according to the specific idiosyncrasies of their specific environments now have a broader body to look to for an indication of what it means to be evangelical and what appropriate evangelical behavior is. This voice further encourages networking as evangelical groups, which at one point were at diverse purposes, now have some unity in their understanding of Canadian evangelicalism as a result of the EFC. These groups may be more willing to work with each other due to a greater understanding of opposing viewpoints or because of a realization of a similarity or affinity they would not have noticed without the help of a third party. This increased networking, in turn, further solidifies their commitment to the voluntary association that is the EFC. Thus by the very act of representing the reality of Canadian evangelicals the EFC has created a reality that reinforces the factuality of the reality it

represents. The EFC and Canadian evangelicalism are in dialectical relation to one another.

### *5.1.2 Motivates Evangelicals*

The EFC not only provides resources but it actively promotes action towards its goals. It seeks to “Assist individuals and groups in proclaiming the gospel and advancing Christian values in our nation and around the world” (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:2) — a goal that contributes to inter-communication between evangelicals across Canada. An examination of ads for the EFC that have appeared in Faith Alive and Faith Today show how the EFC has appealed to common concerns to motivate evangelicals. This motivation moves evangelicals in similar directions thus further facilitating networking.

In 1983 the EFC proclaimed that:

**Yes, together we can . . .**

- Seek for renewal and revitalization among our peoples. Vital life in Christ will deepen our biblical commitment, engage us in outreach, use us to more compassionately care for those caught in poverty and suffering and lead us to see the world as does Jesus.
- Develop a greater understanding of our country with its various groupings and cultures and in so doing expand church planting and outreach.
- Create a forum for searching out answers on questions which confuse or divide us.

- Design a voice to express the people, ideas, movements, and concerns of evangelicals (Faith Alive 1983 1:1, 20).

A compelling offer to the frustrated Canadian Evangelical. A promise that, with the help of the EFC, Canada can be understood and evangelicals can be brought together. This ad deals with the fundamental evangelical concerns of evangelizing their country and understanding their country. Evangelicals are motivated by appealing to their worldview. Their socialization gives them expectations about how the world should be. The EFC aids in this socialization by legitimating the evangelical subuniverse. The problem with Canada, according to an evangelical worldview, is that there are deficiencies in Canada's institutional order, not in the evangelical subuniverse. The EFC seeks to reinforce and reinterpret that subuniverse so that it maintains its force and relevance to current Canadian culture.

In 1985 the method had changed but goal was the similar:

Today the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada is actively encouraging evangelicals to help shape their world by:

- Fostering a spiritual sense of unity as a witness to our world;
- Establishing a voice to speak to governments and the media about who we are, our concerns and views.
- Looking at governments, policies and laws and how they affect our faith and society;
- Linking evangelicals in conferences and seminars, promoting understanding and involvement;
- Publishing FAITH ALIVE, a quarterly magazine, tracking the footprints of the Spirit across our land, giving insights on current

issues and telling you about the people and resources active in Canada . . .

- Encouraging leadership both to understand the Canadian scene and to Fellowship with others who guide their churches and organizations (Faith Alive 1985 3:1, 61)

This ad focuses more on the knowledge elements of worldview than on the emotional appeal of the earlier ad. The EFC aims to provide the information that nurtures the knowledge that supports the evangelical worldview. It is legitimating the evangelical subuniverse but it is doing so through conversation rather than through emotional appeal to the evangelical worldview. The ad suggests that many of the struggles of maintaining the evangelical worldview in Canada can be alleviated through interaction with the resources provided by the EFC (be that literature or conferences), and/or by linking with other evangelicals. The EFC provides the community that makes the socialized evangelical universe seem plausible. Constant conversation further reinforces the "reasonableness" of the evangelical worldview. The interaction between networks displayed and promoted by the EFC strengthens the evangelical worldview.

By 1986 ads for the EFC had developed a new urgency. In the July/August 1986 issue of Faith Today the EFC ran an ad with the heading "IT'S TIME WE STOOD UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE." In that ad it expressed concern about the frequent ridicule of evangelicals in the media, the Fraser Commission on Pornography and Prostitution, a government report that "threatened the right of Christian organizations to hire staff with evangelical convictions" and the then raging "abortion debate" (Faith Today July/August 1986:4,5). The EFC was presented as a vital bulwark against the forces

threatening the evangelical worldview. A year later the EFC's ads had the same tone:

**It's time we stand up for what we believe!**

EFC is vital to the religious life of Canada. EFC membership uniquely provides a solid, biblical base for evangelical churches of all kinds to come together in a united, articulate voice that can speak with authority to our government and the media about our beliefs and concerns. . . .

- a national Christian voice in our governments, defending our beliefs and explaining our concerns,
- a true understanding of evangelicals by media,
- a vehicle for positive Christian action, witness and fellowship . . .

(Faith Today July/August 1987:55)

The focus of the ads had moved from "together we can" to "actively encouraging evangelicals" to the "EFC is vital," without losing the initial emphasis on unity. The issue following this ad had a feature that highlighted Reginald Bibby's study on religion in Canada which suggested that, although most Canadians still paid lip service to Christianity, actual daily practice of Christianity was on a steep decline (Faith Today September/October 1987:20-28). The evangelical universe was threatened. No longer did the Christian universe seem the most plausible to most Canadians. No longer were evangelicals maintaining, they were now rebuilding. They no longer had access to primary socialization and now had to depend on secondary socialization which is harder to impose and harder to maintain. It is not that this was a new realization for evangelicals, as this realization was one of the stated reasons for the creation of the EFC, it is just that recent events had impressed upon them the degree to which they now

held a minority opinion. It was no longer just a good idea that Canadian evangelicals assist in universe maintenance; it was vital that they support the EFC to give evangelicals the tools to promote the evangelical worldview. An ad in July/August 1988 further stressed the need for evangelical involvement by proclaiming that "SILENCE GIVES CONSENT . . ." (31). It was not only a good idea to help maintain the evangelical worldview but by not helping one was making the situation worse.<sup>9</sup> All evangelicals need to be involved in universe maintenance. The EFC presents itself as a key to this process. It is the center of a complex of networks that stand against threats to the evangelical worldview.

By September/October of 1988 the EFC had returned to stressing primarily an attitude of partnership with evangelicals: "EFC Speaks When You Can't" (65). Evangelicals have the common goal of legitimating and maintaining their symbolic universe. The EFC can work where the individual can't. This emphasis further reinforces the need for the EFC as a voluntary association. There are some important things that need to be done that cannot be accomplished by individual evangelicals. In this same ad a quote from Brian Stiller explains that "These are critical times for Canada. Together, we must stand up for what we know to be true. I urge you to join me and other EFC members to make your voice heard." At the end of 1993 this ad was still running in fundamentally the same form. The appeal to its constituents as a voluntary association appears to be the best method to encouraging Canadian evangelical involvement in the universe-legitimizing activity of the EFC.

---

<sup>9</sup>Such appeals do not appear as aggressive within a community as they might from the outside. To aggressively exhort someone to do something that differs from their worldview is entirely different from exhorting someone to do something that they already believe they should be doing. The EFC presents itself as a way (admittedly one of the more important ways) to make an impact on Canadian culture.

The EFC's motivating activities can be clearly seen through its ads. These ads motivate evangelicals by appealing to common evangelical concerns such as spiritual preparation, sharing of ideas, production of literature and understanding culture. These concerns are self-evident to Canadian evangelicals and the EFC appeals to that understanding. The EFC realizes that its worldview is not the only one and not the most popular one, therefore it gears its activities to supporting, maintaining and propagating its worldview. The EFC motivates through emotional appeal, providing resources and standing alongside evangelicals. These three elements all contribute to the legitimization of the evangelical worldview. The common theme in these ads is that evangelicals must work together to accomplish their goals, as collective awareness of common evangelical concerns supports evangelical identity and maintains its networks.

### *5.1.3 Influences Culture*

The EFC influences culture through the resources that it disseminates. Its two main means of disseminating these resources to Canadian culture are lobbying the government and public advocacy.<sup>10</sup>

Lobbying governments, though it appears to occupy a smaller amount of the EFC's time, is vital to the EFC's existence. A large amount of the resources it disseminates are related to influencing culture. In a country with a government that employs a significant percentage of the population and regulates significant aspects of Canadian life (e.g. healthcare, minimum wage, education, etc.), one of the important methods of influencing culture is

---

<sup>10</sup> The EFC considers elements such as prayer and funding to be aspects of public advocacy (see the chart in section 5.1), however this chapter will concentrate primarily on the elements of public advocacy that deals directly with influencing culture.

influencing the government. One of the keys to surviving as a voluntary association is to show that the EFC has something to offer that is not accessible to its individual members. Lobbying the government is one of those things. To assure its constituency that lobbying the government works and that the EFC knows how to do it, the EFC must have some actual experience doing it. This section will examine some of the EFC's involvement in lobbying as perceived by the EFC's literature and how this lobbying impacts its worldview and that of its members.<sup>11</sup>

Initially the EFC's main focus was getting Canadian evangelicals together. It knew that its worldview was best maintained in community. As late as 1980 a poll of the readership of Thrust gave no indication of interest in lobbying the government. The strongest statement concerning evangelical involvement with government was that the EFC should "speak out on injustices affecting people in minority groups" (1980 12:3, pp.16,17). However, the early 1980's was a turning point; a new constitution was written, a full-time Executive Director was hired and the EFC turned its attention towards influencing the government. By 1993 one of the seven areas that it sought results in was in "Influencing Canadian Culture." The EFC sought to influence the legal system, the media, education systems and political structures (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:9). Furthermore, "Public Advocacy" was listed as the first of four areas on which the EFC had "very broad consensus regarding the primary functions of EFC" (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:3). Other indications of the EFC's interest in influencing culture include its Social Action Commission, its

---

<sup>11</sup> To get an complete picture of the EFC as a lobby group, it would be necessary to obtain some knowledge of political lobbying, examine a few lobby groups to observe how they function, develop some criteria for determining the success or failure of a lobby group and contact the parties being lobbied to get their impressions. Such a study, though important, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Religious Liberties Commission, its Native Council, its Task Force on the Family, its research department and its Ottawa liaison. In addition its publications frequently deal with political and social issues that call for some degree of public advocacy. Regularly the EFC urges its constituency to write letters and tells them how to do it (e.g. Faith Today July/August 1986:18). The EFC has addressed the Fraser Commission on Pornography and prostitution, it has sent briefs to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, it has prepared submissions for the federal Minister of Justice, has initiated petitions and has spoken to the Prime Minister. The EFC has even sent video tapes outlining its concerns on a particular issue to every member of parliament.

