UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE: THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL MINISTRY

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Nathaniel Tucker, Jr., who has supported and uplifted me throughout this academic endeavor, to my parents, Richard and Linda Ussery, who have believed in me and encouraged me all throughout my life, to my daughter, Layla, who came along in the midst of my work and brightened my life, and to my daughter, Lilly, who will come into the world shortly after the completion of this project.

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Abstract

This project explores the relationship of Pentecostal churches in the United States to social ministry. Taken from the results of multivariate logistic regression and likelihood ratio tests utilizing the National Congregations Study (Mark Chaves, Director), a nationally representative sample of US congregations, I found that Pentecostal congregations are statistically less likely to participate in social ministry than non-Pentecostal Christian congregations. Through chi-square analyses, I also found Pentecostal churches to be less likely than non-Pentecostal Conservative congregations to participate in social ministry. Through a series of interviews and observations of five Pentecostal Assemblies of God churches in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area, assessments were made on Pentecostal identity and Pentecostal perceived involvement in the community of Atlanta. Recommendations for further research are provided.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

"Herein lies the paradox of religion…throughout human history: Religious zeal may be a breeding ground for intolerance, but religious idealism may be the seedbed of justice and human rights." – John G. West, Jr. Religion in American Politics *xiii*

The intertwining of religion and social service[1] in the United States has been an important topic for sociological inquiry since the field's inception. Early pioneers of American sociological thought, in the wake of industrialization, urbanization and social upheaval, examined and often upheld the value of religious motivation and subsequent action for addressing social ills (Calhoun 2007). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in what historians often call the Progressive Era, institutional religion also responded to the social changes succeeding collective troubles. Within Protestant Christianity emerged what became known as the *social gospel*, Christian action toward social (as well as spiritual) betterment. The social gospel movement is historically associated with mainline Protestant denominations, with conservative denominations disapproving of the often overt political emphasis of the social gospel and the supposed replacement of the gospel message with one of individually-led personal and societal improvement (White and Hopkins 1977). Current

[1] *Social service* is the most-widely used term in sociological literature on religious congregations to delineate social programs, community outreach, human service projects and any other type of service that is benevolent and/or collective in nature. In introducing the concept, I use this term as well. However, because *social services* is more commonly identified with the public sector, throughout the remainder of the paper, I utilize the term *social ministry* as I feel this better represents an all-encompassing perception of the "social" work that congregation do. This term (social ministry) is also used in the writings of Carl S. Dudley (see Dudley 1991 and Dudley, Carroll, and Wind 1991).

congregational research (Chaves 2004, Ammerman 2005) seems to support the notion that this conservative disapproval of the social gospel still plays a role in Protestant involvement in social action, with liberal denominations having a higher likelihood of participation in social ministries than conservative churches.

Interestingly, new research is emerging on current religious community outreach among groups typically categorized as theologically (and often politically) conservative. For example, Miller and Yamamori (2007) recently published *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*, exploring worldwide Pentecostal involvement in social ministry. In fact, as Pentecostalism is now heralded by many as the fastest growing faction within Christianity worldwide, more and more scholars are paying attention to its beliefs and practices, including those actions within and outside the church walls. Miller (1997) writes, "It used to be that only liberal mainline congregations were engaged in serving the poor and dispossessed of our society, while conservative and Pentecostal churches were busy praying and worrying about personal holiness—or at least this is how the story was commonly told. Whether this account is true is for future historians to sort out" (110). To date, the extent to which Pentecostals engage in serving the less fortunate vis-à-vis mainline congregations has yet to be "sorted."

Modern Pentecostalism is derived from the Holiness movement with foundations primarily in Wesleyan Methodism. Holiness is a separation from the "world," or secular culture. According to Anderson (2004), "The Holiness movement was [also] a reaction to liberalism and formalism in established

Protestant churches and stood for Biblical literalism, the need for a personal and individual experience of conversion and the moral perfection (holiness) of the Christian individual" (27). The essays in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Blumhofer, Spittler, and Wacker 1999), discuss Pentecostal identity along with other Protestants, calling the Pentecostal movement a "protest against dry denominationalism" and "separatist and exclusivist" (*Introduction, ix*) with regard to mainline Protestant denominations. Because of this orientation, some would argue that this rejection of liberalism and mainline Protestantism led to the refutation of social action as important aspect of the Church's functioning.

Despite this, others would point to the counter-cultural and often revolutionary beginnings of Pentecostalism as implicitly pioneering social action without the political overtones of the social gospel. In the age of Jim Crow segregation, for instance, Robeck (2005) writes, "White women saw nothing wrong in hugging their black pastor or even kissing him on the cheek. Nor was it uncommon for a young black woman to 'throw her arms around the neck of some white man…and beg him to "come to the altar."'" Bearman and Mills (2009) argue, "Both the Social Gospel and Pentecostalism targeted those who often considered themselves unwelcome in the established denominations, giving the movements more in common than has generally been recognized by those who study them" (108). Though early Pentecostal involvement in distinct social ministry is unclear or under-recognized, current studies on Pentecostalism are opening up a dialogue on Pentecostal social involvement. Researchers are

questioning whether Pentecostalism (labeled conservative, evangelical, and sometimes fundamentalist) is truly the "new face of Christian social engagement" (Miller and Yamamori 2007). If so, how do American Pentecostal churches compare with mainline Protestant denominations in their social activity and how do they compare to other conservative groups?

Purpose and Overview of Study

This project examines the current relationship of Pentecostal churches to social ministry in the United States. Through quantitative analysis of secondary data, in-depth interviewing and participant observations, I explore the answers to the following questions:

1. How likely are Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry?
    a. How does Pentecostal congregational identity influence this probability?
    b. Does self-identification of congregations as Pentecostal, adherence to Pentecostal beliefs and/or practices contribute to whether or not Pentecostal congregations participate in social ministry?
2. What is the relationship of Pentecostalism to conservatism and how does this relationship influence Pentecostal congregations' social action?

a. Do Pentecostals differ from other conservative congregations in their likelihood to participate in social ministry?
b. Do Pentecostals participate in different types of social ministry than other conservative congregations?

3. What are the responses of Pentecostal churches and members of those churches to their local communities?
    a. What do Pentecostals feel is their responsibility or obligation to their communities?

Answers to the first and second set of questions will be taken from the results of multivariate logistic regression and likelihood ratio tests utilizing the National Congregations Study[2], a nationally representative sample of US congregations. The third set of questions will be answered using qualitative interviews and participant observations from Assembly of God churches in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area. By taking a mixed-methodological approach, I am able to analyze existing data on American congregations and supplement my findings with key informant interviews and observations.

The Pentecostal Church is a uniquely important unit of analysis for many reasons, mainly: (1) Pentecostalism began, to some degree, as a multicultural (ethnically, culturally and economically) movement. Many scholars point to the Azusa Street revival of Los Angeles in the early twentieth century—where people of diverse ethnicities, races (skin colors), and economic conditions gathered to

[2] Chaves, Mark and Shawna Anderson. 2008. *National Congregations Study*. Cumulative data file and codebook. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, Department of Sociology.

experience the new Pentecost—as the catalyst for the spread of Pentecostalism throughout the world from that time on. Understanding the foundations and early practices of Pentecostalism will aid in perceiving the current participation, or lack thereof, in social ministry activity. (2) Pentecostalism is one of the fastest growing Christian denominations in the world, with numbers (though significantly lower) second only to Catholicism world-wide. (3) Pentecostals are often grouped into one religious category, with many denominations within the movement; as a consequence, Pentecostals may often be divided on the issue of social involvement. (4) The relationship between the Pentecostal Church and social ministry has been largely understudied in the United States.

Practical and Theoretical Significance

My theoretical framework for the project is derived from a variety of sources. As in any sociological endeavor, we often turn to the "classics" for theoretical insight (in religion, e.g., Marx's thoughts on the alienating and pacifying aspects of religion in response to modernization[3], Weber's work on the influence of religion on the growth of capitalism[4], Durkheim's functional and integrative approach to religion[5]), while incorporating contemporary critiques, augmentations, syntheses and new insights to build a theoretical framework for understanding empirical phenomena. For this project specifically, it is important to recognize the role(s) of religion for individuals and social groups as we delve

[3] See *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1844)
[4] See *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-05)
[5] See *Suicide* (1897) and *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912)

into the religious distinction and practice of Pentecostalism and its relationship to and with immigrant communities.

Religion, by definition, contributes to value-formation and guides behavior (Kendall 2006). As Hunt (2005) asserts, "Either as the upholder of normative values and moralities as Durkheim suggested, or, as in Marx's interpretation, an instrument of ideological oppression and 'the opium of the people', religion could scarcely be ignored by way of its social impact. It upheld and justified social institutions, influenced behavior and consciousness down to the level of the individual whatever the form of its expression…" (2) Functionalists, often referencing Durkheim, argue that religion meets basic human needs by providing answers to questions about ultimate meaning, emotional comfort, social solidarity, guidelines to everyday life, social control, adaptation to a new environment, support for government, and, occasionally, an impetus for social change. Williams (1994) explains that religion not only influences personal values, prompts political action, and shapes behavior to take position on social issues; it also molds political culture through ideology.

Revising a functional view of religion in what he calls the "new paradigm" for the sociology of religion in the United States, Warner (1993) discusses the relationship of identity to religious organizations and individual devotion in identity. Understanding identity allows us to address both macro and micro levels of religious faith and practice and their intersections with other cultural characteristics. In referencing Herberg's famous 1960 work, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, Warner (1993) writes: "These

social factors in religious differentiation – class, race, ethnicity, language, urbanism, region, and the like – are not simply templates on which religious association is modeled, nor are they merely identities people carry as individuals from one locale to another, identities destined to fade as the carriers die. Religion itself is recognized in American society, if not always by social scientists, as a fundamental category of identity and association, and it is thereby capable of grounding both solidarities and identities" (1059). Within this frame, I look at whether varying identities related to Pentecostalism influence the likelihood of participating in social service.

In *Christianity in the 21st Century: Reflections on the Challenges Ahead*, Wuthnow (1998) writes: "Certain paradigms shape our thinking all the time…They become implicit models, assumptions about how the world works, that we project into the future…We can never fully escape these paradigms. But we can become more conscious of them and, in doing so, gain the ability to criticize them and, when necessary, to move beyond them (13)." He argues that one aspect of American Christianity that frames our thinking is liberalism and conservatism, and it has caused "deepening polarization" between Christians (140). Building on Wuthnow and Hunter (1991), Starks and Robinson (2007) have developed *moral cosmology theory*. Examining the role of moral cosmologies, "two 'fundamentally different conceptions of moral authority'" (2007, 19) influence various aspects of society such as family issues. They explain that "modernism and orthodoxy are ideal types, representing polar extremes…" (2007, 19), where "among Protestants, there is the division between

fundamentalists, Pentecostals, charismatics, and evangelicals on the one hand, and liberal modernists on the other" (1996, 758). They also argue that moral cosmology goes beyond faith traditions to individual beliefs. Referring to more foundational literature (i.e., Wuthnow 1988), I look at the relevance of these reference frames in affecting social ministry involvement.

