Introduction

In “On the Look-Out,” the opening chapter of Charles Dickens’ novel *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), the reader is presented with two individuals in a small boat riding down the Thames River in the thick of night with nothing more than a “rusty boat hook and coil of rope.” The narrator tells us they are “doing something that they often did, and were seeking what they often sought.” The reader learns later that the two individuals work on the river as independent operators, routinely dredging up human bodies that have fallen to the bottom. It is on the river that these workers eke out a living in the severe, urban London environment. After lifting the bodies to shore, their duty is to turn over any of these new “findings” to police so that they can be properly identified. A criminal case often ensues. Meanwhile, the workers return to the cold setting of the river, distinctively bounded by the stone of London Bridge and the metal of Southwark Bridge.¹

According to literary critics, *Our Mutual Friend* accounts for Dickens’ most pressing social critique of urban life in late-nineteenth-century London. With the backdrop of the city as “central brooding image,” modern urban society is viewed as “an institution without content.”² While Dickens strongly criticizes the existing state of urban society for its lack of content, he does make suggestions for the “possible emergence of a new and better society,” one based on the concern of “mutuality.”³ This same concern for mutuality drives central urban actors—congregations, government agencies, community-based organizations, and faith-based organizations—to be “on the lookout,” lifting up not bodies, but urban dwellers who fall to the bottom of America’s inner cities. Poor and often marginalized, these dwellers eke out their living amid the stone of congested city streets and the metal of urban skyscrapers.

Latino religious institutions place a great emphasis on the value of mutuality—or the genuine flourishing of community life—in the inner city. Guided by the Christian narrative, they consider themselves called to “live
peaceably with all” (Rom. 12:18) and to “love one another with mutual affection” (Rom. 12:10). In lifting up the human persons that fall to the bottom of urban society, these religious actors strive to put in practice this narrative by privileging those who are weak, marginalized, and powerless. As Christian believers dedicated to the plight of urban dwellers, they take their biblical tradition seriously, paying specific attention to the words of Jeremiah: “Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare” (Jer. 29:7). Latino religious institutions consider themselves commissioned to promote the city’s welfare not only through the “healing” of the city’s wounds, but also through the advancement of its “prosperity and security” (Jer. 33:6).

Over the past 20 years, Latino religious institutions—congregations and faith-based organizations alike—have played a significant role in the urban revitalization of America’s toughest inner cities. These institutions have made a long-term commitment to the crises many of their neighborhoods have been facing for decades.\(^4\) In addition to providing havens for immigrant populations and engaging in community economic development, religious institutions influence the daily life and politics of Latinos. Although Latino congregations have been long-standing indigenous faith communities in U.S. urban areas, Latino faith-based organizations are newly emergent urban actors in public life, wielding a considerable degree of social, spiritual, and cultural legitimacy not only with their own community “constituents,” but also with key local, state, and national political players.

Distinctions must be made as to congregations, faith-based organizations (FBOs), and community-based organizations (CBOs). For the purposes of this study, congregations will be defined as religious sites—churches, synagogues, and mosques—whose primary objective is to provide a spiritual place of worship for community members. Although some congregations provide social services to their community members, this is not necessarily the case for all congregations. Congregations “are considered tax-exempt entities by virtue of being religious organizations and the assumption that they are charitable organizations.” There are more than 350,000 congregations in the United States today. Thus, they account for the “most common and widespread institution in our society.”\(^5\)

FBOs are far fewer in number than their congregational counterparts. Unlike congregations, no approximate figure exists for the number of FBOs in the United States. In contrast to congregations, FBOs are orga-
nizations whose very purpose is to provide some type of social service for the community they serve. These organizations are “required to register with the Internal Revenue Service and get a formal certificate of incorporation.” While having a religious foundation, FBOs also are required by law to avoid the intermingling of proselytizing with social-service provision. Ultimately, having a religious foundation distinguishes the FBO from its secular counterpart—the CBO—because the two kinds of organizations tend to perform the same type of community work.