The EFC's heavy involvement in lobbying efforts has implications for its worldview. Its lobbying efforts both result from and influence its worldview. The EFC believes that it has a mandate to attempt to change Canadian culture. It believes that its reality is the best one. It also believes that Canadian culture can be changed or at least should be made aware of how it "should" change. Although it does not appear to be seeking a theocracy, it does use every opportunity to make its view known, attempting to express its views in terms understandable to its audience.

However, the EFC's lobbying efforts bring it into contact with cultural forces that have an affect on its ideas as these same ideas legitimate the evangelical worldview. These lobbying efforts are to a large degree a product of its worldview which is a product of the networks that make it up. An excellent example of this is a small book put out by the EFC to aid in the constitutional debate. The individuals involved with the task force that put the book together include a professor at the Institute for Christian Studies, the Eastern director of

Christian Legal Fellowship, an employee of Central Pentecostal College, the executive director of Native Evangelical Fellowship, a dean at Trinity Western University, an individual from the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University and representatives from the EFC, Ontario Bible College and Citizens for Public Justice (Van Ginkel 1992:ix). Many of these individuals have a clear interest in Canada's constitutional debate. Their diverse networks all contribute to the EFC's worldview. In this case their various backgrounds lead them to believe that an evangelical commentary on Canada's constitution was important. Likewise, the EFC's efforts to lobby the government are a product of the diverse networks of people that associate with the EFC.

## **5.2 The EFC's Perception of Itself**

A survey of the main themes in the EFC's literature shows those themes to be a product of the networks of the evangelicals who associate with the EFC. It is these varied networks that construct and shape the EFC's reality as the EFC alters and supports these same networks. In light of this, we turn to examining the EFC's perception of itself as highlighted in its literature. This section aims to further illustrate the inter-relatedness of Canadian evangelicals and the dialectical relationship between the EFC and the Canadian evangelical. The aspects of the EFC's perception of itself that are examined in this section are its function, its relationship to its constituents, its relationship to Canadian culture, its successes and failures and its future vision.

### ***5.2.1 The EFC's Function***

The EFC's perception of its function can be summarized by referring to its Mission Statement:

**The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada exists to:**

Be a public advocate of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Provide an evangelical identity which unites  
Canadian Christians of diverse backgrounds

Express biblical views on the critical issues of our  
time.

Assist individuals and groups in proclaiming the  
gospel and advancing Christian values in our nation  
and around the world. (Long-Term Strategy Report  
April 1993:2)

The implications of this mission statement for what the EFC does have already been treated in section 5.1.1, so this section will confine itself to elaborating on the EFC's understanding of this mission statement (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:3).

The EFC's first priority is "Public Advocacy." It seeks to be a "national and credible evangelical voice" to spread the gospel. In addition it seeks to serve not only evangelicals but also the entire nation by "speaking on matters of public interest." As a voluntary association this also demonstrates its usefulness to its members. Prestige symbols and propaganda<sup>12</sup> are useful tools for legitimating and propagating the evangelical subuniverse. The evangelical subuniverse must be proved preferable not only to ones own constituency but also to the society at large. Public advocacy is a tool to do this.

The second item of the mission statement is fostering "Evangelical Identity." The EFC notes the confusion over the term "evangelical" and explains that it will articulate what it means to be evangelical. By taking control of this

---

<sup>12</sup> Propaganda is not necessarily negative.

common self-identification of its constituency, the EFC has declared itself the protector of evangelical identity and placed itself at the center of Canadian evangelical networks. As successive generations of evangelicals are socialized they are now more likely to be socialized into the EFC's national vision of what it means to be an evangelical than they had been in the past because so many evangelical networks are now connected to the EFC in some way. Legitimizing evangelical identity is vital to the existence of the EFC. If evangelical identity is lost, then the EFC loses its reason for existing.

The EFC seeks to provide an "evangelical critique of society and a corresponding message of Jesus Christ." It does this by using its Biblical framework to analyze the culture, providing the information derived from that analysis to evangelicals and to the entire country. By doing this it both legitimizes its point of view and encourages others to consider it. As the EFC is convinced that its universe is the correct one, it has few inhibitions about explaining to others what that universe is. The EFC wants to give its constituents evangelical glasses through which they can "correctly" perceive their culture. This procedure maintains and legitimizes the evangelical worldview.

The final element of the EFC's mission is what it calls "Ministry Assistance." This area is concerned with enabling evangelicals to communicate their worldview to others in the hope of converting them to it. The EFC is convinced that its worldview is "the way things really are" and is committed to persuading others of this.

All four elements of the EFC's worldview point to its function in legitimizing, maintaining and propagating its worldview. These tasks are important if the EFC is to continue to exist as a voluntary association and, more

important, they are vital to the continued existence of evangelicalism as a recognizable entity. By shaping the Canadian evangelical worldview into a more consistent whole the EFC helps diverse evangelical networks recognize their similar universe and helps them work together to maintain and promote this universe.

### *5.2.2 The EFC and its Constituents*

The EFC's Mission Statement reflects what the EFC thinks is significant to its function; this section deals with who the EFC thinks that its constituents are. Section 3.1.2 has already examined the EFC's understanding of the evangelical nature of its constituency and section 5.1.1.1 has examined who can be a member of the EFC. This section provides a brief geographic and denominational background of the EFC and some comments on the EFC's perception of its constituency.

The EFC is a voluntary association and the nature of a voluntary association is that it is a product of its members who define it as it in turn defines them. Thus it is essential that any discussion of such an association include a discussion of that associations' members. The EFC purports to represent all Canadian evangelicals. A large contributor to its ability to represent these evangelicals is the degree to which it is successful at encouraging Canadian evangelicals to join its organization. The EFC's literature bases many of its perceptions of its constituents on personal contact and on surveys of its members. This section will begin by examining some of the survey data that the EFC has collected and will end with a brief discussion of some assumptions that it makes about its constituency based on survey data and personal contact.

### 5.2.2.1 Denominational and Geographic Background of EFC Members

Tables 2 and 3 contain a geographical and a denominational breakdown of the EFC's members, based on information provided by the EFC<sup>13</sup> and on the 1991 Canadian Census. The Denominational affiliation of EFC members is roughly what would be expected. Baptists and Pentecostals provide the largest number of EFC members and they are the largest primarily evangelical denominations in Canada (Statistics Canada 1993:8,9).<sup>14</sup> Other groups are represented in rough accordance to their percentage in the population. The only major surprise is that Anglicans and Presbyterians are not better represented given their significance at the inception of the EFC.<sup>15</sup>

Geographic distribution roughly reflects the percentage of people and Protestants living in that province. Quebec is the exception because of the relatively insignificant impact evangelicals have had on that province. The EFC's perception of its constituents is partially based on these statistics. It is for this reason that it maintains a contact person in British Columbia and attempts to encourage further evangelical involvement in Quebec. Its representation across the country facilitates its networking efforts and assures that its message is spread to evangelicals representing diverse denomination types and different geographic areas.

---

<sup>13</sup> The breakdown of EFC members by denomination is based on a self-selected survey distributed by the EFC. Geographic information is based on the EFC's computer records of individual members. These numbers were provided to the author by the EFC. Both sources of data are intended by the EFC to be used as guidelines and were not scientifically collected.

<sup>14</sup> Note that Canadian Baptists are, in many cases, different from their American namesakes (Posterski and Barker 1993:127-128).

<sup>15</sup> See Stackhouse 1993a:172 for a discussion of some of the possible reasons for this shift.

Table 2 Protestant Church Membership by Denomination†					
Denomination	Number of Adherents in Canada	% of Canadian population	% of Total Protestant Church Adherence	% of EFC Members	% by Primarily Evangelical Denominations**
Anglican	2,188,115	8.1	22.4	2.2	
Assoc. Gospel°	8,620	0.0	0.1	2.8	0.5
Baptist°°	663,360	2.5	6.8	20.4	40.1
Brethren°	26,400	0.1	0.3	3.7	1.6
Christian and Missionary Alliance°	59,235	0.2	0.6	8.4	3.6
Coun of Reformed Churches°	84,685	0.3	0.9	3.7	5.1
Evangelical Free°	9,170	0.0	0.1	3	0.6
Free Methodists°	14,720	0.1	0.2	1.7	0.9
Lutheran	636,210	2.4	6.5	0.9	
Mennonites°°	207,970	0.8	2.1	7.4	12.6
Missionary	11,405	0.0	0.1	2	0.7
Nazarene°	14,950	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.9
Pentecostal°°	439,435	1.6	4.5	18	26.6
Presbyterian	639,295	2.4	6.5	3.3	
Salvation Army°	112,345	0.4	1.1	1.3	6.8
United Church	3,093,120	11.5	31.6	1.7	
Miscellaneous*	1,571,675	5.8	16.1	18.6	
<b>Total Protestants</b>	<b>9,780,710</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total Protestants in Primarily Evangelical Denom.**</b>	<b>1,652,295</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>16.9</b>		
<b>Canadian Pop.</b>	<b>26,994,045</b>				

† The columns printed in bold are the ones utilized in the thesis.

\* This includes Church of God, Congregational, Evangelical, Non-denominational, Reformed Churches, Roman Catholic and others.

\*\* These numbers do not include Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, United and Miscellaneous because not all adherents of these denominations are evangelical. However, these numbers do include Mennonites, some of whom would not be classified as evangelical.

° These have membership on the EFC's General Council and thus exercise greater influence.

°° Some denominations of this type have membership on the EFC's General Council and thus exercise greater influence.

Location	Protestants in Population of Canada	% of Canadian Population	% of Protestants by Province	Number of EFC members by Province	% of EFC Members by Province
Ontario	16.4	37.0	45.3	4,651	43.2
Alberta	4.5	9.3	12.5	1,644	15.3
British Columbia	5.4	12.0	14.8	2,103	19.5
Manitoba	2.0	4.0	5.6	823	7.6
New Brunswick	1.1	2.7	2.9	158	1.5
Nova Scotia	1.8	3.3	4.9	120	1.1
Saskatchewan	1.9	3.6	5.3	957	8.9
Newfoundland	1.3	2.1	3.5	56	0.5
Quebec	1.5	25.2	4.1	1	0.0
Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.3	18	0.2
Yukon	0.0	0.1	0.1	5	0.0
Prince Edward Island	0.2	0.5	0.6	23	0.2
USA				34	0.3
Foreign				29	0.3
Miscellaneous				156	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,778</b>	<b>100.0</b>

† The columns printed in bold are the ones utilized in the thesis.