Following this structure, Chaves (2004) finds in his extensive analysis of the National Congregations Survey, that "moderate and liberal Protestant congregations…perform more social services than conservative Protestant congregations" (53). Here, I re-examine this analysis and look more deeply into the ways (if any) that Pentecostals differ from their conservative counterparts in social ministry participation.

Lastly, in my qualitative analysis, I pull from Wacker's (2001) work on Pentecostalism, aptly entitled *Heaven Below*. According to Wacker, "the genius of the pentecostal movement lay in its ability to hold two seemingly incompatible impulses in productive tension" (10). Wacker discusses the capacity with which Pentecostals are able to operate in the realms of both the *primitive*, what he terms as "direct contact with the divine" (15) and the *pragmatic*, the willingness to "work within the social and cultural expectations of the age" (19). Pentecostalism has been able to spread like wildfire as a religious movement, while at the same time its members have been able to live and even thrive in the mundane. I use this framework in my discussion of how Pentecostals negotiate identity with practical cultural influences, and how this plays out in how churches function with regard to outreach.

The application of such a diverse framework and methodological approach will produce new insights relevant to the area of sociology of religion, as well as to religious, moral/ethical and philosophical studies. According to Brace, Bailey and Harvey (2006), "in order to understand the construction and meaning of society and space, it is vital to acknowledge that religious practices, in terms both of institutional organization and of personal experience, are central not only to the spiritual life of society but also to the constitution and reconstitution of that society" (29). In other words, both religious belief and practice are influential to the individual and to society as a whole. My main argument is that scholarship sends us mixed message as to the potential for Pentecostal involvement in social service. The tenets of Pentecostalism, its early history of multiculturalism and social marginalization, and its extensive and rather rapid worldwide growth suggest the likelihood of Pentecostal concern for social needs. Pentecostal identification with conservatism, however, reduces its likelihood that social service is a fundamental part of Pentecostal practice. This project explores these nuances and how they affect current Pentecostal social participation.

Outline of Study

This project is organized into eight chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 examines the relationship of American Protestantism to social service, including an historical overview and review of current studies. In Chapter 3, I take a specific look at Pentecostalism – I give an overview of the

historical/theological roots and beliefs of Pentecostalism as a foundation for why Pentecostal congregations may or may not be likely to participate in social ministry. Chapter 4 covers in detail the mixed-methodological approach to my project, including a description of the National Congregations Study and the development of my qualitative study. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the most substantive chapters of my dissertation, reporting the findings of the study and analyzing them. Chapter 5 examines the likelihood of Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry and how identity influences this probability. Particularly, I explore the question of whether or not self-identification, beliefs and/or practices contribute to whether or not Pentecostal congregations participate in social service or community outreach. Chapter 6 explores the relationship of Pentecostalism to conservatism and how this may influence Pentecostal congregations' social action. Do Pentecostals differ from other conservative congregations in their likelihood to participate in social service? Do they participate in different types of social ministry? Chapter 7 discusses the responses of Pentecostal churches to their local communities. Through a series of interviews and observations of five Pentecostal Assemblies of God churches in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area, assessments were made of Pentecostal identity, Pentecostal views on community, and Pentecostal social involvement. What do Pentecostals feel is their responsibility or obligation to the community? I relate this discussion to Wacker's (2001) work on Pentecostal operation in the both the sacred and the secular. Chapter 8 summarizes my findings, and discusses the implications of these findings. I place this discussion of US

Pentecostalism and social ministry in the context of the worldwide Pentecostal movement to see the depth of its impact. I close by exploring the potential for future research with regard to the topic of Pentecostalism and social ministry and broader research themes.

CHAPTER 2
CONGREGATIONS AND SOCIAL MINISTRY

Anthropologists and historians have sought to explain the phenomenon of religion in society throughout human history. Sociologists of religion emerged with theories of religious practice in the time of modernization and contemplated on times past. Religion is important, not only in the context of individual beliefs and practices, but also within an organizational framework. Researchers have applied sociological theories such as social movement theories, organizational theories, and power theories to religious structures and memberships. According to Furseth and Repstad (2006), "A central theme in the history of the sociology of religion has been the distinction between various forms of religious organizations" (133).

Classical and contemporary theorists have discussed and debated religious typologies with one of the most referenced categorizations being the church-sect ideal type dichotomy proposed by Weber (1978) and expounded by Troeltsch (1960/1912). Although both the church and sect claim to hold ultimate sacred truth, the church is accommodating to both individuals and society whereas the sect is exclusive, restrictive, and often counter-cultural. In his critique of this typology particularly in respect to the American context, H. Richard Niebuhr (1975/1929) introduced the dimension of the denomination in between the church and sect. Memberships in denominations are voluntary or by birth; adherence expectations are moderate and so are its accommodations to modern society (Furseth and Repstad 2006). In the 1960's, Stark and Glock (1965)

proposed the denomination as an organizational comparison tool for examining religious beliefs (particularly within the Protestantism as opposed the traditional Protestant-Catholic dichotomy). Swatos (1998) argues that the denomination "…has been the most neutral and general term used to identify religious organizations in the United States." He states that it has "provided a structural-functional form for organizing communal relationships relating to the transcendent realm in a pluralistic sociocultural system that itself had a specific civilizational history." Steensland and his colleagues (2000) confirm the importance of denominations in their prevalence and functions: they are not only more common than other voluntary associations; individual involvement has a higher intensity than other groups. Steensland and his colleagues argue that:

> denominations generate their own world views through symbols, pedagogy, and rituals. They shape members' concrete views of political and economic issues through formal preaching from the pulpit and informal discussions among parishioners. And denominational culture is a significant component of childhood socialization. All told, America is a 'denominational society.' (P. 292)

Conversely, in his book *The Restructuring of American Religion,* Wuthnow (1998) writes about the declining significance of the denomination in American society. He argues that due to historical events, modernization, and social and cultural change in the twentieth century, the denomination as the guiding organizational field has been supplanted by opposing ideologies—ideal types of conservativism and liberalism that cut across denominational boundaries. According to Becker (1999), R. Stephen Warner follows suit. In his 1994 article on American congregations, Warner talks about how increasing individualism elevates the status of the congregation over the generality of

denominations. Congregations are more localized and thus can ascribe to more narrow values and concerns.

As follows, over the past two decades, scholars have begun to recognize the significance of congregational research to the sociology of religion, particularly the study of religious behavior. As Wind and Lewis (1994) remind us, "…the American religious experience has been predominantly a congregational one in which leaders and members share authority in a varied and complicated fashion. To overlook the congregational character of American religion is thus to overlook much of the source of American religious vitality." (9). Nancy Ammerman (2005), American congregational scholar, argues, "Congregations are more pervasive than schools and libraries, more numerous than voting precincts, and claim more members than any other single voluntary organization. If for no other reason, sheer numbers should make…congregations worthy of our attention" (6). Ammerman often emphasizes the importance of congregations in her work to both the past and present day. "The great social movements that make up so much of the American story…" she writes, " …are strands in the fabric of congregational history. Urbanization, suburbanization, the labor movement, the rise of the so-called knowledge class, the great struggle for equality of women and blacks, and the powerful counter-movements that sought to block them—these are part of the local histories of American congregations" (10). Another well-known researcher of congregations, Mark Chaves (2001), states that congregations are the core religious organizations in American society.

According to Koch and Beckley (2006), “Religious congregations typically engage in a set of similar activities, chief among which include worship, education, evangelism, and social outreach.” (393). Ammerman (2005) emphasizes in her book, *Pillars of Faith*, that the chief function of congregations is spiritual work. Chaves (2004) reaffirms this assertion but highlights the reproduction of religious meanings through concrete practices such as congregational worship. Congregations also participate in their communities through outreach and social ministry. According to Hugen. Wolfer and Renkema (2006), “Community ministry is defined as ‘involvement in activities encouraged by your congregation that support the physical, material, emotional, and social well-being of people from your congregation, neighborhood, and community’…As such, community ministry programs may serve congregational members, nonmembers, or both” (413). They give examples from food and housing programs and general assistance to job-training, mentoring, and transportation. Stern (2001) reminds us that “American religious institutions have a long history of social involvement” (160).

Early American colonists continued the legacy of social ministry among congregations largely founded during the eighteenth-century Methodist revival of England. This is principally accredited to field preacher John Wesley (out of the Anglican Church), who founded the “Holy Club” for which the term Methodist was given “because of their methodical Bible study and prayer habits and regular attempts at social service in jails and homes of the poor” (Cairns 1996, p.384). The Holiness tenet of Christian perfection is also attributed to Wesley, who held

that apart from the salvation experience (justification by faith), Christians should be sanctified, that is, they should develop "absolute Christian perfection in motive in this life because the love of God so filled the heart of the believer that God's love would expel sin and promote absolute holiness of life" (Cairns 1996, p.386). Beyond the spiritual change in individuals, the gospel should impact society as well. Wesley wrote a famous essay opposing slavery in the late 1700's, and also spoke out against hard liquor and war (Coleson 2011, McMaster 2002). The formation of Sunday School is attributed to the Welsh revival earlier on in the century (Cairns 1996). In the nineteenth century, American Methodists took up the cause of social ministry alongside other Protestant denominations as the "social gospel[6]" era confronted the social ills of the industrial revolution. In 1908, the Federal Council of Churches adopted a "Social Creed" calling for workers' rights, industrial regulations, and the alleviation of poverty (McClain 1988).

According to Bane, Coffin and Thiemann (2000), from early colonial America on, "informal networks of family, neighbors, and community were the primary means of support for the poor and destitute" (52). The church provided not only family support, but often direct care for the sick, the elderly and children. Church growth exploded from the time of the Civil War to World War I with the European immigration wave and…

> …the foundation and expansion of denominational bureaucracies which oversaw church construction, evangelism and charitable activities. The increasingly urban character of the nation (46 percent of the population lived in cities by 1910) spawned interdenominational ministries such as the YMCA and Salvation Army that provided religiously-motivated solutions to the social problems that came with industrialization and the expansion of

[6] For a further discussion of the social gospel, see Chapter 6.

America's cities. (P. 54)

Congregations continued to provide social ministries and services within their communities, but the need for further aid emerged with economic crises. The American welfare system was launched in response to the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression of the 1930s. Contrasting Herbert Hoover's conservative economic ideology and policies, President Roosevelt responded with federal programs to stimulate demand and provide relief for the impoverished. Roosevelt's "New Deal" facilitated organizations such as the Civil Works Administration (CWA), providing millions of jobs for civil projects, and policies, including the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which banned child labor and set a minimum wage (Gupta and Lee 1996). According to Béland and de Chantal (2004), "By far the most enduring social legislation voted during the New Deal was the omnibus Social Security Act of 1935…the Social Security Act made provisions for a federal old-age insurance program, a decentralized unemployment insurance system, and social assistance grants-in-aid to the states (Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependant Children)" (246). In the 1960's and 70's, especially during Lyndon Johnson's War Poverty, social spending increased considerably on new and existing programs such as Social Security. One policy employed during the War on Poverty was the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) which allowed for the development of community action agencies (CAA). According to Banks, et al. (1996), "Instead of assigning blame to individuals for their poverty fate, community action programs (CAPs) acknowledged the need to attack the institutional barriers curtailing economic success in poverty areas"

(174). This was accomplished through a variety of empowerment strategies such as non-profits, religious organizations, local government agencies, and quasi-governmental entities such as community development groups. Government aid to those in need did not decrease the need for congregational involvement in community service, but allowed religious organizations to receive government funding to provide these services first-hand (see Bane, Coffin and Thiemann 2000).