This book, The Politics of Latino Faith, is the first systematic treatment of Latino FBOs in the United States. The main objective of this study is to introduce the concept of religious identity politics, defined here as the content and context of religious values, beliefs, and culture that drive social and political action in community life. Religious identity politics manifests itself in how Latino FBO leadership interprets the Christian narrative. Such an interpretation in turn influences the kinds of social and political activities in which these institutions become involved on behalf of their own “constituents.” Latino FBOs are emerging and “potential sources of political influence,” and I shall demonstrate in this study that it is impossible to understand these institutions socially and politically without first understanding them in terms of their theological drives and commitments.

The Latino FBOs under study are: the Latino Pastoral Action Center (LPAC), a para-church organization located in the Highbridge section of the South Bronx in New York, led by a Pentecostal minister, Reverend Raymond Rivera; Nueva Esperanza (Nueva), an interdenominational Protestant organization located in the Hunting Park section of North Philadelphia, led by an evangelical pastor, Reverend Luis Cortés, Jr.; and, The Resurrection Project (TRP), a Roman Catholic, lay-driven organization led by Raúl Raymundo, with a membership base of twelve Catholic parishes representing the neighborhoods of Pilsen and Little Village—and an auxiliary membership of two churches consolidated into one parish from Back of the Yards—in Chicago. These Latino FBOs in no way represent the entire Latino community-serving ministry sector, but they are the three largest and most reputable Latino FBOs in the United States, with operating budgets in excess of $2.5 million as of mid-2007.

Despite the fact that all three Latino FBOs manifest a religious identity politics, they do not engage in the same types of Christian ministry. The varieties of Christian ministry exhibited by these Latino FBOs are based on the public theology each organization advances. (This is documented
in more detail in chapter three.) While Christian denomination serves to
influence these public theologies, ultimately the articulation of each pub-
lic theology is a function of how FBO leadership interprets the Christian
narrative in the urban context. As the later case studies will attest, LPAC
manifests a ministry of personal outreach, Nueva advances a ministry of
institutional development, and TRP embraces a ministry of community
empowerment.

These varieties of Christian ministry have real implications in so-
cial and political life. LPAC manifests a ministry of personal outreach
through its provision of personally oriented services, such as gang out-
reach and psychological counseling in the largely Puerto Rican and Do-
minican neighborhood of the South Bronx. Moreover, this ministry of
personal outreach is exhibited by the political involvement of LPAC’s
leader, Rivera, who personally has endorsed political candidates in New
York City and at the national level. In contrast, Nueva advances a min-
istry of institutional development in the largely Puerto Rican corridor of
North Philadelphia through its macro-level, business approach to min-
distry. Of the three Latino FBO leaders under study, Cortés of Nueva is
the leader who engages most with state, national, and international po-
litical actors. Neither endorsing nor financially contributing to political
candidates, Cortés has acted as lead host of the National Hispanic Prayer
Breakfast since 2002, bringing together central political figures from both
Democratic and Republican political ranks. TRP, meanwhile, displays a
ministry of community empowerment through the organization’s attention
to building a healthy community for the largely Mexican neighborhood of
Chicago that it serves. Raymundo, TRP executive director and lay leader,
advocates the need for both the “bricks and mortar” side to community
development—the building of housing units—and community develop-
ment’s more human side, the celebration of Mexican culture and religious
tradition.

The Significance of Latino Religion

It is only natural to study the role Latino FBOs play in urban life. Ac-
cording to a 2007 study jointly conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion
and Public Life and the Pew Hispanic Center, approximately 68 percent of
Latinos surveyed consider religion “very important” in their lives. In ad-
dition, 66 percent of Latinos surveyed deem religion to be very important
or somewhat important in their political thinking. Unlike Dickens’ image of urban society as an institution without content, Latinos would regard urban religious congregations and FBOs as institutions with content. Nearly 90 percent of Latinos surveyed self-identify as “Christian.” Thus, Luis Pedraja’s assertion that the Christian congregation is the “central location” for the Latino community should not be passed over lightly. In providing Latinos with a “community of faith,” the Christian congregation helps safeguard Latino cultural traditions and religious customs. Along with congregations, FBOs help the Latino community to mediate its religious sensibilities and, in so doing, prepare this community for social and political involvement in the urban context.