#### 5.2.2.2 EFC Assumptions About its Members Concerns

In addition to perceptions based on the denominational and geographic representation of its members the EFC has some clear assumptions about the concerns of its members. It assumes, with reason, that its constituents agree to a large degree with its statement of faith (they have to claim agreement with it to become members). Perhaps on the basis of common consensus about the statement of faith the EFC assumes that evangelicals have similar concerns

across the country and across denominations.<sup>16</sup> There appears to be little special effort to produce resources that caters to a particular geographic area or denomination. Faith Today is seen to be adequate to represent evangelicals from one end of Canada to another. Given this, it is not surprising that the literature concentrates primarily on issues that affect the country as a whole. Finally the EFC assumes that Canadian evangelicals are concerned with hearing several sides of an issue. For example the November/December 1993 issue of Faith Today contained a feature on women in ministry that included articles by both genders advocating both sides of the argument. Such an approach to controversial issues is typical of Faith Today.<sup>17</sup>

The EFC's literature identifies the commonalities of differing evangelical worldviews and attempts to minimize the tension that arises from the differences. This attitude is summarized by this quote from the Puritan Richard Baxter, "In necessary things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity" (Faith Today, May/June 1987:46). Such an approach allows it to overlook differences in evangelical worldviews (often related to denominational and geographic differences) in an effort to further strengthen the impact of its common views on Canadian culture and to maintain and support existing evangelical networks.

### *5.2.3 Relation to Canadian Culture*

The EFC is partially an expression of its inward examination of its constituents but it also partially an expression of its outward examination of

---

<sup>16</sup> Stackhouse suggests that although Faith Today draws from a broad range of authors, it "has spoken almost exclusively with the Ontario-to-B.C. Anglo voice typical of its constituency" (1993c:44).

<sup>17</sup> See a complaint about Faith Today neutrality in March/April 1991:8.

Canadian culture. The EFC wants to change Canadian culture and to protect its members against those forces of culture that it perceives are negative. Its existence depends on its distinctiveness from the culture. If there is no difference between the worldview of the EFC and that of the general Canadian culture then the EFC no longer has any purpose. However, there are large differences between its concerns and its perception of the concerns of Canadian culture. This can be illustrated by characterizing the opposite extremes of evangelical culture and popular culture, although such an obvious opposition is rare. Evangelical culture is concerned with spirituality, the culture is becoming increasingly secular (e.g. the removal of Christian curriculum from public schools [Faith Today March/April 1992:17], its briefs to the federal government on One Day Rest in Seven and Religious Education in the Public Schools). The EFC is concerned with morality, the culture is concerned with freedom (e.g. the debate about pornography [Faith Today March/April 1991:44], its brief to the federal government on Pornography). The EFC is concerned with family, the culture is preoccupied with the individual (e.g. the fight over the definition of the family [Faith Today March/April 1992:17], its briefs to the government on Childcare and New Reproductive Technologies). These differences all contribute to the EFC's identity. Many evangelicals would not identify these issues with non-evangelicals but they are issues on which the EFC has drawn battle lines between its concerns and its perception of popular Canadian culture. This common evangelical sense of alienation from culture strengthens the EFC by pushing evangelicals towards other groups that share their values many of whom are part of the EFC. Perceived assaults on the evangelical subuniverse must be met by legitimations significant enough that evangelicalism does not lose the the "market share" it already has. To do this

the EFC encourages evangelicals to take advantage of evangelical networks and associations set up to combat the perceived anti-evangelical cultural forces in Canadian culture and encourages evangelicals to join the EFC so that they can have a unified voice to promote their worldview.<sup>18</sup>

#### *5.2.4 Successes and Failures*

Most associations want to monitor their ability to accomplish their goals, be that representing their constituency or influencing their culture. But success and failure are hard to measure. In a quantitative manner the EFC has been phenomenally successful both in the growth of the organization and in its ability to attract Canadian evangelicals to its cause. However, what may be considered success from a quantitative point of view may in fact be a failure from a qualitative point of view.<sup>19</sup> Conceivably the best way to evaluate the EFC's success is to examine the degree to which it adheres to each of its mission statements. However, the subjective nature of these statements makes evaluation difficult. Is involvement in public advocacy success or is there a certain level of advocacy that has to be obtained before it can legitimately be called success? How is this determined? It appears that the only way to avoid arbitrariness is to allow the EFC to explain what its success and failures are. For that we turn again to the EFC's literature. This section will examine one specific representative accomplishment and the lack of reference to success or failure in the EFC's literature.

---

<sup>18</sup> See section 5.1.2 for an illustration of how the EFC's ads motivate evangelicals in this direction.

<sup>19</sup> For example, is church growth successful if all growth has come by attracting members of neighboring congregations (Posterski and Barker 1993:124)? A short-term success is sometimes a long-term failure. For example, winning a provincial court case may lead to failure at the Supreme Court where there may be less chance of overturning a ruling.

A rare example of an overt expression of positive accomplishment comes not from the mainstream EFC publications but from a paper by a participant in a prayer summit put on by the EFC. An early goal, which continues to be important to the EFC, was to unify evangelicals across the country. A report from a recent EFC prayer summit suggests that that goal is being met. Dr. Neil Hightower, the author of the report, explained that the summit lived up to its advertised goal in that "the thing that will distinguish this meeting from all the other meetings we attend will be a special sense of our Lord's presence among us." He also explained that the summit "proved to be a potent force for fostering renewal and unity in the Canadian Church" and a "healing of some denominational tensions and feelings of anger and mistrust over separations of long-standing duration." Although there has been tension within the EFC (e.g. concerning its letter to Brian Mulroney about the Gulf War), that tension has never split the organization and experiences such as this prayer summit further convince its participants of its shared objectives. This prayer summit could justifiably be called a positive accomplishment.

Such an obvious expression of positive accomplishment is unusual. The EFC often confines itself to highlighting the multitude of activities that the EFC is involved in.<sup>20</sup> These activities demonstrate that to a certain degree the EFC measures its success by what it does. Members are encouraged to join the EFC because it has stood up against abortion and pornography and the diminution of the value of the family. Faith Today articles highlight the EFC's response to judicial cases and its production of resources to deal with current issues. However, these activities are not framed as successes but as positive involvements in Canadian culture. There is little sense in any of the EFC's

---

<sup>20</sup> See Section 5.1.

publications that it has had any sort of major failures. One of the few areas where it speaks of disappointments is in the area of failed attempts to influence the outcome of legal cases.<sup>21</sup>

It is not surprising that the EFC's literature is full of positive accomplishments and almost devoid of failures. Successes are more encouraging than failures. However, this does not mean that the EFC sees the world through rose-colored glasses. Rather, it has chosen objectives that are not very easy to fail at achieving. Given that evangelicals to a large degree share a similar worldview, it is not surprising that they got along when the EFC brought them together. It is also not surprising that Canadian evangelicals are concerned about their culture and soak up information provided about that culture especially if that information is provided in the context of their subuniverse. Other goals, such as expressing Biblical views on critical issues or assisting in proclaiming the gospel, requires more organization for success than anything else. For example, in the evangelical community there are a large number of people with experience in relating their faith to Canadian culture. The EFC provided a forum for them to communicate and encouraged them to do so, distributing the received information to whomever they thought it was relevant. Such actions make evangelicals aware of the actions of others and increase the culture's awareness of evangelicals, thus increasing the evangelical sense that people are acquainted with their message giving them a feeling of positive accomplishment.

Perhaps an understanding of the EFC's perception of its accomplishments should be framed in terms of positive accomplishments and

---

<sup>21</sup> Note particularly the amount of time it dedicated to the abortion issue and its legal interventions in this case (Faith Today May/June 1988, July/August 1990; Stackhouse 1993c:40).

disappointments rather than successes and failures. For example, getting the supremacy of God into the Charter of Rights would be a positive accomplishment but the inability to get the abortion bill passed would be a disappointment. Such a description allows the EFC to deal with success and failure in a way that is affirming rather than threatening to its worldview. Success may imply too much presumption and failure implies a mistake or inadequacy on its part whereas disappointment suggests factors external to itself. It is natural for a voluntary association to gravitate towards means of explaining the culture that put its worldview in a favorable perspective.

It is significant that one of the obvious areas in which the EFC notes positive accomplishments is in the area of networking. The prayer summit brought together diverse evangelical denominations. Faith Today provides resources from diverse Canadian evangelicals for diverse Canadian evangelicals. This positive accomplishment highlights the inter-connection between Canadian evangelicals that the EFC has sought and fostered. Furthermore, the EFC's expression of success and failure as positive accomplishments and disappointments aids in legitimating the Canadian evangelical worldview.

#### *5.2.5 Future Vision*

The inter-relating of Canadian evangelicals that takes place as a result of the EFC is also the goal of the EFC. The EFC's future vision is to become more effective at what they are already doing. At present it is seeking to "Provide a measurement of the organization's achievements" (Long-Term Strategy Report 1993:4). It lists seven guiding principles that will aid it in this measurement. These are (1) respect for the current direction of the organization; (2)

“broadening the ownership” of the EFC to reduce dependence on the Executive Director; (3) growing only according to available funds, which includes denying some requests in order to stay focused on the highest priorities; (4) “political neutrality”; (5) pursuing “national responsibility” but seeking means to deal with provincial reality; (6) having a strategic review every two years and (7) seeking to make the General Council more representative of visible minorities, aboriginals, women, and Québécois. Such principles appear to be rational for any voluntary association. It also seeks results in the more specifically Christian areas of prayer, evangelism, expansion of membership and funding, organization, communications, decision making and influencing Canadian culture.<sup>22</sup> These principles, though significant, are not unique to evangelicals nor to the EFC. The EFC's vision is only unique in that it holds these principles and seeks these results towards the end goal of converting the country to its evangelical worldview.

However, this vision does contribute to the EFC's socially constructed reality. The EFC wants to leave what is working alone and at the same time it wants to broaden its base of members so that it is more representative of Canadian society. The broader the EFC's base the better its ability to propagate its worldview. The wider the acceptance of its worldview the easier it is to legitimate. Increased acceptance of the EFC's worldview facilitates the networking of Canadian evangelicals thus contributing to the EFC's vision for the future.