The rate of expansion for social expenditures in the 1960s and 70s declined significantly during the Reagan administration. Bane, Coffin and Thiemann (2000) write about the congregational response to the social policy and economic recession:

> Wineburg argues that mainline churches rose to the social challenge of the mid-1980s 'in a quiet and unceremonious way.' The forms of service that religious congregations provided throughout the 1980s and continue to provide are direct service, assistance to community-based service providers, and increased financial support to religious national social service providers such as Lutheran Family Services and Catholic Charities. Citing his research of the Greensboro, North Carolina area, as well as the research of others, he finds that during the 1980s, 'mainline religious congregations across the United States…fed the hungry, sheltered the homeless, and provided various kinds of assistance ranging from legal help to child and adult day care.' (P. 21)

The attrition of social expenditures continued during the George H. Bush administration. And, as stated by Caputo (2004), "Findings also indicated that family inequality increased during the Reagan and GH Bush administrations, but increased even more during the Clinton administration" (25). So, the focus in policy has shifted away from social welfare, but from the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations emerged a renewed emphasis on government-religious partnerships for providing social support to communities. According to Chaves

(2001), “charitable choice” language was included in Section 104 of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, requiring states to include religious organizations in their selection pools for government-funded contracts for social services. Bush’s establishment of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives advanced this movement. Walsh writes in 2001, “But, perhaps more remarkably, it is now clear that there is also broad support for increasing the role of religious organizations in the provision of social services. There is lively and partisan disagreement about how far to go, what limits to impose, and what protections to require. But in an age when government services are widely considered to be either illegitimate or ineffectual, there’s very widespread hope that religious people and organizations can bring positive transformation to services like drug and alcohol rehabilitation, violence prevention, and care for the dependent young, elderly, and disabled” (1).

Faith-based programs involve services provided by the local church as well as larger networks and religious organizations. However, Bane, Coffin and Thiemann (2000) argue that:

> The 350,000 congregations in the United States are the largest source of both financial and human resources for faith-based social service programs. The American Association of Fund Raising Counsel estimates that Americans give $63 billion to churches and related organizations, and several studies indicate that congregations dedicate approximately 20 percent of this income to social service provision, for an annual total of $12.6 billion. In addition, volunteers in religious organizations, not including clergy, devote a total of 144 million hours per year to human services. (P. 56)

Current studies of congregations inform us to the ongoing involvement of congregations in social ministry[7]. According to Scott (2003), "Most studies have estimated that somewhere between 60 percent and 90 percent of all congregations provide, or are involved in the delivery of, at least one social service" (16). Some studies indicate these percentages may be even higher (Bane, Coffin and Thiemann 2000). The types of ministry vary from short-term assistance (e.g. financial, food, clothing, and housing support) to long-term care (e.g. education, substance abuse, tutoring, and employment assistance). The majority of services are on an immediate or emergency basis, the most prevalent common is food assistance, with only about 10% of congregations participating in programs that require sustained involvement" (Chaves 2001, Scott 2003).

There are a number of factors that influence the likelihood of participation in social ministry and the number and types of programs offered. Previous research shows that the most importance factors are congregation size and income/budget, "that is, churches with larger memberships and higher incomes were more likely to engage in service activities than were those with smaller memberships or lesser incomes" (Levanthal 2002, 63). Several studies confirm that more resources contribute to more social services (Tsitsos 2003, Scott 2003, Chaves 2001, Ammerman, 2001). Social class of the congregants and the local community also influence ministry. Chaves (2001) found that congregations with more college-educated people engage in more social services. Tsitsos (2003)

[7] For an exhaustive list of research related to religious organizations (including congregations) and social services, see Scott's (2003) "The Scope and Scale of Faith-Based Social Services" as a part of The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy.

confirms this. However, Chaves suggests that, "other things controlled, middle- and professional-class congregations do more social services than congregations with more well-off or more poor constituents" (673). Congregations in poor neighborhoods do more social services than congregations in non-poor neighborhoods. Owens (2005) in his study of congregations in public housing neighborhoods found that 72% provide social services. He advocates that, "Congregation tenure (i.e., number of years in the neighborhood), a dimension of congregation residency overlooked in all previous research, significantly bears on the decision by congregations to engage in social service delivery" (328). Mock's (1992) analysis confirms that the likelihood of emphasizing social outreach is affected by location, particularly urban locations. He attributes this to more concentrated exposure to social problems.

There are mixed outcomes on the effect of race in relation to a congregation's likelihood to engage in social outreach. Chaves (2001) and Tsitsos (2003) argue that race is not a significant predictor of participation in social services or number of services. Chaves writes: "Predominantly African American congregations do not, on average, do more social services than predominantly White congregations. African American congregations are, however, more likely than White congregations to engage in certain important types of activities: education, mentoring, substance abuse, and job training or employment assistance programs" (674). Brown (2008) confirms that that black congregations are, on average, more likely than are white (and Latino) congregations to provide the longer-term impact programs. Sewell's (2003)

qualitative studies of black congregations in a small southern town open the door for future in-depth congregational studies related to race. He found these congregations to be "community-minded," but they were often indirectly engaged in their communities as opposed to directly being involved in social ministry. In regards to this, he writes, "…many have found such activities inadequate and inconsistent with traditions of black churches in general. Granted, the black community today has more advocates and opportunities for advancement than perhaps any other period in history, and maybe this might explain why these churches have no direct engagement in their community" (197-198).

Espinosa (2008) suggests that ethnicity plays a role alongside other variables in affecting social engagement. He found that:

> Latinos attending Protestant churches were more likely than their Catholic counterparts to state that their churches provide educational social services like reaching out to gangs (44% vs. 36%); helping immigrants establish themselves (39% vs. 35%); starting day-care centers, food co-ops, or child-care centers (48% vs. 43%); starting English as a Second Language and citizenship classes (33% vs. 30%); and starting after school programs for youth (43% vs. 35%). (P. 215)

Levanthal (2002) implies that Latino churches seem to be more philosophically inclined to want to address community issues, but not necessarily more likely to provide services if feasibility is a perceived issue.

Another factor affecting social ministry is religious and theological orientation. According to Chaves (2001), Tsitsos (2003), and Ammerman (2005), theologically liberal congregations carry out more social services than conservative congregations. As such, congregations associated with mainline Protestant denominations (such as the Presbyterian Church (USA), the

Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, and the United Methodist Church) are more likely to participate in social ministry than conservative Protestant congregations[8].

Leadership affects congregational practices in a number of ways. The results of statistical probability analysis show that clergy-education (Tsitsos 2003) or having a college-educated pastor (Owens 2005) improves the likelihood of participation in social ministry. According to Thomas (2010), "having a woman head clergy has a positive effect on the odds that a congregation will undertake at least one SSP [social service project]" (417). In her case studies of Catholic congregations in urban Texas, Levanthal 2002 found that priests' orientation/attitude toward service activities and involvement in local advocacy efforts affect the church's response or likelihood of participating in social services. Leader and congregation willingness to collaborate with other groups and organizations has more recently come to the forefront in congregational social ministry. According to Ebaugh (2005), "In the past 30 years…a new form of faith-based social service agency has arisen and spread widely across the United States, namely, coalitions of congregations, typically representing more than one faith tradition, that form in order to provide a range of social services beyond the abilities of any one congregation" (274). Chaves (2001) confirms, "Congregational social service activity is mainly done in collaboration with other organizations. Eighty-four percent of congregations that do social services have at

[8] Nancy Ammerman (2005) gives a listing of denominational classifications in Appendix Two of *Pillars of Faith*, pp. 283-285.

least one collaborator on at least one program. Seventy-two percent of all programs are done in collaboration with others" (674). As previously discussed, the activity surrounding "charitable choice" legislation has reopened and broadened the discussion on collaboration to that of government-religious cooperation in social service efforts.

As congregations primarily serve a spiritual purpose, researchers must consider the nature of the relationship between faith and service. Taking this into account, Ammerman (2001) writes:

> Putting all this research into context, Cnaan, Boddie, and Yancey caution against reducing congregational involvement to statistical variables…While internal and external conditions can affect the likelihood that a congregation will act on its social impulses, faith-based activism ultimately draws from more intangible sources that cannot be explained solely in terms of other variables. (P. 8)

According to Davidson, Johnson, and Mock (1990), there are four ways in which religious groups (i.e., churches) relate faith to social ministry. The first approach is placing faith as the highest priority, with social ministry as an outflow or "by-product of faith" (11). The second approach places social ministry as foremost, as one's faith is strengthened by relational acts. The third approach gives equal place to both faith and social ministry, but positions them in different realms. Neither necessarily influences the other without concentrated effort to cause them to. The fourth and final approach also gives equal place to both faith and social ministry with a natural interdependence between the two. Calling this the "'holistic' view," they write, "Faith makes no sense if it is not expressed in concern for others; and social outreach makes no sense unless it is accompanied by faith" (12). In their book, *Faith and Social Ministry: Ten Christian Perspectives*, they

enlisted ten church leaders to write about their perspectives on faith and social ministry and how their churches pattern these perspectives. Bane, Coffin and Thiemann (2000) discuss the beliefs and symbols that reflect congregational commitment to care. Unruh (2005) also discusses the complexities of understanding congregational activity. He says considering the resources necessary to operate a functioning organization for spiritual growth and worship, "this makes the level of outreach sustained by congregations all the more remarkable." This study takes a look at both the external influences on Pentecostals congregation through statistical analyses and the internal forces through qualitative interviews.

CHAPTER 3
PENTECOSTALISM

On Being Pentecostal: Issues of Identity

Modern Pentecostalism is derived from the Holiness movement with foundations in Wesleyan Methodism. Holiness is a separation from the "world," or secular culture. According to Anderson (2004), "The Holiness movement was [also] a reaction to liberalism and formalism in established Protestant churches and stood for Biblical literalism, the need for a personal and individual experience of conversion and the moral perfection (holiness) of the Christian individual" (27). *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism,* a compilation edited by Blumhofer, Spittler, and Wacker (1999), discusses Pentecostal identity among other Protestants, calling the Pentecostal movement a "protest against dry denominationalism" and "separatist and exclusivist" (*Introduction, ix*) with regard to mainline Protestant denominations. Blumhofer writes:

> Classical Pentecostalism, then, was primarily a pietistic and only secondarily a theological protest.... Their distaste for the historic denominations made many Pentecostals refuse to acknowledge that their organizations were becoming denominations, too. The Assemblies of God, for example, carefully identified itself as a 'fellowship' or a 'movement.' Avoiding the label *denomination*, with its connotations of spiritual 'coldness' or 'death,' became a central part of early Pentecostal identity. (*x*)

Pentecostals adhere to what is known as the "full gospel' or "five-fold" gospel: "Jesus as saviour, sanctifier, Spirit baptiser, healer and coming king" (Cartledge 2008, p.95; see also Bevins 2005). Jesus as savior refers to the conversion or salvation experience, where by faith in Christ, one is restored to a right relationship with God (termed *justification*) and is thus spiritually changed

(termed *regeneration*). This comes out of a Reformed tradition but is revised in a Wesleyan-Arminian view of grace[9]. Jesus as sanctifier refers to the doctrine of sanctification, "based on the Latin word *sanctus*, which means holy" (Harvey 1964, p.214). One of the most important axioms of the Wesleyan tradition, Simms (1995) argues, "Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification—or Christian perfection, as it was commonly called—was his great contribution to Methodism and, through Methodism and the Holiness Movement of the 19th century, to the Christian tradition" (73). Sanctification is, through fellowship with Christ, striving for holiness by separation from one's sinful ways. Wesley believed perfection to be attainable in this life. According to Harvey (1964), "this perfection consists in intimate union with the Holy Spirit and a life filled with a horror of sin and a love for the neighbor" (215). The Holiness Movement emerged in the United States in the early 1800's through the preaching of sanctification in often zealous and emotional revivals (Simms 1995). Early Pentecostals (along with other holiness evangelicals) often translated sanctification in their everyday lives to strict moral codes and restrictive practices. This ranged from more traditional values of abstaining from alcohol and tobacco and extra-marital sexual acts to separatist standards of not attending dances, parties, and movies (Cox 1995). Women were encouraged to appear modest by wearing long skirts and removing "superfluous items of adornment" such as rings and other jewelry and even makeup (Wacker 2001, p.124)[10].