With an estimated 42.7 million Latinos living in the United States as of 2005, this ethnic group constitutes the nation’s largest minority, representing 14 percent of the total population. These numbers are bound to increase, as estimates predict that Latinos will account for 25 percent of the total U.S. population in 2050. Given this “demographic revolution,” the spread of Latino values, beliefs, and culture will continue to permeate U.S. society. In religious terms, Latinos are poised to make a significant impact on American society in three ways: (1) the growth of the “renewalist” movement—an umbrella term given to charismatic Protestants and Catholics who worship in an expressive manner, (2) the phenomenon of the “ethnic church”—a faith community characterized by the desire of Latinos to worship together in their native Spanish language, and, (3) the impact of Latino religion on politics to the degree that Latinos “see religion as a moral compass to guide their own political thinking.”

The political significance of Latino religion cannot be overstated, as evidenced in the last six National Hispanic Prayer Breakfasts, spearheaded by Esperanza USA, Nueva’s national subsidiary. On June 15, 2007, nationally recognized political figures from both sides of the aisle spoke to a crowd of approximately seven hundred at the J. W. Marriott Hotel in Washington, D.C. The official roster of speakers included President George W. Bush, former Governor Howard Dean, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA), Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL), and Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY). The director of an evangelical nonprofit (and non-Latino) seated at my table remarked that “no other group” but Latino people of faith “could command such a powerful lineup as this one.” After a raucous welcome, President Bush approached the dais to comment on how the “nation is more vibrant and more hopeful” due to the “armies of compassion” unleashed by Latino
congregations and FBOs. Bush characterized these armies as faith-based movements that care for “one heart, one soul, and one conscience at a time.” These armies advance, he said, “el sueño americano para todos” (the American dream for everyone). Building on Bush’s address, Kennedy discussed what lies at the foundation of being an American. Referring to the Senate bill on comprehensive immigration reform, Kennedy stated that America is “not just defined by its geography, it’s defined by its values.” Meanwhile, Cortés ended the three-hour-long breakfast by reiterating the core religious values cherished by Latino Christian believers—“values to do for the powerless and not the powerful.”

Politicians who advocate a new approach—or a “third way”—to American politics have been speaking the “language of values.” It is a “common set of values” that binds Americans together, maintains Senator Barack Obama (D-IL) in his latest book, The Audacity of Hope. This set of values is what “people use to map their world. It is what can inspire them to take action,” he states. Whether secular or steeped in religious belief, values are “cultural resources,” claims Ann Swidler, as they provide a template for a particular strategy of action. In practice, the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love serve as templates for the varied kinds of ministry advanced by the Latino FBOs under study. By definition, these groups are defined as “faith-based” and “charitable organizations” that care for “the least of these” (Matt. 25:45). However, these organizations can also be regarded as institutions of hope in those inner-city neighborhoods they serve. Plagued with adverse socioeconomic conditions, inner cities are places of constant struggle. Rooted in the biblical tradition, these institutions of hope “do the extraordinary” by enabling urban residents to believe in the possibility of change through Christian faith in action.

The religious values, beliefs, and culture that comprise religious identity politics in the Latino community cannot be captured simply by quantitative research. In fact, this study will challenge faith-factor research—usually consisting of quantitatively and survey-driven studies—which has dominated studies on religion and public life. By documenting the ubiquity of religious communities in low-income neighborhoods and by measuring the social outcomes of religious involvement, faith-factor research has done much to further a greater appreciation by the social sciences concerning the extent and efficacy of faith. Nevertheless, this research tends to do two things: (1) overemphasize the commonalities that exist among distinct religious groups and (2) code distinctions
as “very distinct,” displayed in the dichotomous variables “churched” and “unchurched.” In contrast to survey and quantitative studies that comprise faith-factor research, I will present a third stream of research on religion—the political ethnography. Through my research, I show how religious identity politics informs the degree and kind of social and political activities in which these Latino FBOs involve themselves for the betterment of their urban constituents.