---

<sup>22</sup> See section 5.1 for more detail on the EFC's key result areas.

### **5.3 The EFC as Protector of Evangelical Reality**

An examination of the EFC's literature points to some evangelical commonalities. These are not only commonalities of doctrine, history, and culture, they are also commonalities in the construction of realities. The Canadian evangelical reality is constructed and maintained in community, within and between networks. The literature points constantly to this community and highlights how the EFC contributes to the maintenance of evangelical networks. Membership in the EFC entitles one to literature which is shared by all the EFC's members. That literature communicates what other individuals and networks across the country are doing; inter-connecting and providing resources for these varied networks. The EFC's goals seek to reflect these networks' concerns and in doing so develop an aggregate set of concerns which were not originally of importance to all the various networks involved in the EFC. Increased awareness of common concerns motivates evangelicals towards common goals. The sense of community produced by these newly shared concerns is appealed to in the EFC's ads as a means to motivate evangelicals. This relationship is dialectical in that as the EFC is constructed it alters evangelical networks. Furthermore, the EFC places itself at the center of these networks. Another stated goal is to articulate what it means to be evangelical and to bring groups of evangelicals together. By claiming these functions for itself it is taking control of what makes an evangelical an evangelical. An association that began as a support for evangelicals now defines for evangelicals what they are. By portraying the evangelical reality in its literature the EFC both represents and shapes that reality.

Like the individuals interviewed, the EFC as an association believes that the evangelicals reality is consistent in that it is unified on the fundamentals and

only differs on peripherals. This is why the EFC's literature is so important. It establishes the set of views that are acceptable for evangelicals to hold. These views may contradict each other but they also establish appropriateness. For example, women may or may not be able to be head pastors but they are valuable and important to the church. The EFC has become a defender and definer of Canadian evangelicalism. Which side of the capital punishment debate you are on is not as important to a Canadian evangelical as where you stand on abortion. The appropriate evangelical view is what shows up in the EFC's publications. The EFC's literature promotes this understanding of the EFC by giving both sides of some arguments but only one side of others (compare the capital punishment debate with the pro-life stance). The implication is that evangelicals can be on either side of some issues but only on one side of others and the EFC is the organ that communicates which issues are which.

The EFC has become the protector of evangelical identity as evangelical identity is the reason for its existence. Actions which promote evangelical identity include highlighting which differences are evangelical distinctives and which differences are acceptable within Canadian evangelicalism, lobbying the government to promote the evangelical worldview and expressing successes and failures in a manner that affirms evangelical reality. This effort leads to increased acceptance of the evangelical worldview which facilitates the EFC's networking efforts.

Thus the EFC's literature shows us an image of evangelicals as a community of networks in dialectical relationship with each other; shaping and maintaining each other's realities with the EFC as the center hub through which this influence flows and is aggregated. The aggregate community, as

embodied in the EFC, has taken on an identity of its own that imposes itself upon the separate communities often without these even being aware of this influence. Through its literature, which is a product of its dialectical relationship with Canadian evangelicalism and Canadian culture, the EFC legitimates, maintains and propagates the evangelical worldview. This task is vital to its continued existence as a voluntary association of evangelicals and their networks.

## **Diverse Realities - One Association**

An examination of the EFC's literature has highlighted the dialectical relationship between the EFC and Canadian evangelicals. The four individuals that have been interviewed are specific examples of this relationship. Such a relationship accomplishes the EFC's purpose in an unexpected manner. That is, the EFC is getting better at representing evangelicals because, to some degree, it is shaping evangelicals. As the individuals shape the EFC in their image the EFC also shapes the individuals in its image. The purpose of this chapter is to compare significant aspects of the diverse realities of the individuals studied and of the EFC's reality as presented in its literature and to reflect further on the nature of the EFC.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one compares the five realities' perceptions of the EFC. Section two examines the dialectical relationships involved in these realities. Finally, section three comments on what this tells us about the EFC.

### **6.1 Historical Realities**

A shared history is a tremendous unifying force. However, a shared history can also be a force to separate groups that do not share the same

history. What does the Reformed tradition have to do with the Pentecostal tradition and what do Baptists have to do with the Salvation Army? In the absence of a shared Canadian evangelical history, shared concerns and inter-related networks can unite diverse groups and lead them into coalitions that eventually produce a shared history. The EFC is such a coalition. Shared concerns about the degeneration of culture and the spiritual needs of their country brought together a diverse group of Canadian evangelical Christians to form the EFC. Prior to the creation of the EFC most inter-connections between evangelicals were informal and temporary. There was no national group that tried to represent all Canadian evangelicals. In the thirty years since its conception the EFC has generated a history that has become a unifying force within Canadian evangelicalism. Current longstanding members can look back with satisfaction at what the EFC has accomplished and new members will be drawn in by the same. The relatively small number of evangelicals in Canada contributes to their inter-relatedness which helps them build a shared history. This section will examine three different perspectives on that history. The first part compares the differing understandings of the EFC's current history by examining perceptions of its function, the second part examines the EFC's past history by comparing perceived accomplishments and the final part compares the perceived future goals of the EFC.

### *6.1.1 The Function of the EFC*

The EFC's mission statement, which highlights significant aspects of the EFC's function, can be used as an illustration of the dialectical relationship between the EFC's function and the EFC's members. The stated function of an association is a profile of what that association believes it should be doing. The

four themes of this mission statement are public advocacy, evangelical identity, Biblical critique and ministry assistance.<sup>1</sup> These four themes resurface in the interviewees' descriptions of the function of the EFC and highlight the dialectical relationship between these individuals' worldviews, as influenced by their backgrounds, and the EFC's official view, as presented in its literature.

The four individuals emphasized different aspects of the EFC's mission statement. Stiller highlighted ministry assistance, Redekop was most concerned with public advocacy, Rennie considered evangelical identity and ministry assistance to be priorities and Zorn referred primarily to the EFC's quest to present a Biblical stance to Canadian culture in an effort to win people to that stance. These differing emphases can be connected to these individuals' differing realities as constructed by their life experiences and networks. Stiller, as Executive Director of the EFC, is heavily involved in interpersonal relations. He works hard to make the EFC work for its members. He talks to them about their various ministries and tries to show how the EFC can help. It is not surprising that he is concerned with ministry assistance. Redekop is a Mennonite, heavily involved in Mennonite relief work. He is also a political scientist. As both relief work and politics are closely related to public advocacy it is to be expected that Redekop would have a similar concern when relating to the EFC. Rennie is a professor at a seminary and a traveller. His experiences have brought him into contact with a large number of evangelical Christians from diverse backgrounds. These experiences have convinced him that Canada is a spiritually needy country and as such needs unity, which can be fostered through evangelical identity, and leadership; concerns which relate to ministry assistance. Zorn grew up in a conservative Lutheran setting, and

---

<sup>1</sup> These have been summarized and explained in section 5.2.1.

went to a conservative Missouri Synod college and seminary. At some point, or more likely throughout his life, he internalized the conservative Christian values and beliefs of his upbringing and education. These beliefs include the inerrancy of the Bible and the importance of evangelism. It is these beliefs that drive his missionary zeal and lead to his emphasis on the EFC's efforts to present a Biblical stance to Canadian culture.

As with other voluntary associations communication is dialectical. That is, it is not clear to what degree these four individuals have influenced the EFC's function and to what degree the EFC's function has influenced their worldviews. All four of these men have been involved with the EFC almost since its inception and were aware of its shift in focus in the early 1980's; they were in varying degrees involved in that process. By 1993 the EFC's purposes, which include its mission statement, had been so well internalized that it immediately came to mind when these four individuals thought of the EFC's function. The process can be described like this: evangelical Christians form the EFC and write its mission statement based on their internalized realities and networks; they then internalize that mission statement (to some degree because of its compatibility with their networks); it becomes self-evident that the mission statement represents the EFC; the mission statement is now an integral part of the EFC and not perceived as a creation of the Canadian evangelical community. If forced to think about it all four men would likely acknowledge the created nature of the mission statement and its alterability, but for daily interactions with the EFC and with the culture they have internalized the mission statement as representing the function of the EFC. It is now something other than a created statement, having the power to influence the same evangelicals that created it.

### *6.1.2 Perceived Accomplishments*

The EFC's mission statement illustrates the dialectical relationship between the EFC's function and its members. The EFC's perception of the accomplishments of its past history is based on its perceived function. However, determining when a function has been performed adequately is a difficult task. This section examines how perceptions of the EFC's accomplishments (sometimes expressed as success or failure) are a product of its diverse realities and relationships.

I have already commented on the ambiguity of the language of success and failure when applied to a voluntary association with general goals.<sup>2</sup> If a goal has no quantitative end, then there can be no absolute success, just degrees of movement towards or away from it. The EFC can be said to be closer to or farther away from a goal but without dramatic cultural changes (e.g. all Canadians become members of a single religious group) it is unlikely that there will be any sort of complete success or failure. This is highlighted by the EFC's literature which often records activities performed in the direction of its goals but never includes articles, ads or official statements indicating that one of these goals had been accomplished and is no longer a concern. By highlighting activity related to specific goals the EFC indicates movement towards those goals but the general nature of those goals make them unattainable on this human plane. Likewise the literature records only disappointments, not failures. These are areas where movement towards the stated goal has been attempted but other forces have hindered attainment of the desired end (e.g. lobbying the government to stop a bill that is eventually passed). Such vagueness is to be expected from the written text of an

---

<sup>2</sup> See section 5.2.4. These goals are based, to a large degree, on perceived function.

association which must meet certain expectations of clarity and realism that are acceptable to all its members. An association is further restricted because different members may have different conceptions of what is movement towards a goal.<sup>3</sup>

However, individuals are less restricted by competing forces than are associations. The four interviewees provided some specific perceptions of EFC success and failure that fit within the general framework of the EFC's mission statement. For example, Stiller talks of "waking people up to the art of public policy." Redekop notes a more pluralistic approach to social action and shares with Rennie and Zorn an impression of the EFC's success in communicating itself to Canada, although Redekop is more concerned with promoting the evangelical agenda, Rennie with evangelical identity and Zorn with biblical perspective. They all believe that the EFC has had some positive affect on the political process; although their specific foci reflected their interests and networks. Stiller is the only one who expressed discomfort with the language of success and failure. However, he was willing to highlight some accomplishments and some concerns which he nevertheless called successes and failures. Other than a brief mention of the establishment of consensus the rest of Stiller's discussion focused on the political process. This is a reflection of Stiller's role as the spokesperson to the government for the EFC and of the easier task of quantifying political process involvement. Other goals need to rely on volume of activity to measure success (a decidedly subjective means of measure) whereas political success can be measured by political decisions influenced. Redekop had the clearest perception of success and failure and

---

<sup>3</sup> For example, the controversy over whether or not a letter sent to the Prime Minister concerning the gulf war was too passifistic or should even have been sent.

seemed the most willing to respond to this question. Redekop agreed with Stiller's assessment of political success and added to it a positive evaluation of the EFC's ability to communicate citing Faith Today and the EFC's program on VISION TV as examples. In the area of failures Redekop also referred to the political process, although he was concerned with more general issues than was Stiller (e.g. Stiller noted the failed abortion vote and Redekop was concerned with the production of relevant and timely policy statements). Redekop added a concern that the EFC manage its growth carefully. Given Redekop's Mennonite heritage and political science background these concerns are not unusual. Likewise Rennie's and Zorn's concerns reflect their networks and backgrounds. Zorn believes the EFC needs a stronger emphasis on evangelism and Rennie would like to see the EFC have more involvement with mainline churches.