[9] For a more complete explanation of the five aspects of the "full gospel," see Simms (1995).
[10] Wacker (2001) discusses these practices in Chapter 8 of *Heaven Below*.

Alluding to Jesus as Spirit-baptizer, Pentecostals trace their roots to various "outpourings" of the Holy Spirit, based on the account of Acts 2 of the Bible where, after the resurrection and ascension of Christ, Jesus' disciples were "filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them" (verse 2, New International version). After Christ was gone, the Holy Spirit was to be the teacher, the comforter, the guide within. When the disciples were filled with the Spirit[11] on the Day of Pentecost (a Jewish festival), the evidence of this infilling was the speaking of unknown languages. Acts 2: 5-8 reads: "Now there were staying in Jerusalem God-fearing Jews from every nation under heaven. When they heard this sound, a crowd came together in bewilderment, because each one heard them speaking in his own language. Utterly amazed, they asked: 'Are not all these men who are speaking Galileans? Then how is it that each of us hears them in his own native language?'" (New International Version). Some argued that the disciples were drunk, but Peter, one of the disciples spoke against this. He addressed the crowd and spoke of Christ's death and resurrection. In Acts 2: 38-39, "Peter replied, 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins. And you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. The promise is for you and your children and for all who are far off—for all whom the Lord our God will call'" (New International Version). Pentecostals take this Scripture literally – that the Holy Spirit is a gift given by God to all who believe. The Pentecostal signature is that the evidence of this gift is speaking in an unknown tongue, a heavenly

[11] Being "filled with the Spirit" is also known as *Spirit-baptism* by Pentecostal believers.

language (termed *glossolalia)*. This leads some to assert that Pentecostalism is rooted more in experience than in doctrine (Anderson 2004). Modern Pentecostal theologians would readily disagree (see Smith 2008, Clifton 2007).

Jesus as healer reflects the Pentecostal (and Holiness) belief in divine healing for the believer. As Pentecostals believe in the absolute authority of Scripture, so they refer to the many references to healing in the Bible. Healing was an important part of the ministry of Jesus. Matthew 4:23 says, "Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease and sickness among the people" (New International Version). Healing was also a part of Jesus' disciples' ministry. Matthew 10:1 states: "Jesus called his twelve disciples to him and gave them authority to drive out impure spirits and to heal every disease and sickness" (New International Version). Simms (1995) argues that praying for healing was also an established function of the early Christian church. In James 5: 14-15, James writes to the church, "Is anyone among you sick? Let them call the elders of the church to pray over them and anoint them with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer offered in faith will make the sick person well; the Lord will raise them up" (New International Version). Pentecostals believe that those manifestations of the Holy Spirit, such as tongues and healing, given to the early church, are also available for the present-day church. Anderson (2004) asserts, "Prayer for divine healing is perhaps the most universal characteristic of the many varieties of Pentecostalism and perhaps the main reason for its growth in the developing world" (30).

Jesus as coming king references the premillenialist eschatology[12] Pentecostals adhere to regarding the return of Jesus Christ to the earth. "Millennial" refers to the idea (extracted from the Biblical book of Revelation) that in the end of times, Jesus Christ will rule on the earth for a thousand years before establishing a new heaven and a new earth for Christian believers. *Pre*-millennialists believe that before this thousand-year reign, Christ will take his followers away from Earth and there will be a time of Tribulation or great suffering in the world for seven years. Following this Tribulation, Christ will return to Earth with his followers for his regal reign. This belief marked an important shift historically in American Protestantism as the dominant eschatology of postmillennialism was called into questioned and ultimately rejected by the Holiness Movement. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Reformed or Mainline Protestant denominations believed in the redemptive nature of society – that through evangelization and philanthropy of the church, society could ultimately be cured of its social ills. This would ultimately usher in Christ's thousand year reign on Earth and *then*, the end of times would come (thus *post*-millenialism). The Social Gospel was consequently a reflection of this desire to do God's work and at last bring His kingdom to Earth (Simms 1995). However, Pentecostals (as part of a larger movement) rejected this notion of a redemptive society and thus focused on "soul-winning" to bring as many as possible into the Christian faith prior to Christ's return. That is not to say that social ministry was

[12] According to Harvey (1964), "Eschatology literally means 'discourse about the last things' and refers to that part of Christian doctrine concerned with the final end of man" (80).

absent from the Pentecostal church. Nonetheless, the emphasis on Christ's imminent return led them to be labeled "other-worldly" and unconcerned with society's woes.

Pentecostal Social Relations

Most Pentecostals trace their heritage to the Azusa Street revival of 1906 in Los Angeles, California. William Seymour, who is often credited as the founder of the Azusa Street revival, was a student of Charles Parham, a holiness preacher who emphasized divine healing, sanctification and the accompanying power of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by the ability to speak in tongues. Seymour, a black man, is said to have been segregated from the white students at Parham's Bible school in Houston. Nonetheless, he accepted the teaching of Parham, and after just a few months at the Bible school, he was invited to pastor a small holiness church of "colored people" in Los Angeles. However, after being asked to stop preaching on the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues, he left the church and began home meetings with a group of fellow believers, predominantly African-Americans. The group experienced Holy Spirit baptism with tongues on April 9, 1906 and shortly after moved from the home to a building at 312 Azusa Street, which became known as the Azusa Street mission (Robeck 2005, Thompson 2003).

Seymour preached against hypocrisy and for peace among the brethren. He maintained that salvation is for all people, regardless of skin color. According

to Pentecostal scholar, Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (2005), "The range of nationalities which came to the mission and the transformation of racial attitudes among some who came to the mission during this period led Frank Bartleman to make his often quoted observation that in this humble mission, 'the "colorline" was washed away in the blood'" (6). The Apostolic Faith Newsletter, the mission's bulletin, gave reports of the range of nationalities, ethnicities, and races, and classes that attended the revival:

> *It is noticeable how free all nationalities feel. If a Mexican or German cannot speak English, he gets up and speaks in his own tongue and feels quite at home for the Spirit interprets through the face and people say amen. No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack of education. This is why God has so built up the work.* (November 1906, P.1)

> *One token of the Lord's coming is that He is melting all races and nations together, and they are filled with the power and glory of God. He is baptizing by one spirit into one body and making up a people that will be ready to meet Him when He comes.* (February-March 1907, P.4)

> *It is the Blood of Jesus that brings fellowship among the Christian family. The Blood of Jesus Christ is the strongest in the world. It makes all races and nations into one common family in the Lord and makes them all satisfied to be one. The Holy Ghost is the leader and He makes all one as Jesus prayed, "that they all may be one.* (April 1907, P.3)

Not only did the church defy the dominant culture of Jim Crow segregation and racial hatred, the church was forced to defend itself against overt criticism and even slander. Unable to accept the race and gender mixing, Charles Parham, Seymour's Bible school mentor, denounced the movement as counterfeit after visiting Azusa Street. Local newspapers preyed on the "violations" of race and gender norms by congregants. According to Robeck (2005):

> White women saw nothing wrong in hugging their black pastor or even kissing him on the cheek. Nor was in uncommon for a young black woman to 'throw her arms around the

> neck of some white man…and beg him to "come to the altar.'" [The Los Angeles Daily Times heralded:] 'Whites and Blacks Mix in a Religious Frenzy…' Such headlines were designed to inflame the imagination, titillating the casual reader with sexual innuendo like a supermarket tabloid. (Pp. 7-8)

Seymour also had to deal with the filtering of racism into the church. He not only faced intolerance from whites, but the reactions of blacks to white racism. As a result, the Apostolic Faith Mission wrote into their Constitution that only "people of color" could hold official leadership positions in the Church. Robeck (2005) argues that Seymour's "criticism of prejudice and discrimination of some white Pentecostals was not to be construed as a blanket judgment against all whites. Neither were the limitations on roles of governance to people of color to be construed as some perverted form of paternalism over whites" (9). Seymour was attempting to uphold the peace in a time in America of intense racism.

The largest Pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God, dealt with issues of race along its historical development. A black preacher by the name of C. H. Mason co-formed the Church of God in Christ (with C. P. Jones) in 1897 after expulsion from the Baptist Church and in 1907, visited Asuza Street where he received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The Church of God in Christ fully incorporated under Bishop Mason in 1907 as the first Pentecostal denomination to do so. This gave the authority to delegate ordinations with legal status (authorized by the state to perform marriages), with no regard to color. Various Pentecostal groups, mostly all-white, began taking on the name Church of God in Christ as ministers were ordained; however, they continued to function as

separate (segregated) factions. One of these groups was the Apostolic Faith Movement, with leaders such as Howard Goss, who had come out from under the headship of Charles Parham. Bishop Mason called this the "'white phase of the work,'" but the group went on to form its own denomination called the Assemblies of God. Though the separation was amicable, race played a role in it. In 1915, an Executive Presbyter of the Assemblies of God, W.F. Carothers, wrote an article rationalizing segregation in the South as necessary boundary-keeping, but denying any form of prejudice in Pentecostals for abiding by such regulations (Robeck 2005, Thompson 2003). According to Robeck (2005), "W. F. Carothers justified southern segregation by arguing that although all humanity shared one blood (Acts 17:24-26), God had created a multiplicity of nations which God divided along color lines…Because of slavery 'a whole nation' of blacks had been 'imported' into the South thereby breaking down the 'natural geographic barriers' which God had instituted" (13).