These different kinds of religious identity politics can be viewed best through lo cotidiano, or the “everyday life,” of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP. Like the work of Bartkowski and Regis in Charitable Choices (2003), this study will consider Latino religious commitment as a “lived” experience, brought to life by the narratives of Latino FBO leadership and staff, clergy, public officials, nonprofit leaders, and community activists as well as the range of FBO community initiatives. As carriers of strong religious sensibilities, Latinos are a community that takes its faith seriously. However, the term “faith”—even “Christian faith”—does not mean the same thing to everyone in that community. The Christian ministries of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP display the degree to which faith motivates and inspires people to social and political action in varied ways. A Christian believer may point to a well-cited biblical passage to explain the variety of Latino faith-based activity:

We are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another. We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us: prophecy, in proportion to faith; ministry, in ministering; the teacher, in teaching; the exhorter, in exhortation; the giver, in generosity; the leader, in diligence; the compassionate, in cheerfulness. (Rom. 12:6–8)

Because the faith in “faith-based” is multifaceted, an ethnographic approach proves valuable in uncovering the variety and complexity of Latino faith-based involvement in America’s inner cities. Furthermore, such an approach is worthwhile in considering the nuanced understandings of faith that influence the religious identity politics for each organization.

There has been limited research by social scientists on the nature of the “faith” in faith-based. Even more recent works have treated faith (or religion) as a means to something else, such as political mobilization, social-service delivery, and social capital. Social capital theory is limited when describing the religious motivations of faith-based actors, state Bartkowski and Regis. Specifically, the theory “lacks a language for analyzing
moral motivations for social action,” thereby running the risk of reducing such action to a “self-interested entrepreneurial endeavor.” Instead of conceiving of religion simply as a form of “social capital,” this study will consider religion on cultural grounds. As a “cultural resource,” religion is a “public phenomenon—a collection of symbol sets to which many different actors have access,” says Rhys Williams. To Christian believers, however, religion is a guide for action and, more importantly, a source of personal, communal, and public truth. Because a cultural account of religion involves understanding the lived experience of faith—from the viewpoint of the believer—it is only fitting that research on LPAC, Nueva, and TRP was conducted from a qualitative and ethnographic approach. When relevant, the book will include scriptural passages in both English and Spanish (from the New Revised Standard Version and Nueva Versión Internacional Bibles, respectively) to drive home the influence of the Christian narrative on FBO leadership and staff. In the end, this study will not concern itself as much with the levels of social capital produced by these Latino FBOs as with coming to grips with the religious culture of each organization. It will consider how the interpretation of the Christian narrative by FBO leadership shapes the religious identity politics of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP.

Personal Background

My first witness of the social, political, and cultural salience of the role of faith among those of Latin American heritage was during my trip to Concepción, Chile, where I was enrolled as a student at the Universidad de Concepción during the 1994 summer session, taking classes in Latin American history and Chilean poetry. At the heart of the plaza in Concepción, and indeed at every other plaza I visited in Chile, was a large Catholic church situated across from the municipal building, signifying the importance of both the institutional church and the church as place of devotional gathering. Walking the streets of Concepción, I always seemed to bump into American Mormon missionaries, who tended to stand at the local post office inviting Chileans and other foreigners to participate in their church services. Off in the distance, a megaphone would blast the Evangelio (Gospel) from an open-air Pentecostal service—the first I had seen of this kind—while I was visiting my host family’s relatives in the poor coal-mining town of Lota.
I returned to Chile in 1995 and, one year later, to Argentina as a Latin America consultant for a global financial services company. During the summer of 1996, between my first and second years as a master’s student in Latin American Studies at Georgetown University, I personally constructed and conducted surveys about the newly privatized pension plan in Argentina. I spent weeks asking random passersby—in the heart of Buenos Aires on Avenida Florida and in the provinces of Mendoza and San Juan—about their thoughts on the new pension system. I returned yet again to Latin America in 1997, this time as a full-fledged employee for the same financial services company in a marketing capacity. Stationed in Buenos Aires, I was reminded by the influence of faith I witnessed in every city I visited in Argentina of my initial experience in Chile, and I wondered how faith as such made an impact on a Latin American “culture” so steeped in family, community, and tradition.