In a voluntary association there are a large variety of views that are affected not only by the individuals involved with the voluntary association but also by the multitude of networks that these individuals are involved in. It is therefore no surprise that each individual perceives the EFC's success and failures according to their individual socially constructed worldviews which are informed not only by the voluntary association that is the EFC but also by the numerous other networks that enrich their lives. The diversity of views and opinions about what should be a specific priority makes it necessary for the EFC's goals to be general enough so that all its members can pursue those goals according to their commitments and predilections. Thus, although the EFC's literature generally refers to successes and failures by referring to positive accomplishments and disappointments, the individuals involved in the EFC perceive them as success and failures according to their own realities as

shaped by their networks.

### *6.1.3 Future Vision*

Success and failure are descriptions of the past and present history of an association. Vision refers to future goals or ends to be accomplished, often within a specific time frame. The EFC's literature notes many such goals. The more specific future goals of the EFC include pursuing the EFC's current direction, reducing dependence on its Executive Director, maintaining financial and national responsibility, performing strategic reviews and seeking a more representative General Council. Such goals have been integrated into the worldviews of the interviewees, even as their worldviews have shaped these goals.

Stiller looks forward to a time when all evangelical Christians make an impact on their culture and ultimately lead that culture to the evangelical form of salvation. He seeks to motivate evangelicals by pursuing the EFC's current direction. Redekop has two specific goals: showing culture how to respond to social issues by the EFC's example and producing more and better publications, presumably to improve communication. He also sees the need to reduce dependence on Stiller's leadership and to be fiscally responsible. Rennie wants the EFC to continue to unite evangelicals and to continue to speak out on public issues with a united voice to promote national responsibility and to represent evangelicals. Zorn hopes to see the EFC become a better facilitator of communication and evangelism.

The four individuals have internalized the general goals of the EFC but are concerned primarily with the specific goals that are compatible with their existing realities. Specific goals do not as readily become integrated into

already existing worldviews formed in part by differing networks and differing levels of involvement in the EFC. However, there is a broad perception that even the goals that do not support their individual biases are compatible with Canadian evangelicalism.<sup>4</sup> The EFC's members shape its goals but these goals become attached to the EFC and take on a life of their own apart from the individuals that shaped them. They can then act upon individuals as a separate and distinct entity, enforcing their perceived compatibilities upon the perceptions of its members.

#### *6.1.4 Shared History*

Interaction with different associations and involvement with diverse networks lead to separate experiences which contribute to different conceptions of reality. When those diverse conceptions of reality are combined in one group, especially if that group is a voluntary association, the resulting hybrid will not exactly match the realities of all its members. Consistency is not a problem for the voluntary association as long as the discrepancies are not so severe as to threaten the stability of the association. Part of what the EFC is, is a shared history that is general enough to encompass the varied networks and realities of its members and specific enough to highlight the commonalities of their worldviews. This is possible to a large degree because it functions as a voluntary association and is content to be a melting pot of its members' various worldviews rather than adhering to one specific view on all issues.

The evangelical subuniverse as represented by the EFC becomes firmly rooted in its members' consciousness. They have no doubts of its existence. It

---

<sup>4</sup> See sections 4.5 and 5.3 concerning perceived unity of fundamental concerns among Canadian evangelicals.

is a self-evident reality. These individuals are in a dialectical relationship with the EFC. They have created an association to represent their reality. This association in turn becomes the defender of this reality to the culture and also aids in maintaining that reality within the evangelical subuniverse. Through this process it shapes the reality it was created to represent. However, the dialectical nature of this change keeps it largely unnoticed by its participants. They do not see the EFC as creating new realities but rather they see it as increasingly representing the existing evangelical reality to a better degree. Disparate histories become unified within the EFC's common history.<sup>5</sup> Through the EFC evangelicals with single concerns now have multiple concerns. Whereas a church may have originally concentrated solely on providing resources its current contact with the EFC makes it realize the importance of motivating evangelicals and influencing the public. The EFC is not thought to be creating reality, it is thought to be bringing together disparate groups to get a better understanding of the Canadian evangelical task (although it has recognized that it has learned new ways of doing things). The EFC's current mission statement, perceived accomplishments and future vision are a formulation of its aggregated worldview as created in dialectical relationship with its members.

## **6.2 Relational Realities**

Reality is constructed and maintained in part by the ongoing conversations we have with those around us.<sup>6</sup> A subuniverse and the symbolic universe that legitimates it are realities to the degree that they are supported by

---

<sup>5</sup> This refers to spiritual not organizational history.

<sup>6</sup> See Berger and Luckmann 1966:152-155 for a discussion of conversation as an instrument of reality-maintenance.

socialization. Social order exists only as an ongoing human production. Humans produce and are produced by society. It follows that some knowledge is a social product. The institutions created to organize these humans and spread this knowledge are social products, socializing agents and instruments of legitimation for the symbolic universe.

The evangelical reality and the reality of the EFC follow this pattern. They are forged and maintained in relationship. The interaction of multiple networks produces realities for the individuals involved in them. These socially created realities are internalized and become self-evident reality (i.e. they become knowledge). An individual cannot internalize every reality that is encountered, therefore realities must be maintained and defended. This is partially accomplished by the ongoing dialectical relationship between the socially created universe and the diverse networks that helped to create and shape it. This section will examine three of those dialectical relationships as observed in the four interviews and in the EFC's literature.

The first relationship to be examined is that between the interviewees and the EFC. Next this section will look at perceptions of the relationship between the EFC and evangelicals. The final discussion examines perceptions of the relationship between the EFC and Canada.<sup>7</sup>

### *6.2.1 Interviewees and the EFC*

Even a cursory examination of the backgrounds of the four interviewees clarifies why they were interested in the EFC.<sup>8</sup> They all have backgrounds, networks and personal commitments and predilections that are related to the

---

<sup>7</sup>This section is an analysis of the perceptions of these relationships rather than the relationships themselves. However, the perception, for the individual, would be the reality.

<sup>8</sup> See sections 4.1.2, 4.2.2, 4.3.2 and 4.4.2.

EFC's concerns.<sup>9</sup> The EFC is an instrument through which their concerns can be addressed. Stiller can teach evangelicals to understand the times, Redekop can encourage social responsibility among evangelicals, Rennie can foster Canadian spiritual leadership and Zorn can see the country evangelized. Their internalized realities, created in relation with their individual networks, can be propagated and maintained through the EFC. However, as they interact in the EFC their realities confront and change each other. Zorn's concern for evangelical social responsibility seems related to his connection with the EFC. This is not to say that it is not genuine, but rather that his reality may have been broadened by interaction with the EFC. The EFC is a melting pot where different realities are continually mixed together and returned to their owners, recognizable but altered.

The continuing conversation among evangelicals through the EFC legitimates the evangelical subuniverse. The EFC's effort, as a recognized body, defending and propagating the evangelical worldview, legitimates it. As evangelicals relate to each other they begin to take on each other's characteristics and appreciate each other's concerns. The EFC, as the instrument that brought them together, is strengthened because it comes to represent their common concerns.

### *6.2.2 The EFC and Evangelicals*

The evangelical reality is maintained for the interviewees by conversation with the EFC. All four interviewees believe that the EFC represents the majority of evangelicals. The EFC's literature infers that the EFC

---

<sup>9</sup> See chapter 4.

has attracted a reasonable cross-section of Canadian evangelicals.<sup>10</sup> People usually join voluntary associations if they agree with its goals and if they believe that it provides something that they cannot obtain on their own. To attract such a large number of Canadian evangelicals<sup>11</sup> the EFC has to represent a reality that these evangelicals recognize.

The EFC speaks the language of the evangelical subuniverse, which aids in the internalization of the evangelical identity. It is, in some senses, a repository for evangelical common knowledge. Through the EFC evangelicals can come to know the knowledge and experience of other Canadian evangelicals and this in turn shapes both of their realities. Still a Pentecostal, Redekop a Mennonite, Rennie a Presbyterian and Zorn a Lutheran all recognize each other as evangelicals having common concerns. The EFC linked the informal networks of evangelicals together in a formal voluntary association giving evangelical inter-relatedness more permanence and legitimacy while encouraging the growth and expansion of formal and informal links.

Despite such networking the evangelical reality is constantly being threatened by the ever changing realities of the world around it and must be legitimated. The EFC legitimates evangelicalism by highlighting the many people involved in it, by providing survival tools for evangelicals (e.g. arguments, information, connecting networks and associations, etc.) and by developing and communicating the role of the evangelical in society.

In addition to legitimating the evangelical subuniverse, the EFC aids in maintaining it by passing it on to successive generations. As a repository of

---

<sup>10</sup> Note the diversity of denominations that belong to the EFC and the diversity of the authors that write for Faith Today (see section 5.2.2.1 and Stackhouse 1993c)

<sup>11</sup> Somewhere between half and three quarters of all Canadian evangelicals.

shared evangelical knowledge it preserves that knowledge across time and geography.<sup>12</sup> Through the work of the EFC experts are produced who can defend the evangelical subuniverse against opposing realities. The knowledge "owned" by the EFC and the experts produced by it are powerful instruments of socialization into the evangelical worldview. The EFC maintains the evangelical universe by providing a standard for Canadian evangelicalism with which aberrations can be identified and sanctioned in order to maintain the purity of the evangelical subuniverse. Further maintenance takes place through conversation and the development of the evangelical community.