Though no national policy was adopted by the Assemblies of God regarding segregation, the fact that very few people of color were ordained during the next several decades gives a clue to the prevailing attitude, at least in the South where the Assemblies of God thrived and where Jim Crow laws guided social interaction. Not everyone agreed, however. In 1939, Robert Brown, a pastor from the Eastern District recommended ordination for *all* who were qualified. The organization structure of the Assemblies of God allowed for some regional/local freedom in decision-making; nonetheless, in 1939 General Presbytery proposed "…that when those of the colored race apply for ministerial

recognition, license to preach only be granted to them with instructions that they operate within the bounds of the District in which they are licensed, and if they desire ordination, refer them to colored organizations" (Robeck 2005, 14). In 1945, succumbing to pressure to include blacks in the denomination, the General Council adopted the following resolution: "RESOLVED, That we encourage the establishment of Assembly of God churches for the colored race and that when such churches are established they be authorized to display the name, 'Assembly of God – Colored Branch'" (Robeck 2005, 15). This allowed for black churches under the umbrella of the Assemblies of God, which seemed to be a compromise between those who wanted inclusion and those who wanted continued segregation. Nevertheless, no concrete action was taken after the adoption of the resolution.

In the fifties, the Assemblies talked of working with the Church of God in Christ to provide a venue for reaching out to the African-American community. They even discussed rapprochement. Ironically though, according to Robeck (2005), in a letter written by Assemblies of God General Superintendent Ralph Riggs, "'The Assemblies of God have been content in the past to *allow* the Church of God in Christ to be the counter part of *our* church in its dealings with the colored people in the United States'" (18). The Assemblies also conducted a study on "Segregation v. Integration" subsequent to the 1954 *Brown V. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. In the report, the equality of all before God was affirmed, but "since the integration of Assemblies of God churches was inadvisable because of unresolved issues in the larger society, no public

statement should be made by the Assemblies of God until it was absolutely essential to do so" (20).

In 1968, the same year that Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, the General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God made its first declaration concerning social issues. According to Robeck (2005):

> In this statement they went on record as opposing the 'social ills that unjustly keep men from sharing in the blessings of their communities,' and abhorring 'the moral evils that destroy human dignity and prevent men from receiving the blessings of heaven'...The Presbytery went on to pledge that the Assemblies of God would, not through coercion and confrontation, but by living consistent Christian lives, 'exert our influence as Christian citizens to justifiable social action in areas of domestic relations, education, law enforcement, employment, equal opportunity, and other beneficial matters.' (P. 22)

In 1970, a conference was initiated by the Assemblies of God with black pastors in an effort to discuss how to effectively reach the African-American community. The Assemblies began at this time to more frequently ordain black pastors and establish churches in black communities. The Assemblies of God, however, is still a predominantly white denomination in the United States (Robeck 2005). In a paper on contemporary racism among Pentecostals, Leonard Lovett (2005) writes: "The Assemblies of God has been strong on foreign missions, but virtually quiet on the domestic social agenda" (7).

Issues of class also factored into the early Pentecostal movement. In his seminal work on the Pentecostal movement, R. M. Anderson (1979) discusses the significance of class stratification and conflict in the early development of the movement. Tracing the rise of the Holiness Movement, from which Pentecostalism emerged, Anderson talks about how Holiness advocates were discontented with the lack of piety in mainline denominations. Disturbed also by

the growing wealth and elaborateness of mainline churches, many holiness sects left the mainline denominations in protest, establishing their own fellowships that ministered to common laborers and farmers. The holiness revival spawned a new zeal for "spirit baptism" or a divine empowerment of believers. For Pentecostals, this was confirmed by *glossolalia*. Both Andersons (R. M . Anderson 1979 and Allan Anderson 2004) purport that early Pentecostal leaders held lower socio-economic statuses and tended to be fairly uneducated. Their emphasis was on the power of God to use anyone to preach the gospel, regardless of their doctrinal training. Wacker (2001) agrees that many early Pentecostals faced hardship: “Without question, poverty, hunger, homelessness, minimal education, and ill health defined the lives of thousands” (201). But he argues that the typical Pentecostal convert mirrored the average American of the day in most demographic respects and their “leaders’ lives were defined by modestly comfortable circumstances, generally a notch above the stable working class standing of the Pentecostal rank and file” (205). Still, outsiders often viewed Pentecostals as the “dredges” or “misfit” of society. R. M. Anderson (1979), indicates that Pentecostalism was a maladjusted reaction to “status anxiety,” that led to escapism instead of social protest. Because the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was viewed as a sign of the end of the world to come, Pentecostals poured their energies into soul-winning instead of physical or economic solutions to the social woes of the day.

Although posited as a reactionary movement to “dry denominationalism” within mainline Protestantism, with an emphasis on spiritual renewal and

evangelism in preparation for Christ's imminent return (Blumhofer 1999), social ministry was never absent from its practices. In an article on Kansas history, Bearman and Mills (2009) argue that scholars have failed to acknowledge commonalities between the Social Gospel and Pentecostalism as both "…responded to the needs of the region's rural and urban poor and committed themselves to using their faith to improve the lives of those around them" (109). The article discusses the perspectives and actions of Social Gospeler Charles Sheldon and Pentecostal pioneer Charles Parham, claiming both "answered the call to help those around them" (121). Parham advocated an empowerment approach to social outreach, emphasizing the power of Holy Spirit to transform lives and give people a way out of their lot in life. "He believed that it was essential that those in need embrace the Christian faith, but he also recognized that this was more easily accomplished with food in the stomach" (121).

In Stone's (1977) work, *The Church of God of Prophecy History and Polity*, the social ministries of A. J. Tomlinson, founder of both the Church of God (Cleveland, TN) and Church of God of Prophecy denominations are described. In his early work as an evangelist, he travelled the mountains of Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, preaching conversion and distributing religious materials. His first "missionary journey" was to Murphy, North Carolina in 1889, where he "was soon to become aware of the great needs of the people" (20-21). He built a school for the children there in 1900 and had hoped to build an orphanage in 1902, but the project was never completed. He is noted for his desire not only to meet the spiritual needs of families to whom he ministered, but

also the physical needs as well. Although Tomlinson was impeached from his position in the Church of God, his legacy of social ministry continued. Although not heavily emphasized, and only briefly discussed in the historical account of the Church of God, *Like a Mighty Army*, Conn (1984) describes the founding of a denominational orphanage in 1920 (now called the Smoky Mountain Children's Home) and states, "…the care of orphans and needy children would become a permanent and prominent facet of the Church of God and its mission upon the earth" (190). Benevolent care is still a vital part of the denomination.

One of the most prominent social ministries among early Pentecostals leaders, however, was that of Aimee Semple McPherson. Founder of the Foursquare Gospel Church, McPherson (most commonly known as Sister Aimee) was a controversial figure in the religious community of the early 1900's, but also a social icon, for her local flare and flamboyant delivery of the gospel message. In fact, Sutton (2007) apprises, "From the evangelist's earliest days in Los Angeles, she and her congregation contributed to the city's powerful Progressive-Era tradition of social and moral reform work" (61). Her outreach ranged from religious activities such as Sunday School and youth services to politically-motivated protest and reform rallies. Some of her most personal work was to unmarried pregnant teens and women. She not only provided moral support, she secured obstetric services and child-rearing and job training for the women. Writes Sutton (2007), "Never bringing attention to her actions, the evangelist also helped women struggling with issues of rape, incest, and physical abuse" (63). In 1927, she established a commissary at her church, Angelus Temple,

providing food, shelter, clothing, and basic medical care to the local community. Her work grew, and a 1936 State Relief Administration survey revealed that "the temple assisted more family units than any other public or private agency in the city" (195). Influenced by her Pentecostal faith, Sutton quotes McPherson as saying, "'True Christianity is not only to be good but to do good…to draw out one's soul to the needy, to lend, hoping not for return again, to visit the widow and the fatherless in distress, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and do the works of Him who dwells within'" (188).

The early Pentecostal movement, though not guided by a theology of social ministry, per se, was an inclusive movement. "In a certain sense," Anderson (2004) writes, "early North American Pentecostalism typified by Azusa Street was a revolutionary movement where the marginalized and dispossessed could find equality regardless of race, gender or class. The primary purpose of the coming of the Spirit as it was practiced in Asuza Street was to bring a family of God's people together on an equal basis. We must not underestimate the importance of this revival" (45).

Pentecostalism has received mixed reviews, from both outside and within its borders, with regard to its contemporary relation to US society. Pentecostal scholar Robeck (2005) writes:

> The adoption of political views on candidates, on social issues such as law and order, legislation like California's 'three strikes' bill, English only legislation, closed national borders, health care, and welfare…without first living among our Pentecostal neighbors whose families, friends, and neighbors will inevitably be impacted by our actions does not give adequate evidence that we even care what they think, to say nothing of loving them and giving them preferential treatment in our honor for them. (P. 24)

Researchers group Pentecostals with other conservative evangelical groups, claiming their likelihood to participate in religious conversion ministries versus those that involve social engagement (Wuthnow 1990, Chaves 2004, Ammerman 2005). Yet as evangelism is still a key factor in the display of Pentecostal emphasis on the Holy Spirit as empowerment to witness, Anderson (2004) points out that "end times" eschatology means that "benefits of healing, deliverance and prosperity…(are) now available for the poor, the oppressed and the dispossessed" (220). And as Pentecostal social status has risen to the middle and upper classes, the pessimistic view of society has begun to fade. According to Miller and Yamamori (2007):

> An emergent group of Pentecostals is pursuing the integral, or holistic, gospel in response to what it sees as the example of Jesus, who both ministered to people's physical needs and preached about the coming kingdom of God. In part, we suspect that this change is driven by upward social mobility among Pentecostals who see a reason to make this a better world in which to live. Members with increasing educational levels are applying more sophisticated understandings to social issues…(P.21-22)

Wilkinson (2007) looks at the Los Angeles Dream Center, a Pentecostal urban outreach ministry in his article on Pentecostal service in the United States: "The Dream Center refers to the many programs offered under its umbrella including an emergency shelter, AIDS hospice, a private school for upgrading, food and clothing program, and medical help" (73). He uses this case study along with internal and external factors related to Pentecostal religion to argue that Pentecostals have the potential to engage in effective social ministry in America. Anderson (2004) and Miller and Yamamori (2007), on the other hand, write about the significant Pentecostal social involvement around the world. Anderson

talks about how the "Latin American Child Care Service Program in Central America…is run by the AG (Assemblies of God) and is the largest evangelical institutional programme of social action in Latin America" (277). He also mentions a primary school and orphanage opened in the 1990's in South Africa. Miller and Yamamori describe health services in Ethiopia and education in Calcutta, where "each child receives textbooks, exercise books, school uniforms, footwear, a hot lunch daily, medical care, and sometimes warm clothes during the winter" (74). Cox (2008) writes, "Something very important is obviously going on in the Pentecostal movement. Although previously fixed on a strictly otherworldly salvation, now the example of Jesus' concern for the impoverished, the sick, and the socially outcast, along with the vision of the kingdom of God, has begun to play a more central role" (108). In reviewing Miller and Yamamori, however, Cox adds, "the authors wisely limit themselves to the non-Western world" (108). Pentecostalism has no doubt exploded on the global scene.