Although my Latin American experience is distinct from the Latino context of the inner city, my visits to the Southern Cone still enabled me to gain a “feel” for Latino culture. Through improving my fluency in Spanish and my experience in living in a closely knit Latin American community, I was able to appreciate more fully the values, beliefs, and culture that serve to shape Latino identity in the United States. Debates continue over the existence of a Latino “identity.” While *Rethinking Latino(a) Religion and Identity* (2006) provides a series of essays concerning the relationship between Latino religion and identity,31 other commercial studies have considered the economic implications of Latino identity. The Latino Cultural Identity Project unveiled by the Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies (AHAA) in 2006 exhibits how the marketing sector—broadly speaking—views the relationship between Latino cultural identity and commerce. Acknowledging that “Latino identity is as complex and perhaps, as fragmented as the general market,” the project identifies a set of “interrelated values” that constitute such identity. In this project, AHAA likens Latino cultural identity to a heart with four chambers, consisting of (1) interpersonal orientation, (2) time and space perception, (3) spirituality, and (4) gender perception. With respect to the third “chamber,” i.e., spirituality, the project affirms how religion and spirituality “influence nearly every aspect of U.S. Latino life, and they affect how Latinos see the world.”32

Debates continue over whether it is more appropriate to use the term “Hispanic” versus “Latino.”33 The terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” tend to be used interchangeably by scholars, community leaders, and business
professionals. However, according to Arlene Dávila, while the term “Hispanic” evokes Spanish conquest and colonization, “Latino” tends to be a more “politically correct term.” For the purpose of this study, I will use the term “Latino” when referring to anyone who is either a U.S. citizen of Hispanic heritage or an immigrant from Mexico, Central America, South America, or the Spanish Caribbean, although FBO leadership and staff—like the aforementioned business professionals, scholars, and community leaders—tend to use both “Hispanic” and “Latino” (as well as “Mexican,” in the case of TRP) when referring to “their community.”

Fieldwork Methodology

For this study, I conducted approximately ten months of fieldwork in 2001–2002 at three Latino FBOs in Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, for a month at a time. Like political scientist Richard F. Fenno's research on members of Congress in their home constituencies, I engaged in ethnographic research to study LPAC, Nueva, and TRP in their “natural settings.” I examined these organizations from the perspective of leadership and staff “engaged in real-life activities” as well as from the point of view of external actors with whom the organizations have collaborated. As part of this fieldwork, I interviewed leadership, staff, and board members of these Latino FBOs. I also interviewed external actors to the organizations—corporate, foundation, community, and government leaders—who either partnered with one of the FBOs in question or had knowledge of its activities in the community. In addition, the Latino FBOs under study extended to me an open invitation to attend any and all events hosted by their respective organizations. As a participant-observer, I attended staff and board meetings, block club meetings, homeownership workshops, community policing meetings, job readiness workshops, gang prevention conferences, and local church services and celebrations.

While mindful of advice from anthropological circles to avoid “going native” with such ethnographic research, I have endeavored to balance such warnings with my own concerns about “going foreign.” In contrast to “going native,” I would argue that “going foreign” imposes a whole set of theoretical devices, derived from graduate training, on the popular expressions of faith and politics. Therefore, throughout this study, instead of speaking for my research groups, like Chicana novelist Sandra Cisneros, I aim to “allow what comes in from the neighborhood” and let people...
speak for themselves and on their own terms. While the “people” in question—particularly Latino FBO leadership and staff—are arguably community leaders in their own right, many of them were raised in the inner city and/or continue to live in the very neighborhoods where LPAC, Nueva, and TRP are located. Because much of the leadership and staff of these organizations have experienced personally the harsh reality of urban life, their voices should be heard—especially when they speak on behalf of their Latino community constituents.

I created four separate questionnaires, one for FBO founding members and members of the board of directors, a second for FBO leadership and staff, a third for government and community leaders, and a fourth for foundation and corporate leaders. (See appendix for a sample of one such questionnaire.) Questions addressed organizational establishment, organizational objectives, community and political involvement, strategic partnerships, faith identity, and community impact of each FBO. I conducted approximately 125 open-ended interviews, mostly in English with a few in Spanish, for an average length of one hour. To engage in a more open dialogue, I opted to record interviews in pen as opposed to tape-recording them. While the overwhelming majority of interviews were conducted face-to-face, a small number of telephone interviews (6 of the 125) were conducted of the same average length for those who were unable to participate in a face-to-face interview. In February 2007, I held follow-up interviews (via telephone and face-to-face) with Rivera of LPAC, Raymundo of TRP, and Reverend Danny Cortés, brother of Luis Cortés and senior vice president of Nueva, in an effort to incorporate up-to-date information on organizational initiatives—past, present, and future—in the study.