The EFC is a creation of Canadian evangelicals even as it acts in internalizing, legitimating and maintaining the Canadian Evangelical reality. This creation has reached the status of self-evident reality. It has the power to insist its members adhere to its statement of faith even though it is those same members that have produced both the EFC and the statement of faith. An example of this is the EFC's shift in focus of the early 1980's from working primarily on evangelical fellowship to concentrating on impacting Canadian culture. It is not clear if this was the product of a shift in evangelical focus or if the EFC's focus shift changed Canadian evangelicals. The EFC and Canadian evangelicals are in a symbiotic dialectical relationship. As evangelicals create and shape the EFC, so too does the EFC create and shape those evangelicals.

### *6.2.3 The EFC and Canadian Culture*

The pressure of outside forces on the evangelical reality contribute to its need of legitimation and maintenance. Canadian culture is one of these forces.

---

<sup>12</sup> Note that Redekop became interested in the EFC in California, Rennie in British Columbia and Zorn in Ontario.

The EFC's relation with Canadian culture is informed by its evangelical worldview. It is not only a battle for whose ideas take precedence in the public square, it is also a battle for how Canadians should view reality. The EFC's understanding of how reality should be viewed is based on the personal realities of its members. The otherworldly aspects of the interviewees' worldviews are most obvious in their interaction with culture because this element of their worldview is most closely connected with their personal realities. For example, Rennie explains that it is the Christians' religious convictions that should inform their interaction with government and provide the foundation for everything that they do. Rennie believes that the preaching of the gospel leads to God making an impact on society. Other characteristics of the evangelical reality that inform their interaction with Canadian culture include a belief in the existence of God, the importance of morality, and the necessity of challenging cultural forces. Evangelicals often believe that such beliefs distinguish them from popular culture although these beliefs are commonly held among Canadians.<sup>13</sup> Interaction between the EFC and Canadian culture influences the EFC's reality. The culture posits a view of reality much of which the EFC rejects, largely on the basis of its religious convictions. It is when these two views of reality meet that the EFC's religious convictions are most obvious.

The EFC is the way it is because of its constant dialogue with Canadian evangelicals and with Canadian culture. Debates going on in Canadian culture soon become debates taking place in evangelical culture and in the EFC (e.g. the role of women in society). Although the EFC is a significantly smaller force than Canadian culture it is also working to shape Canadian culture (e.g.

---

<sup>13</sup> See Bibby 1987:88. Bibby notes that 83% of Canadians believe in God and 79% of Canadians believe in Jesus' divinity.

debates on abortion, euthanasia, etc.). This never-ending conversation produces a never-ending series of changes in all the parties involved in such a manner that it is not usually clear who is influencing whom.

The EFC's relation with Canadian culture is dialectical. It attempts to bring its agenda to Canadian culture as Canadian culture attempts to impose its agenda on the EFC. The EFC both encourages evangelical values and responds to government actions. It is not clear to what degree the EFC drives its own agenda and to what degree it is driven by the culture's agenda. Nevertheless, it is the individual networks of the EFC's members that shape its perceptions of the relationship the EFC should have with culture. For example, there is little doubt that Redekop's perception of correct relations between the EFC and Canadian government and his efforts to shape the EFC are formed by his university and religious networks.

Canadian evangelicals realize that Canadian culture is not a passive partner around which the evangelical universe flows. Its reality, like that of the EFC, changes as it interacts with the multitude of forces acting upon it from within it and from around the world. As Canadian culture and the EFC change they reflect those changes in their interaction with each other which then changes them both.

### **6.3 Shaping the Realities**

It is clear that Stiller, Redekop, Rennie and Zorn have both shaped and been shaped by the EFC. This is also true of the relationship between the EFC and Canadian evangelicals. To a lesser degree it is also true of the relationship between Canadian culture and the EFC. However, it is not at all clear whether a given opinion is a shaping opinion or a shaped opinion. When an association

is first created it may be possible to draw direct lines of influence but after a few years that association takes on a life of its own and it becomes much harder to determine the direction of influence. To determine exactly why the EFC has the characteristics it does would be a massive and perhaps impossible task. However we can surmise that the EFC was shaped by the needs and desires of the Canadian evangelical community and by the external force of Canadian culture. We can see how Stiller's personal concern to give evangelicals a voice is an integral part of the EFC. We can note Redekop's interest in social action in several aspects of the EFC's operations. Rennie's desire to see leadership development is part of the EFC as is Zorn's concern for evangelism. We can also observe the influence of Canadian debates on abortion and the role of women in society on the EFC. It would be very hard to determine to what degree these concerns have shaped the EFC, to what degree the concerns of specific individuals drew these individuals to the EFC and to what degree the EFC has promoted these concerns within them. For the individual members of the EFC this is not important. It is the EFC's ability to respond to their current reality that is important; it does not matter if that is a different reality than the one with which they originally joined the EFC. As the Executive Council changes, the General Council changes, new members join the EFC, and Canadian culture shifts and changes, the evangelical reality that the EFC represents will continue to be shaped. As it continues to present that reality to Canadian evangelicals and Canadian culture it will continue to shape those realities. The EFC has some static characteristics (e.g. its statement of faith), but it is not a static association. It is a product of the ever-changing realities that surround and act upon it. Its multi-faceted character allows it to both represent diverse evangelical realities and to change those realities. Different members can have

different understandings of its character. The EFC's dialectical nature allows it to adapt quickly to changes in its internal and external environments. These characteristics make it an ideal association to represent so difficult a group to define as evangelicals.

### **Conclusion: Associated Diversity**

Evangelicals in Canada had not been welded into a coherent movement by strong leadership, influential national institutions, or compelling issues. Instead, the vast geography of Canada, the influence of and allegiance to regionally dominant leaders and institutions, or different dispositions towards even concerns common to all evangelicals separated them into definite subgroups only loosely linked to make up the larger evangelical fellowship. Indeed, the very word 'fellowship,' used by Canadian evangelicals to describe the two institutions that did the most to bring them together, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, perhaps best denotes this relationship of distinct elements united by limited, if crucial, common concerns and engaging in limited, but regular and substantial, common activity.

- Stackhouse 1993a:188

This quote captures the EFC, even as it is written in reference to all Canadian evangelicals. It points towards this thesis' efforts to characterize the EFC as an associated diversity. In summary of those efforts this final chapter provides a

synopsis of the main arguments of this thesis, states its four main conclusions and suggests some areas for further study.

### **7.1 Summary**

As evangelical socially-constructed realities interact they shape each other. Like realities connect into networks, and these networks, in turn, are organized into voluntary associations on the basis of commonalities. The EFC developed as a voluntary association because there were common concerns within a like body of evangelical individuals that could be better met by an association than by individuals. Its character is a product of these individuals, their network-created-and-shaped realities, Canadian culture and the dialectical relationships between them. The EFC continues to exist because it continues to serve its purpose in meeting common Canadian evangelical concerns but also because it has become an entity of its own that defines and shapes Canadian evangelicalism. Different evangelical individuals, networks and associations formed the EFC and, once formed, the EFC developed a life of its own as the repository of Canadian evangelical characteristics. The EFC now communicates Canadian evangelical character to the Canadian evangelicals that created it.

Traditional ways of defining both Canadian evangelicals and their associations are inadequate. The EFC and the Canadian evangelical cannot be defined by reference to a single defining characteristic (i.e. monothetically). They are both polythetic and can best be described by reference to sets of characteristics rather than by reference to single unique defining properties. Traditional monothetic definitions which use doctrinal, historical and cultural-sociological methods of determining what an evangelical is fall short.

Evangelicalism's doctrinal, historical and cultural-sociological components are important elements of its social construction of reality, and they also help to *encourage networking among its various groups*. However, they provide only a partial picture of Canadian evangelicalism. Evangelicalism's social construction of reality is partially an outgrowth of a multitude of evangelical networks all of which have their own doctrine, history and culture; most of which they share with some, but not all, other groups. Furthermore these characteristics do not have to be static to provide the commonalities around which networks form. Thus an appropriate polythetic definition of evangelicalism includes elements of doctrine, history, and culture and references to evangelical networks — all of which can shift and change. An example of this type of shift is the doctrine of dispensationalism. This doctrine was once a common characteristic of many evangelicals but with time it has become more identified with certain fundamentalists than with evangelicals as such.

This polythetic nature of Canadian evangelicals as seen in the diversity *within these groups and the commonalities that draw them together* can be illustrated by an examination of evangelical history. In addition an examination of the EFC's history has shown how it is a microcosm of the larger evangelical community. Examining four individual members of the EFC and the EFC's literature shows that the characteristics of Canadian evangelicals are mirrored in the EFC. The EFC is united around commonalities of doctrine and purpose; on the other hand, in many ways its boundaries are fluid, influenced by the dialectical relationship between its members, its structure and its culture. The realities of these four individuals have some commonalities but the dynamic nature of the evangelical worldview is illustrated by their different priorities and

perspectives regarding the tasks and role of the EFC. These differences are in part because each individual member of the EFC represents a variety of networks that contribute to their realities but also because not all evangelicals share the same networks. For example, Stiller was involved in Youth for Christ (YFC) and Rennie was involved in Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) and thus could have been influenced by these organizations emphasis' on evangelism. Redekop has been involved in the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), an organization which connects diverse groups of Mennonites in pursuit of common interest in social justice issues. As Stiller, Rennie and Redekop connect with each other in the EFC, the influence of YFC and IVCF on Stiller and Rennie could have had an effect on Redekop and the realities of the MCC as internalized by Redekop could influence Stiller and Rennie. Furthermore, as Redekop continues to work with the MCC he brings to it part of YFC's and IVCF's realities because of his connections with Stiller and Rennie through the EFC. Thus the EFC can be said to be a voluntary association of diverse but related networks that bring their socially constructed realities to the EFC which then reshapes those realities and transmits them back to each individual member and the networks in which they are involved. Observations of the four individuals studied make it clear that this relationship between the realities of the EFC and the realities of its members is a dialectical one.