The Pentecostal Church Abroad

Scholarship on the Pentecostal movement has increased tremendously as its growth has skyrocketed over the past several decades. Margaret Poloma (2000), in a paper prepared for presentation at the Association of the Sociology of Religion Annual Meetings, says, "What I speak of here is the rise of Pentecostalism from having no adherents (as we know Pentecostalism today) in 1906 to an estimated 500 million followers today. Pentecostalism, in its varying expressions, comprises the second largest communion of Christians in the world"

(1). In her paper, she discusses the missionary impetus of Pentecostalism as purporting the entrance of the movement into many countries worldwide. *Glossolalia* was believed to be a sign of the "end times," or the nearing of Christ's return to Earth, and thus it was imminent that believers reach as many people as possible with their message. Some early Pentecostals believed that they would be able to communicate with people of other languages through the "gift of tongues." Miller (2007) writes of early missionaries: "In these foreign lands they often died like flies from malaria, typhus, and various tropical diseases, but the genius of Pentecostalism is that it was a populist religion, which affirmed the "priesthood of all believers," and so the missionaries could easily be replaced by indigenous leaders. Anyone who was called by the Holy Spirit could be a minister of the gospel…" (442). This belief-based practice has been the key to sustained worldwide growth. Today, following Pentecostal theologian Frank Macchia, Poloma believes tongues are symbolic of "the need for justice and reconciliation within the body of Christ…Tongues allow the poor, uneducated, and illiterate among the people of God to have an equal voice with the educated and literate" (8). In other words, tongues is the great equalizer.

According to Allan Anderson (2004), Pentecostalism has grown exponentially in South America, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. As with early Pentecostalism in the Unites States, its adherents are largely found within lower socioeconomic groups. Donald Miller (2007), in his 2006 Presidential address to the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, offers a brief overview of factors that help to explain such expansion. Using Marxian terminology, he

argues that Pentecostalism is more than a narcotic for the oppressed. Instead, he calls it "an engine of hope." It is empowering, psychologically and often physically addressing the needs of the people. Specifically, Miller writes:

> Another factor contributing to Pentecostal growth is that their churches offer migrants to urban areas an extended family that may function as a surrogate for the community that they experienced in their former rural setting, thus addressing the problem of anomie that often accompanies urban life. Within Pentecostal churches one finds emotional warmth, as well as roles and responsibilities that are connected to a moral order that is quite different from the violence and chaos that one may otherwise be encountering. It is no wonder that women are often first attracted to Pentecostal churches because it is here that they find self-worth, as well as an environment that is safe for their children. Furthermore, these churches often address poverty-related problems very directly—sometimes through prayer and other times through communal support. (P. 443)

Miller goes on to discuss institutional factors, such as the vibrancy of worship and vernacular preaching styles that are attractive to the common person. Pentecostal church services are accommodative to local cultural forms of music and are experiential. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit connects mind, body, and soul for its adherents. Vásquez (2009) poses a similar argument fusing both individual and institutional aspects. He writes that Pentecostalism "…provides its adherents with the conceptual tools to deal with desire and materialism in a world of limited means and lack. It thus offers adherents an authentic belonging that is located globally as well as in the afterlife, rather than bound by geographical territory" (275).

Various scholars have written about the spread of Pentecostalism in the context of local observance. For example, Xi (2008) discusses the spread of Evangelicalism/Pentecostalism in China through converts and indigenous efforts, in spite of and in response to growing anti-Western sentiments in the early

1900's. She examines the formation, growth, spread, and institutionalization of the True Jesus Church (TJC), a hybrid Pentecostal/indigenous Chinese Christian church, founded by Wei Enbo, who encountered Pentecostalism through faith healing (for his tuberculosis) and Holy Spirit baptism at a local Beijing mission. Soon breaking from this mission, armed with certain Pentecostal rhetoric and practices and Biblical/prophetic interpretations and practices of his own, Wei began spreading this gospel to mission members and others. Pentecostal missionaries came to China in response to the Azusa Street movement, and while it may have been the Western missionaries that brought Pentecostalism to China, Xi argues, "it was those converts, not the foreign missionaries themselves, who turned Pentecostalism into a popular religious movement in twentieth-century China" (413). According to Xi (2008), with general regard to Pentecostalism, TJC "breathed Chinese life into the alien faith" (433) and is thus a fusion of popular Christian and local beliefs.

Ogbu Kalu (2008) devotes an entire book to *African Pentecostalism*. His argument is that "African Pentecostalism did not originate from Azusa Street and is not an extension of the American electronic church" (viii). Giving a platform to African voices, he writes about themes that are present in both ancient African indigenous religion and Pentecostalism, indigenous responses to Western missionization, and indigenous efforts at spreading Pentecostal beliefs around the world. His reasoning for the growth of Pentecostalism in Africa and beyond is "…by stressing an intimate and joyous relationship with God, adapting to local cultures—especially groups that have strong beliefs in the spirit world—and by

focusing on healing, prophecy, and God's direct intervention in the material well-being of his people" (xiv).

Scholars have paid particular attention to the spread of Pentecostalism in Latin America. This is important for a number of reasons, but particularly in the context of this study because it is the region from which the United States receives the most immigrants. In a recent article, Daniel Levine (2009) gives a brief history of the arrival of Pentecostalism to Latin America through "Swedish missionaries of the Assemblies of God arriving in the city of Bele´m in northern Brazil in 1910" (132), but mainly discusses overall Protestant growth through indigenous efforts. He mentions a variety of factors contributing to expansion:

> The continuing appeal of divine healing and the possibility of a change in the way life is lived is immensely attractive to people with urgent physical and emotional needs, suffering from what Chesnut calls the pathogens of poverty, namely, alcoholism, violence (including domestic violence), gastrointestinal disease and status marginality. There is the further appeal of literacy and new forms of community to populations literally on the move, above all recent migrants to the periphery of major cities all across the continent. New faiths and the community they bring offer a way of opting out of the extremes of violence associated with internal war (as in Central America or Peru), state repression, or simply with the precarious conditions of the life that poor people lead in urban slums and squatter settlements, including gang warfare, the constant threat of assault, and drugs. Whatever the case, the common thread to note is that conversion to the new churches is a bridge to a different life, a kind of forward-looking contract between the convert and the church (and its leaders). (P. 134)

According to Burdick (2004), Evangelical Christianity swept Latin America as a response to the growing resentment and longing for the promises of a better life through economic development to be fulfilled. Balmer (2003) says "…Pentecostalism has replaced liberation theology as the 'theology of the people' in Latin America….Pentecostals have been especially successful in Brazil, Chile,

and Guatemala, at time providing a language of popular dissent against authoritarianism, both political and ecclesiastical" (56).

Pentecostalism in Theory

In spite of the locality, we see Pentecostalism's ability to adapt to cultural contexts empowering indigenous leaders to emerge and allowing natives to respond to home-grown evangelism. Explanations of the worldwide growth of Pentecostalism are often given in terms of deprivation of the adherent and/or what faith can offer. However, Miller (2007) adds to the discussion. "The question," he writes, "…is whether viewing religion from a purely functional perspective is adequate, or whether it is important to add another variable to one's toolkit—namely, the role of the Spirit" (438). Pentecostal worship is dynamic and its mind-body connection appealing, especially in areas where mysticism and spirituality is of great importance. Its emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit compels believers to be spiritually active. Is this why Pentecostalism has experienced such growth that it is now considered "the most important mass religious movement of the modern era" (Stephens 2008, 174)? These discussions build on both classical (i.e., Marx, Weber, Durkheim) and contemporary theoretical discourses on religion.

To fully understanding Karl Marx's views on religion, we must address his work on modern capitalism. According to Marx, the history of the development of capitalism was a history of class struggles. Reflecting on the works of the

philosopher Hegel, classical political-economist Adam Smith and others, he formulated man's being as encompassed in "economic life within civil society" rather than as a "citizen of the state." According to Tucker (1978), "at some point in the course of these studies he was struck by the thought that was to prove the cornerstone of the Marxian system: the fundamental human reality reflected in a mystified way in Hegel's philosophy of history was the reality of man's alienation in economic life" (xxiv). With the Industrial Revolution and new technological inventions, also came increased efficiency and thus production for profit rather than sustenance. The arrival of new ideals and heightened "progress" led to the division of labor and a distinct estrangement between the owners of the means of production (*bourgeoisie*) and the working class (*proletariat*). Man by human nature is a producer; he hunts, gathers and "tills the land." In the advance of the capitalist system, man is separated from the means of production. Man is forced to work in factories where "the object which labor produces—labour's product—confronts it as *something alien*, as a *power independent* of the producer" (Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* in Tucker (1978), 71). Labor is objectified and the worker commodified. Man is alienated from the object of his labor and the labor process; man is alienated from nature, his means of sustenance and livelihood, and thus himself; man is alienated from his species being, the creative ability to produce—that what makes him human; and man is alienated from others. According to Furseth and Repstad (2006) regarding Marx, "Because the alienated person has lost their true identity, they turn to religion to achieve an understanding of the world and perhaps find hope for

better existence in this or the coming world" (30). Religion serves as a multi-faceted (i.e., emotional, experiential, social-psychological) source of relief for the unmet needs and wants of man, and is thus a compensatory antithesis to society's flaws.

Weber's writings on religion are varied and link to modernity and rationalization. Weber proposed a socio-religious factor called the Protestant Ethic as causally significant to the development of capitalism. The Puritan/Calvinistic belief of predestination caused fear and anxiety in its believers in the idea that only a chosen few would be saved from damnation. Ministers of the day offered new interpretations to ensure the devout of their salvation, including that God desired wealth and abundance on Earth for the furtherance of his kingdom. This abundance was to be achieved through faith and hard work. Systematic labor became a calling among the elect, and those who experienced prosperity believed such wealth to be a sign of God's blessing and approval. Thus, religious forces enabled the emergence of capitalism (as much as any other factor, i.e. economic interests, political structures, rational choice, evolutionary progress) by altering the subjective meaning of wealth (from "snare of the soul" to reward of vocation) through value-dispersion and patterned social action (Weber 2002/1905). Religion, according to Weber, is, on the one hand, a response to social forces such as economic conditions (1964) and human suffering (1958). On the other hand, the pursuit of religion is value-laden action (1964). Discussing Weber, Furseth and Repstad (2006) state: "Religion is not reduced to a simple product of external factors, but is related to intentionally

motivated individuals who have specific purposes, and the material and the ideal conditions under which they live" (37).

Building on Marx and Weber's ideas, contemporary theorists (particularly Charles Glock) have developed a premise of individual response to religion known as deprivation (theory). According to Christopher and his colleagues (1971), deprivation theorists "suggest that for definite types of persons and groups, religion serves as a compensation for a perceived state of deprivation which seemingly cannot be overcome by individual efforts" (385). In Glock's earlier works (1964, Glock and Stark 1965), he argues that deprivation manifests in five forms: economic, social, organismic, ethical, and psychic.

Scholars have applied the deprivation theory to both Pentecostals as a unique group and as amalgamations, e.g., Pentecostal immigrants. Early Pentecostals, often poor, experienced social exclusion from conventional religious groups and mainstream society. In 1965, Howard Elinson wrote an article, published in *The American Journal of Sociology*, stating: "The reliance on miracles makes it possible for people who can objectively do relatively little for themselves in worldly efforts to seek, by spiritual means, health and wealth. Many participants in the movement appear to suffer from what might be called compound deprivation. In addition to the economic and social deprivation shared by most members, some individuals are burdened with "organismic deprivations" in the form of serious physical and psychological ailments" (408). In his article discussing West Indian immigrants in Britain and their conversion to Pentecostalism, Clifford Hill (1971) argues that deprivation can be real or

perceived. He writes, “The rejection of traditional religious affiliations is a symbol of the immigrants' disillusionment with and dissociation from the society and its culture that has rejected them. But it is a socio-cultural rejection rather than religious rejection” (117). Hagan and Ebaugh (2003) discuss religion’s (Pentecostalism, in this case) fulfillment of immigrants’ psychic deprivation in “Migrants’ Use of Religion.” They say, “… that migrants make more use of, or rely more strongly on, religion when they feel little control over the situations they confront; when risks are extremely high. If this is indeed the case, then we should expect to find that religion is a substantial resource used by many undocumented migrant groups as a source of support for enduring the hardship of the journey” (1159). Their study supports such a hypothesis. Religion scholars thus utilize observations and case studies to illustrate the draw of religion for Pentecostals and immigrants alike.