Despite being a political ethnography, this study is not a “thick description.” Instead of using lengthy quotes from interviewees to describe specific initiatives, events, and accomplishments at each organization, this ethnography is laced throughout with quotes. Because the purpose of this book is to analyze the kinds of religious identity politics that inform LPAC, Nueva, and TRP, the quotes selected are brief and to the point. Written in narrative form, the book draws its analysis from interviews and participant observation as well as from a variety of secondary sources, such as local city newspaper and magazine articles (both in Spanish and English), earlier scholarly works written about these Latino FBOs, and general works on cultural anthropology, political science, city planning, and Latino studies, broadly speaking.
Outline of the Book

Before turning to the individual case studies of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP, this book begins with three chapters that help lay the foundation for this political ethnography of Latino FBOs. In chapter one, I develop the concept of religious identity politics by drawing on scholarship from the fields of political science, sociology, theology, urban studies, literature, and anthropology. Rooted in the lived experience of the Christian believer, this form of identity politics regards religion as a distinct form of culture—one grounded in the Christian narrative. Chapter two provides a structural look at these Latino FBOs, by examining the context of the values, beliefs, and culture that constitute the religious identity politics for each organization. In addition to providing an overview of the organizational history and urban setting of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP, this chapter will briefly document the long line of involvement by religious institutions and Latino CBOs—urban predecessors of the Latino FBOs in question—in the U.S. public square. Chapter three explores the content of the values, beliefs, and culture that constitute religious identity politics, through an examination of how human agency—i.e., Latino FBO leadership—influences the organizational life of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP. As new liberationists, these leaders promote three distinct versions of Christian ministry through the nonprofit structure of the Latino FBO.

Although the kinds of religious identity politics advanced by LPAC, Nueva, and TRP are categorized as three different versions of Christian ministry, these versions are not inflexible categories. More than anything, such versions are framing devices that serve to highlight how the advancement of a particular public theology at each organization has real social and political consequences. It is possible, therefore, to note some overlapping tendencies among the three ministries. For instance, it is clear that “community empowerment” is a driving force not only at TRP, but also at LPAC and Nueva to the extent that all three Latino FBOs believe strongly in the empowerment of their urban Latino constituents. Furthermore, although all three organizations can be said to engage in a type of “personal outreach,” LPAC is most fully dedicated to this ministry. The same can be said with respect to Nueva and its ministry of institutional development.

In addition to three theoretical chapters, this book includes three case-study chapters, one on each Latino FBO. Chapter four outlines how LPAC manifests a ministry of personal outreach through attention paid to the specific context of the South Bronx and to its personally oriented services,
such as gang outreach, martial arts, and psychological counseling. Chapter five focuses on how Nueva advances a ministry of *institutional development* through the organization’s concern with building Latino-owned and -operated institutions in the low-income Philadelphia neighborhood of Hunting Park and on a national scale. Chapter six displays TRP as furthering a ministry of *community empowerment* through a consideration of the organization’s attention to faith-based community in the densely concentrated Mexican neighborhoods of Pilsen, Little Village, and Back of the Yards in Chicago.

As discussed in chapter seven, the case studies of LPAC, Nueva, and TRP presented in this work serve to invite the disciplines of the social sciences (and other related fields such as religious studies, sociology, and public administration) to engage in a dialogue about what exactly constitutes a religious identity politics. By emphasizing the need to demystify language around popular expressions of religiosity, this political ethnography seeks to create a place for the discipline of political science in qualitative research on religion—usually conducted by sociologists and cultural anthropologists. Additionally, such a study endeavors to reserve a place for religious identity politics in the conceptual vocabulary of political science. Lastly, such a work strives to display how the Latino FBOs in question “seek the welfare of the city.” Each kind of identity politics furthered by LPAC, Nueva, and TRP both reflects the Christian message of “God’s activity on behalf of the oppressed” and responds to the severe conditions posed by inner-city life for Latino residents. Through their respective ministries, these FBOs exhibit the varied ways they go about healing the wounds of the city as well as promoting its prosperity and security.