The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada was created by Canadian evangelicals to support their reality. It is remarkable that an organization could last for thirty years, through a number of leadership changes, tremendous growth and a dramatic shift in focus without any perceived serious disagreements. The ability to agree to disagree on some areas but to work to common goals in other areas is an admirable quality and one of the keys to the

EFC's longevity. According to Brian Stiller, the EFC is rebuilding "a broken wall": bringing Canadian evangelicals together, being a voice for them in Canadian culture and providing resources so that they can influence that culture according to their Canadian evangelical worldview. The EFC continues to support Canadian evangelical reality but it also changes it, legitimates it and encourages its members to propagate it. The wall is not only being rebuilt; it is also being remodeled. It is recognizable as based on the original wall but some sections have been moved, new windows have been opened and old windows have been boarded over. As the main wall builder of Canadian evangelicalism, the EFC is building a wall in its own image and in the process has become one of the main defining forces in Canadian evangelicalism.

## **7.2 Conclusions**

The objective of this thesis was to increase scholarly knowledge about Canadian evangelicals and the association known as the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. There are four specific ways in which this has been done.

Historical surveys had been done of both Canadian evangelicals and the EFC but very little work had been done on specific aspects of these groups.<sup>1</sup> This thesis has focused on one very specific aspect of the Canadian evangelical community. That aspect is the EFC. The thesis has examined four individual evangelical perceptions of the EFC and has detailed the EFC's perception of itself as seen in its literature. In doing so it has provided details about the structure of the EFC, the nature of its members, the activities that it is involved in, the nature and content of the literature that it produces and its

---

<sup>1</sup> Stackhouse 1993c is the exception to this.

perception of itself. These details all contributed to this thesis' analysis of the EFC.

Second, this thesis has used sociological theory to analyze the EFC. This theory includes Berger and Luckman's The Social Construction of Reality, voluntary association theory and network theory. This study has used these theories to examine how the EFC's socially constructed reality is created, legitimated and maintained in dialectical relationship between the EFC, its members and Canadian culture. The EFC is a voluntary association of diverse Canadian evangelicals (it persists over time, it has access to rights and privileges unavailable to its members, etc.). These evangelicals all bring their multiple networks to the association, and the dialectical relationships among these networks have created and shaped the EFC's socially constructed reality. For example, the EFC's reality has some commonalities (e.g. doctrine, purpose) but it also has some discrepancies (e.g. should women be in ministry?) and its goals are disparate (e.g. lobbying government, evangelizing communities, etc.). These commonalities, discrepancies and disparate goals are a product of the dialectical relationship between the EFC and its members and between the members themselves. Thus the EFC is a voluntary association, which has diverse networks within it, which communicate with each other because of their commonalities (i.e. shared aspects of their realities), and in so doing change the voluntary association which then reshapes the networks of its members.

The interaction of these three theories can be illustrated by using them to explain the advent of the EFC. One of the primary means of reality construction and maintenance is through conversation. As evangelicals talk to each other they discover commonalities and form informal links around those commonalities. These informal links are called networks (an example of which

would be Stiller's relationship with Harry Faught because they are both Pentecostals, even though they may have different congregational membership). Soon these individuals unite into formal groups to accomplish tasks that cannot be accomplished alone. These groups can be voluntary associations. Two examples are YFC and IVCF which were created with the objective of evangelizing young people. Finally many of these evangelical individuals, networks, and voluntary associations realize that they have commonalities that they share with other evangelicals across the country and so they unite into a larger voluntary association. In Canada this larger voluntary association is the EFC. The conversation that initiated this process continues, shaping existing networks and realities and creating new ones which then act upon the EFC. Soon this process of influence is dialectical. These illustrations demonstrate how these sociological theories work together to aid in the study of the EFC.

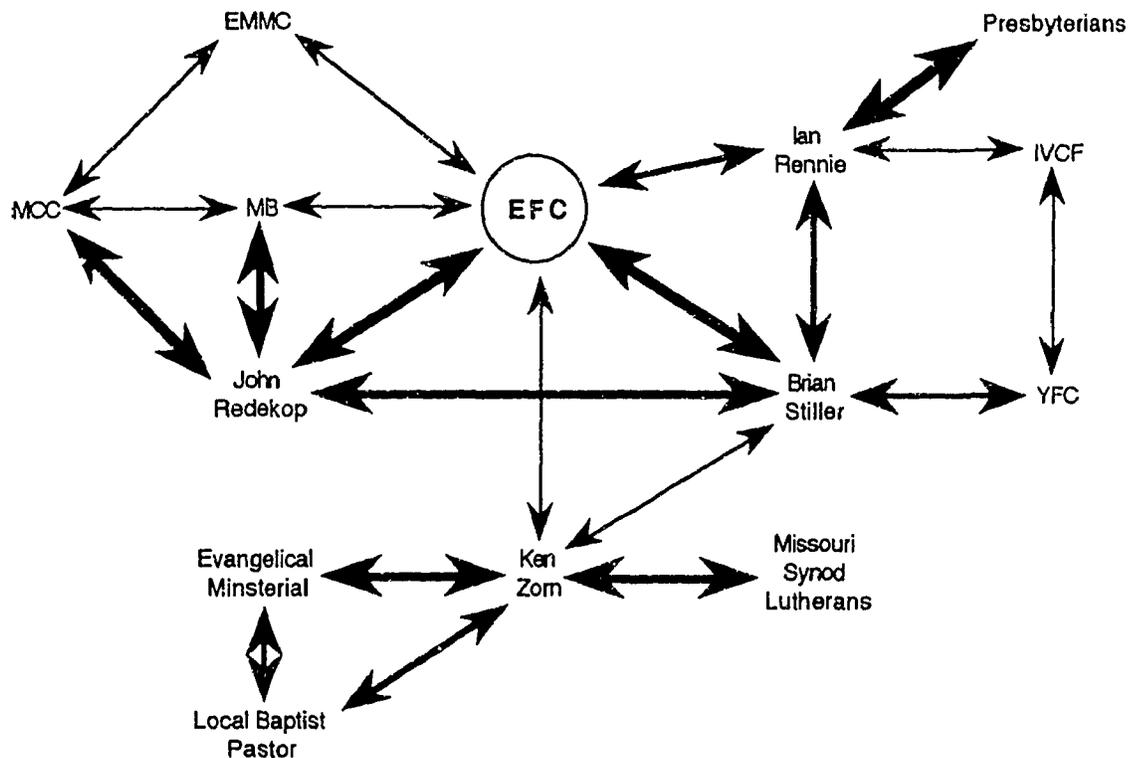
Third, by providing a description of the relationship between four specific individuals and the EFC, this thesis provides a model with which to understand Canadian evangelicals. This thesis has sought to show that understanding the varied relationships and networks that surround and constitute the EFC is crucial to understanding the social constructed reality of the association that is the EFC. Likewise an understanding of the varied relationships and networks within Canadian evangelicalism is vital to an adequate description of it. Previous studies of evangelicals have contented themselves with describing what evangelicals think or what they do. This thesis argues, that to achieve a fuller understanding of Canadian evangelicals we must examine how they relate. An examination of how the EFC operates and how its worldviews have developed and continue to develop has highlighted the dialectical nature of

these relationships within Canadian evangelicalism (Figure 1 provides a hypothetical diagram of how the EFC and its members are interconnected). The realities of the four individuals studied clearly show the diversity within the ranks of the EFC and by implication within the ranks of Canadian evangelicals. An examination of four individuals and their involvement with the EFC provides a model for understanding the worldviews, relationships and diversity within Canadian evangelicalism.

Finally, this thesis has recommended a different approach to defining evangelicals. Doctrinal, historical and cultural-sociological methods that have been used to define evangelicals are basically monothetic and therefore have been inadequate. They have served only to classify evangelicals and have been unable to elucidate what an evangelical is. This thesis has argued that when studying groups it is inadequate to study single differentia because groups are dynamic not static. Hence, this thesis has argued the case for using a polythetic model to define evangelicals. This approach to definition does not stand above categorization but it does resist the attempt to draw a static line around evangelicals. All evangelicals will not share all of the same characteristics and will share many of their characteristics with non-evangelicals. Instead of seeking to find a single set of defining characteristics that all evangelicals have to have we should draw up a group of characteristics that evangelicals can have and then call a group evangelical if it has a significant number of those characteristics. Thus a description of evangelicals would include commonalities of doctrine, history and culture and references to their networks but would not insist that all evangelicals share all commonalities and would allow these commonalities to shift and change with the passage of time. For example, this type of definition would not attempt to find a unified

worldview for the EFC but would recognize that its worldview is multifaceted and always changing, even to the point of shaping the doctrine, history and culture that had previously been used to define it. The multifaceted nature of evangelicalism and of the EFC is illustrated by Figure 1.

**Figure 1 - Hypothetical Dialectical Relationships Illustrating EFC Networks**



Legend: EMMC - Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference  
 IVCF - InterVarsity Christian Fellowship  
 MB - Mennonite Brethren  
 MCC - Mennonite Central Committee  
 YFC - Youth For Christ

Width of lines suggests the strength of the Relationship

Another example is that within Canadian evangelicalism Stiller, Rennie, Redekop and Zorn work together in the EFC. However, Stiller and Rennie's denominations ordain women but Redekop and Zorn's denominations do not. The varied nature of Canadian evangelicals suggests that a fuller picture of Canadian evangelicals is provided by a polythetic definition than a monothetic definition .

This thesis has provided some of the informational details that facilitate study of the EFC, has illustrated the value of applying the sociology of knowledge, voluntary association theory and network theory to the study of the EFC and Canadian evangelicals, has shown that the EFC can be used as a model to understand Canadian evangelicalism, and has proposed that both should be defined using a polythetic rather than a monothetic definition.

### **7.3 Future Considerations**

There is very little scholarly literature on Canadian evangelicalism and this thesis only begins to examine some of the questions surrounding it. It has answered some of the basic questions related to identifying and studying evangelicals but these considerations have introduced other questions.

Further research needs to be done on the elements of a polythetic definition of evangelical. What evangelical elements should be included in this definition? How many of them make an association or individual evangelical? What other criteria are important for studying evangelicals?

Also of interest would be a discussion of the evolution of the Canadian evangelical network. What are its main streams? Who were and are its main actors? How did these diverse institutions and actors connect?

Other studies should more closely examine the dynamics between individuals within the evangelical community. How do evangelicals relate? What brings them together and what drives them apart?