One particular study looks at the draw of Pentecostalism from a deprivation perspective in Latin America. Jon Wolseth (2008) discusses the effect of neoliberal policies on the “socially and politically disenfranchised,” particularly young men and women. After World War II, countries such as Brazil underwent rapid urbanization (Burdick 2004). During this time, the world was divided into First World (capitalist West), Second World (communist Soviet), and Third World (non-European poor). The development project arose as a strategy for improving the Third World, following the United States as the model of development, through the nation-state as the framework and economic growth as its focus. Economic progression followed the pattern of mass consumption,

commodification, and modern institutions. As Third world countries, such as those in Latin America, attempted to play "catch-up" to the rapidly pacing global economy, they came to rely heavily on First World financial and technical resources (McMichael 1996). "The underdevelopment of the poor countries as an overall social fact, appears in its true light: as the historical by-product of the development of other countries. The dynamics of the capitalist economy lead to the establishment of a center and a periphery, simultaneously by generating progress and growing wealth for the few and social imbalances, political tensions, and poverty for the many" (Gutierrez 1973, p. 84). First World programs were initiated to help fund technological imports into Latin America (technological transfer) and expand their exports. As a result, these developing nations accumulated enormous amounts of debt. As the debt crisis was realized, "structural adjustment" policies and austerity entered the scene in the form of "shock treatment" (applied by IMF through market strategies) to stabilize economies and generate revenue to service debt. Policies included reducing public expenditures thus lowering the already minimal existence of the urban poor. Walton and Shefner (1994) explain that "the policies which produced an accelerating transfer of income from the poor to the developed countries simultaneously led to economic stagnation in the Third World" (p. 101).

According to Wolseth, "In the face of the social suffering caused by neoliberal economies, evangelical Christian faiths have offered disenfranchised youth in Honduras a spiritual response to individual pain…" (99). He goes on to discuss Weber's analysis of *salvific* religions, those which offer the promise of

other-worldly compensations for worldly troubles. He writes, “The poor and oppressed seek divine grace to alleviate their social and bodily ills. In the neoliberal era in Latin America, a time when hunger, disease, and violence are causing acute bodily suffering, salvific religions have gained many new followers by promising an end to suffering” (100). He also talks about the alternative to gangs that Pentecostalism provides. He calls Pentecostalism empowering and “a sanctuary” (101).

According to Durkheim (1912), religion is a reflection of the collective, a source of identity and social solidarity. He viewed the sacred as shared representations of the human experience and the power of society. God is the experience of society as an external phenomenon. Durkheim saw religion in this form as irrelevant and declining with increased division of labor and modernization. An increasing division of labor, however, weakens the sense of identification within the wider community and weakens social constraints on human behavior, leading to anomie. In response, he believed religion would be replaced with moral individualism, the acceptance of individual difference and human responsibility.

In the vein of Durkheim, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) wrote about objective social existence and human reality as being socially constructed. Widely used (and critiqued) in the sociology of religion, Berger’s (1967) piece entitled *The Sacred Canopy* explored how religion changed as a result of modernization from an overarching, encompassing societal framework (sacred canopy) to a private philosophical and moral reckoning. As society

becomes more and more complex, the sacred canopy breaks down, leading to religious pluralism and ultimately secularization (Furseth and Repstad 2006). Berger's views, however, have not been supported by empirical evidence outside of European circles.

Critiquing Durkheim's view of religious pluralism and Berger's breakdown of the "sacred canopy," Roger Finke and Rodney Stark (1988) propose the notion of a "religious economy" following Berger's use of the market model in addressing religion. In the same manner, R. Stephen Warner, in his 1993 piece in the *American Journal of Sociology*, called for a new paradigm in the sociology of religion to frame the unique situation of American religion. His basic argument is that religion in the United States does not follow the religious establishment model, but is market-based. This is labeled by scholars as a rational choice theory of religion. According to Finke and Stark (1988), "Deductions from a general theory of religion suggest that, to the degree a religious market is unregulated, pluralism will thrive. That is, the "natural" state of religious economies is one in which a variety of religious groups successfully cater to the special interests of specific market segments. This arises because of the inherent inability of a single religious organization to be at once worldly and other-worldly, while the market will always contain distinct consumer segments seeking more and less worldly versions of faith" (42). This is referred to as the supply-side of the supply and demand religious market. Religious groups *supply* the various components related to faith and culture, giving individuals a self-gratifying choice. Furseth and Repstad (2006) thus articulate: "Rational choice theory argues that

individuals turn to religion because they see that it gives them some sort of benefits or rewards…. As a consequence, religious movements that have a definite profile and offer a greater amount of rewards will achieve more support than religious movements with a more diffuse profile and fewer rewards" (117).

R. Stephen Warner (1993) discusses what allowed for continued religious relevancy, and even vivacity, in the United States. "The new paradigm is not *defined* by economic imagery," he says, "…but by the idea that disestablishment is the norm" (1053). In other words, separating church and state and allowing for the freedom to practice any religion caused religious groups to have to "compete" for adherents, particularly the different factions of Christianity. He gives an example, related specifically to Pentecostalism:

> Consider the phenomenally influential Oral Roberts, whose career is a key to Pentecostalism breaking out of its class-, race-, and region-based boundaries in the second half of this century. Roberts was ordained at age 18 as a preacher in the Pentecostal Holiness denomination, which, "like most new sects, had a vast oversupply of ministers." The ambitious Roberts soon outgrew his denomination and at age 30 invested $60,000 in his own infrastructure: a truck and- trailer rig, portable organ, piano, sound system, folding chairs, and a tent with room for 3,000. Four years later, he bought a tent big enough for 12,500 and soon began broadcasting (these biographical details come from Harrell [1985, esp. pp. 20-2 1, 5 11). For Roberts and entrepreneurs like him, ordination was not a sinecure, but a license with a built-in incentive to reach out to new audiences through innovative means. Accordingly, the concept of a competitive religious market entails neither that religious organizations pander to a lowest common denominator of spiritual commitment nor that religious consumers constantly compare competing suppliers' responses to their fixed demands. (P. 1058)

That is to say, the interplay of supply and demand is often complex. As James V. Spickard (2004) puts it: "There are several ways of looking at the rise of new religions in Europe and America during the last half of the 20th century. Demand-side theorists focus on changes social and cultural norms that weakened the traditional churches, without weakening the need for spiritual transcendence.

Supply-siders focus on freer religious markets and the increasing supply of third-world spiritual leaders in the West, especially after the loosening of U.S. immigration quotas in 1965" (50). Warner calls his new paradigm "…a loose school of thought with a common focus on the distinctive institutional parameters of the U.S. religious system – particularly the combination of disestablishment and institutional vitality – as the analytic norm for the study of religion" (1080).

Another aspect of Warner's discussion on religion that many scholars have addressed with regard to religious organizations and individual devotion is identity. Understanding identity allows us to address both macro- and micro-levels of religious faith and practice and their intersections with other cultural characteristics. In referencing Will Herberg's famous 1960 work, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, Warner (1993) writes: "These social factors in religious differentiation – class, race, ethnicity, language, urbanism, region, and the like – are not simply templates on which religious association is modeled, nor are they merely identities people carry as individuals from one locale to another, identities destined to fade as the carriers die. Religion itself is recognized in American society, if not always by social scientists, as a fundamental category of identity and association, and it is thereby capable of grounding both solidarities and identities" (1059). Incorporating thought outside sociological circles helps to broaden the discussion. Moral geographies as defined by McAlister (2001) and Shapiro (1994) are: "cultural and political practices that work together to mark not only states but also regions, cultural groupings, and

ethnic or racial territories." Moral geographies aid in the comprehension of intersections of identities in social spaces. According to McAlister (2005), "For Shapiro, who writes in broad cultural terms and about international law, moral geographies 'consist of a set of silent ethical assertions,' that mark connection and separation, and that shape politics and culture" (251). In other words, religious or ethical identities can implicitly negotiate boundaries and influence social practices. McAlister continues, "It is worth thinking about how identities are formed with regard to religion and place, both from outside forces like foreign policy, the press, and the school systems, and from subjective forces of self-naming and self-understandings" (251). By understanding the moral geographies in which Pentecostals operate (e.g., the juxtaposition of a heavenly kingdom and an earthly nation-state), we can more fully understand the conceptualizing of boundaries, whether religious, ethnic, political, or physical, and how this contributes to Pentecostal-community relations. In other words, what does it mean to have a Pentecostal identity? How is this influenced by outside forces? And how does this identity influence attitudes and actions towards other groups? Diana Eck (2001) brings the discussion full circle in her statement:

> While the state is religiously neutral, he [Alexis de Tocqueville] noted, the peoples of the United States form a multitude of religious associations. Freedom of religion spins forth into American civil society ever new religious communities and associations....these associations today...enable people to solidify their sense of ethnic, cultural, or religious identity while providing a base for participating in the wider society. (P. 336)

With regard specifically to Pentecostalism to give a frame of reference in understanding identity, belief and practice, I look to Grant Wacker's (2001) work entitled *Heaven Below*. According to Wacker, "*the genius of the pentecostal*

movement lay in its ability to hold two seemingly incompatible impulses in productive tension" (10). Wacker discusses the capacity with which Pentecostals are able to operate in the realms of both the *primitive*, what he terms as "direct contact with the divine" (15) and the *pragmatic*, the willingness to "work within the social and cultural expectations of the age" (19). Pentecostalism, thus, has been able to spread like wildfire as a religious movement while at the same time its members have been able to live and even thrive in the mundane. I use this framework in my discussion of how Pentecostals negotiate other-worldly beliefs with practical cultural influences, and how this plays out in how churches function with regard to outreach.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

This research examines the relationship between Pentecostal congregations and congregational social service activities. More specifically, I address the following questions:

1. How likely are Pentecostal congregations to participate in social services?
    a. How does Pentecostal congregational identity influence this probability?
    b. Does self-identification of congregations as Pentecostal, adherence to Pentecostal beliefs and/or practices contribute to whether or not Pentecostal congregations participate in social service or community outreach?
2. What is the relationship of Pentecostalism to conservatism and how this may influence Pentecostal congregations' social action?
    a. Do Pentecostals differ from other conservative congregations in their likelihood to participate in social service?
    b. Do Pentecostals participate in different types of social service than other conservative congregations?
3. What are the responses of Pentecostal churches and members of those churches to their local communities?
    a. What do Pentecostals feel is their responsibility or obligation to the community?