Comparisons of the EFC and of Canadian evangelicals to other religious groups within Canada and around the world also warrants additional study. The network model may be an instrument with which to compare these other groups. How do network structures of different groups (evangelical and non-evangelical) compare and what motivates their dialectical relationships? Do they have similar histories and/or commonalities? What is unique about the Canadian environment for the development of religious groups?

Finally there is cause to further study the EFC itself. How effective is the EFC in its stated mission? What criteria can be used to measure this? What measurable changes has the EFC brought to Canadian evangelicalism? What is the role of women in the EFC?

The study of Canadian evangelicals has long been neglected. There are enough unstudied aspects of Canadian evangelicalism to keep several academics busy for some time. Perhaps this thesis will aid in furthering such studies.

## References

### 1. EFC-Produced Literature Consulted

#### By-Laws

No date. No place.

#### Constitution

No date. No place.

#### Evangelical Fellowship of Canada: Executive and General Council

##### Members

1993. No Place. September.

Hightower, Neil

1993. Prayer Summit Reflections. Guelph. April 2.

#### Faith Alive

1983-1985. Periodical published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

#### Faith Today

1986-1993. Periodical published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

#### Long-Term Strategy Report to the General Council of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada

April 1993. No place. Mission of the EFC, Executive Summary, Key Result Areas, Organization, Long-Term Development Planning.

#### Ontario Alert

1993. Markham: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. December. Periodic news bulletins on important issues published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada for its member congregations.

#### Social Action Briefs

Periodic presentations of the EFC's opinion on an important issue prepared for the Canadian government.

1986. "One Day Rest in Seven." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. April.

1986. "Uncharted Waters: An Examination of the Federal Government's Plan to Include 'Sexual Orientation' in the Human Rights Act of Canada." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. December.

No Date. "Child Care: An EFC Response to the Special (Parliamentary) Committee on Child Care." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

1989. "Religious Education in the Public Schools: EFC's Brief to the Watson Commission." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. May 15.

No date. "Aids and the Church: a Brief Compendium of Resources." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

No date. "Pornography: A Christian Response." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

1990. "Bill C-43: Brief to the Legislative Committee." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. February 2.

1990. "New Reproductive Technologies: A Brief to the Royal Commission." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. November 20.

1992. "Religion and Broadcasting: A Review of the Policy on Religious Broadcasting." Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. August 7.

Stiller, Brian

1993. Executive Director's Report to the General Council of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. No Place. September 24.

Sundial

1992-1994. Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. A quarterly newsletter published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada for its members.

Thrust

1980-1983. Periodical published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

Understanding Our Times

1993. Willowdale: The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. Fourth Quarter. A quarterly bulletin insert published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada for its member congregations.

**2 Other**

Allen, Richard

1971. The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Berger, Peter, and Thomas Luckmann

1966. The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Doubleday.

Berger, Peter

1967. The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion. New York: Doubleday.

Berkowitz, S. D.

1988. "Afterward: Toward a Formal Structural Sociology." In Wellman and Berkowitz 1988b:477-497.

Bibby, Reginald W.

1987. Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada. Toronto: Irwin.

1993. Unknown Gods: the Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada. Toronto: Stoddart.

Blumhofer, Edith Waldvogel

1985. The Assemblies of God: A Popular History. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House.

Bryden, Joan

1994. "Chretien Balks at Referendum on Euthanasia" Kitchener-

Waterloo Record. February 17:A3.

Burton, Pierre

1965. The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Cambridge, John

1993. "Faith Today: 10 Years Off the Press." Faith Today July/August:32-36.

Canadian News Index 1992.

1992. Toronto: Micromedia.

Canadian Periodical Index 1992

1993. Toronto: Globe and Mail.

Conn, Joseph L

1994. "The Airwaves Ayatollahs." Church & State. March:7-10.

Cox, Harvey Gallagher

1965. The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective. London: SCM Press.

Dayton, Donald W.

1987. Theological Roots of Pentecostalism. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.

1991. "Some Doubts about the Usefulness of the Category 'Evangelical.'" In Dayton and Johnston 1991:245-251.

Dayton, Donald W. and Robert K. Johnston, Eds.

1991. The Variety of American Evangelicalism. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Ellingsen, Mark

1988. The Evangelical Movement: Growth, Impact, Controversy, Dialog. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.

Gauvreau, Michael

1991. The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression. Montreal

& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gerstner, John H.

1977. "Theological boundaries: The Reformed Perspective" In Wells and Woodbridge 1977:21-37.

Graham, Ron

1990. God's Dominion: A Sceptic's Quest. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Grant, John Webster

1972. The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation, A History of the Christian Church In Canada, Vol. 2. General Editor: John Webster Grant. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Hertz, Karl

1966. "The Nature of Voluntary Associations." In Robertson 1988b:17:35.

Hogben, W. Murray

1991. "Why I Became a Muslim." Faith Today September/October:32

Hunt, James D,

1966. "Voluntary Associations as a key to History." In Robertson 1988b:359-373.

Jantz, Harold

1991. "Evangelicals in the Canada of the 90s." Ecumenism 101(March):13-16.

Johnston, Robert K.

1991. "American Evangelicalism: An Extended Family." In Dayton and Johnston 1991:252-272.

Kantzer, Kenneth S.

1977. "Unity and Diversity in Evangelical Faith." In Wells and Woodbridge 1977:58-87.

Maclver, R. M. and Charles H. Page

1949. Society: An Introductory Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart

and Winston.

Marsden, George M.

1987. "The Evangelical Denomination." In Piety & Politics: Evangelicals and Fundamentalists Confront the World, 55-68. Richard John Neuhaus and Michael Cromartie, eds. Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Center.

1991a. "Fundamentalism and American Evangelicalism." In Dayton and Johnston 1991a:22-35.

1991b. Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Mitchner, Lori

1983. "There's a Story to be Told." Faith Alive 1/1:2.

Moberg, David O.

1977. "Fundamentalists and Evangelicals in Society." In Wells and Woodbridge 1977:163-189.

Nash, Ronald H.

1987. Evangelicals in America: Who They Are, What They Believe. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Niebuhr, H. Richard

1975. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper and Row. Originally published in 1951.

Noll, Mark A.

1992. A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Posterski, Donald C., and Irwin Barker

1993. Where's a Good Church? Winfield, B.C.: Wood Lake Books.

Rawlyk, George A., ed.

1990a. The Canadian Protestant Experience: 1760-1990. Burlington: Welch.

Rawlyk, George A.

1990b. "Politics, Religion, and the Canadian Experience: A Preliminary Probe." In Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s, 253-280. Mark A. Noll, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Record

1994. "Church Leaders Unite on Key Issues." Wednesday, March 30:C12.

Redekop, John

1972a. Making Political Decisions: A Christian Perspective. Scottsdale: Herald Press.

1972b. Labour Problems in Christian Perspective. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Remus, Harold

1992. "Bible Colleges." In Harold Remus, William Closson James, and Daniel Fraikin, Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review, chapter 11. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation Canadienne des Sciences Religieuses.

1993. "Voluntary Association(s) at the Asclepieion in Pergamum in the Second Century C.E." Paper presented at the Voluntary Associations Seminar for the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies. Carlton University: Ottawa, June 8.

Rennie, Ian

1984. "Gratitude for the Past." Evangelical Recorder. 90(Spring):6-11.

1986a. "Part Two: Was Canada Ever Christian?" Faith Today May/June:36-37.

1986b. "Part Three: Was Canada ever Christian?" Faith Today July/August:36-37.

Robertson, D. B.

1966a. "The Nature of Voluntary Associations." In Robertson 1966b:17-35.

Robertson, D. B. ed

1966b. Voluntary Associations: A Study of Groups in Free Societies. Richmond: John Knox Press.

Robinson, John A. T.

1963. Honest to God. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Shantz, J. A.

1980. "Tut-mania." Thrust 12/1:6-7.

Singh, Artaj

1987. "Jesus: Just Another Myth?" Faith Today January/February:36.

Stackhouse Jr., John G.

1990. "The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945." In Rawlyk 1990a:198-239.

1992. "Whose Dominion? Christianity and Canadian Culture Historically Considered." Crux 27/2:29-35.

1993a. Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1993b. "The National Association of Evangelicals, The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and the Limits of Evangelical Cooperation." Unpublished Manuscript.

1993c. "Through the Rear-View Window." Faith Today July/August :40-44.

Statistics Canada

1993. Religions in Canada. Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993. 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue Number 93-319.

Stiller, Brian C.

1982. "Religionless Christianity: The Faith of the Canadian 'Unfocused' Majority." Thrust 14/1:5.

1983. A Generation under Siege. Wheaton: Victor Books.

1985. "Evangelical Megatrends: Major Influences Shaping the Canadian Church." Faith Alive Spring:14-24.

1986. "Evangelicals: A Threatening Cloud?" Faith Today December/January:32-35.

1991. Critical Options for Evangelicals. Markham: Faith Today Publications.

1994. "Evangelism in the Supreme Court." Faith Today January/February:78.

Sweet, Lois

1993. "An Explosion of Faith: While Mainline Churches are Losing Adherents, the Evangelical Movement is Growing like Topsy. Why?" Toronto Star August :B1, B5.

Swift, Allan

1993. "A Nation of Private Christians?" Faith Today July/August:20-28.

1991. "A Church Amid Change." Faith Today January/February:19-24.

Torrey, R. A., A. C. Dixon and others

1988. The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. From the original edition by the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, 1917.

Van Ginkel, Aileen ed.

1992. Shaping a Christian Vision for Canada: Discussion Paper's on Canada's Future. Markham:Faith Today.

Wells, David F., and John D. Woodbridge, eds.

1977. The Evangelicals: What They Believe. Who They Are, Where They Are Changing. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House Company.

Webber, Robert E

1978. Common Roots: A Call to Evangelical Maturity. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Weber, Timothy P.

1991. "Premillennialism and the Branches of Evangelicalism." In Dayton and Johnston 1991:5-21.

Wellman, Barry

1988a. "Structural Analysis: From Metaphor to Substance." In Wellman and Berkowitz 1988b:19-61.

Wellman, Barry, and S. D. Berkowitz

1988b. "introduction: Studying Social Structures." In Wellman and Berkowitz 1988a:1-14.

Wellman, Barry, and S. D. Berkowitz, eds.

1988c. Social Structures: A Network Approach. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, Robert A.

1990. "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945" in Rawlyk 1990a:139-197.