Answers to the first and second set of questions are taken from the results of multivariate logistic regression and likelihood ratio tests utilizing the National Congregations Study[13], a nationally representative sample of US congregations. The third set of questions I answered using qualitative interview and participant observations from Assembly of God churches in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area. By taking a mixed-methodological approach, I am able to analyze existing data on American congregations and supplement my findings with key informant interviews and observations.

Creswell (2009) points to the recent growth of mixed-methods studies and the improved understanding of its relevance to social research. In defining mixed-methods research, he writes, "It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study. Thus, it is more than simply collecting and analyzing both kinds of data; it also involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research" (4). Mixed-methodology is often rooted in pragmatism, the philosophical worldview in which (relating specifically to methodology) the research *problem* is emphasized over the *procedure*, while multiple methods are used to understand the phenomenon under investigation (see Creswell 2009, Morgan 2007, Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, Rossman and Wilson 1985, Cherryholmes 1992, Smith 1991, and Patton 1990). Singleton and Straits (2005)

[13] Chaves, Mark and Shawna Anderson. 2008. *National Congregations Study*. Cumulative data file and codebook. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, Department of Sociology.

employ the term triangulation to include "multiple measures of concepts within the same study" (381) to "testing hypotheses with different methods that do not share the same methodological weaknesses" (397). For instance, surveys allow for control of sampling error and bias and are easy to replicate, unlike field interviews which allow researcher access to participants' complex descriptions and subjectivities. There are limitations, however, to mixed-methods approaches, including the difficulty in integration of findings, especially when utilizing different analytic tools of interpretation. In this project, qualitative interviews are used to *supplement* the quantitative analysis, in order to give *perspective* to the findings.

Quantitative Method: Secondary Analysis of NCS Data

Surveys allow researchers to collect data from large samples of units, which, if properly collected and analyzed, can be generalized to a larger population (Babbie 2010). The National Congregations Surveys used a unique approach to random sampling from the postulate "that organizations attached to a random sample of individuals constitute a random sample of organizations" (Chaves and Anderson 2008, 3). Generating a hyper-network sample of organizations requires starting with a random sample of individuals. The NCS was conducted in conjunction with the General Social Survey (GSS). In 1998 and 2006, the GSS asked respondents who said they attend religious services at least once a year to report the name and location of their religious congregation. The

congregations named by these respondents constitute the 1998 and 2006-07 NCS congregational samples. For Wave I, once the congregational sample was generated and nominated congregations were located, the NCS gathered congregational data using a 45-60 minute interview with one key informant—a minister, priest, rabbi, or other staff person or leader—from each nominated congregation. Three-quarters of NCS interviews were with clergy, 83 percent were with staff of some sort, and the remaining 17 percent were with non-staff congregational leaders. The NCS-I response rate was 80 percent. Complete data were collected from 1,234 congregations. For Wave II, as in 1998, data were gathered via a 45-60 minute interview with one key informant, usually a clergyperson, from each congregation. Seventy-eight percent of NCS-II interviews were with clergy, 86 percent were with staff of some sort, and the remaining 14 percent were with non-staff congregational leaders. The NCS-II response rate was 78 percent. Complete data were collected from 1,506 congregations (For more detail regarding the NCS, see Chaves and Anderson 2008). For the purposes of this project, I utilize the cumulative dataset, except when questions were asked exclusively in Wave I or Wave II. In these instances, I utilize the most recent data from Wave II, which was administered between 2006 and 2007.

Variables

Although I will discuss each variable in greater detail, the following table (4.1) includes a brief description of all the variables examined in the analyses. Not all factors are used in all analyses. Many of the independent variables are used in only one set of analyses.

Social ministry. The dependent variables in this investigation measure congregations' participation in social ministry (or what Chaves labels *social service*). There are several questions in the dataset addressing this. The NCS asked informants, "Has your congregation participated in or supported social service, community development, or neighborhood organizing projects of any sort within the past 12 months?" Respondents were instructed to exclude any "projects that use or rent space in your building but have no other connection to your congregation" so as to ascertain a distinct congregational practice. This is my main indicator of social ministry.

Respondents whose congregations participated in or supported such programs were asked, "What projects or programs have you sponsored or participated in?" There was no limit to the number of programs an informant could mention. Interviewers were instructed to probe for each mentioned program's purpose, and they recorded verbatim each program description offered by the respondent. These verbatim descriptions were coded into 25 dichotomous indicator variables, each one indicating a certain program characteristic. To ensure comparability, verbatim responses from 1998 were recoded into the same set of dichotomous indicator variables developed for the 2006-2007 responses.

Informants are then asked to give the "total number of social service programs" mentioned in response to the previous question.

Table 4.1 Analysis Variables – Dependent

Dependent Variables	Description
Congregational participation in social ministry (in the last 12 months)	Dichotomous variable: 0=No participation 1=Participation
Total number of social ministries	Continuous variable: 0-14 (most number of ministries given)
Type of Ministry	Series of dichotomous variables: 0=None 1=At least one
For victims of rape or domestic violence	
Cleaning highways or parks	
Clothing or blankets, including rummage sales	
Specifically for college students or young adults	
Disaster relief	
Non-religious education	
Specifically for senior citizens	
Programs focused on issues of race or ethnicity	
Feeding the hungry	
Programs targeting men or women in particular	
Habitat for Humanity projects	
Programs targeting physical health needs	
Programs targeting the homeless or transients	
Home building, repair, or maintenance	
Programs directed at immigrants, migrants, or refugees	
Programs targeting people outside the United States	
Programs to help people obtain jobs	
Specifically for children or youth	
Program is nowhere else classified	
Programs targeting prisoners or people in trouble with the law and their families	
Programs with explicit religious content	
Programs focused on crime prevention, crime victims,	

Dependent Variables	Description
police and fire departments, military personnel	
Substance abuse programs	
Providing furniture, household items, and money for rent or utilities	
St. Vincent de Paul	
Explicit volunteering, not including Habitat for Humanity	

Table 4.2 Analysis Variables – Independent

Independent Variables	Description
Self-Identified Pentecostal Congregation	Dichotomous variable: 0=Not Pentecostal 1=Pentecostal
Pentecostal Worship Practices Index	
Speaking in tongues	Did people speak in tongues at any service within the past 12 months?
Jumping, shouting, or dancing	Did any adults jump, shout, or dance spontaneously during this service?
Raising hands	Did anyone besides the leader raise their hands in praise during the service?
Calling out "amen"	Did anyone call out "amen" or other expressions of approval?
Restrictive Behaviors Index	
Rules regarding smoking	Does your congregation prohibit smoking tobacco?
Rules regarding drinking	Does your congregation prohibit the use of alcohol?
Rules regarding dancing	Does your congregation have any special rules or norms regarding dancing?
Rules regarding homosexuality	Does your congregation have any special rules or norms concerning homosexual behavior?
Rules regarding cohabitation	Does your congregation have any special rules or norms regarding cohabitation of unmarried adults?
Rules regarding dating	Does your congregation have any special rules or norms about who single people date or become

Independent Variables	Description
	romantically involved with?
Theology	Theologically speaking, congregation is:
Conservative	More on the conservative side*
Moderate	Right in the middle
Liberal	More on the liberal side
Pentecostal Congregation versus Non-Pentecostal Conservative Congregation	Dichotomous variable: 0=Conservative Congregation, Not Pentecostal 1=Pentecostal

Table 4.3 Analysis Variables – Control

Control Variables	Description
Religious Tradition	Collapsed from combined variables of self-identified denomination and/or religious tradition
Roman Catholic	
Baptist	
Methodist	
Lutheran	
Presbyterian or Reformed	
Other moderate or liberal Protestant	
Episcopal	
*Pentecostal**	
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)	
Other Christian (not otherwise specified)	
Size	Number of Adult Regular Participants (Natural log)
Annual Income	Income from all sources during most recent fiscal year (Natural log)
% 4-year Degrees	Percent of adult regular participants with 4-year Degrees or more (Natural log)
% Poor	Percent of adult regular participants with household incomes under $25,000 (Natural log)
% Rich	Percent of adult regular participants with household incomes above $100,000 (Natural log)

Control Variables	Description
% African-American ≥ 80	Congregation is 80% or more black or African-American
Census Tract	Congregation's census tract:
Urban	Predominately urban*
Suburban	Predominately suburban
Rural	Predominately rural
Clergy Sex - Male	Gender of head or senior clergy person or religious leader, 1=Male
Clergy Seminary-Educ.	Head or senior clergy person or religious leader graduated from seminary or theological school, 1=Yes

*=Reference category

Pentecostal. The variable of interest, or main independent variable, is that of "being Pentecostal." Scholars point to a multiplicity of Pentecostal communities, so much so, that defining Pentecostalism can become a laborious task. Allan Anderson (2004) adopts "an inclusive definition to avoid both the bigotry of excluding those who do not agree with a particular understanding of the Bible and the triumphalism of those who boast about the growth of their own movement" (10). Agreeing with Anderson that when we refer to Pentecostalism as the fastest growing Christian faction in the world with numbers second only to Catholicism, we are including Pentecostals within denominations, independent or non-denominational "spirit-filled" congregations, and unaffiliated international churches that claim to be a part of the Pentecostal movement, I proceed with caution in making overarching claims or generalizing to all Pentecostals.

The NCS asks a series of questions related to religious affiliation. Informants are first asked, "Is your congregation formally affiliated with a denomination, convention, or some similar kind of association?" and if yes, are asked to give "the names of all denominations or other associations that your congregation belongs to." Congregational informants are then asked about the congregation's religious tradition, without respect to formal affiliation with a denomination, in "What is your congregation's religion or religious group?" These variables are combined and collapsed and then re-collapsed into a more broadly defined religious family variable. I use this collapsed variable to create a Pentecostal/non-Pentecostal dichotomous indicator variable and to create

dichotomous indicator variables for other "religious families." I delimit the sample to only Christian congregations, as this is the target of my study. The Pentecostal dichotomous indicator variable is conceptually placing congregations into the Pentecostal category on the basis of self-identification. That is, those congregations that self-identify as Pentecostal are assumed to be Pentecostal (coded as 1); all other congregations who self-identify as something else are assumed not to be Pentecostal (coded as 0).

Of course, self-identification is only one means by which Pentecostals can be classified. It is also possible to define Pentecostal congregations on the basis of beliefs and practices. To do this, I utilize NCS questions that would mark a congregation as distinctly Pentecostal in faith and worship: "Did people speak in tongues at any service within the past 12 months?"; (Thinking about the most recent service) "Did any adults jump, shout, or dance spontaneously during this service?"; "Did anyone besides the leader raise their hands in praise during the service?"; "Did anyone call out "amen" or other expressions of approval?"; and "At any service during the past 12 months was there a time for people other than the leaders of the service to testify or speak about their own religious experience?" These worship practices may individually be utilized in other religious traditions, but together are characteristic to Pentecostals (see Simms 1995, Cox 1995, Wacker 2001, Poloma 1989). Because speaking in tongues is the initial marker for identifying Pentecostals, I run analyses separately using this variable as one of interest. That is, I test a typology in which Pentecostalism is strictly defined as having someone speak in tongues during services. I also

recognize that other practices associated with Pentecostalism (e.g., shouting, raising hands, and testifying) occur with greater or lesser frequency across churches. Thus, I test an alternative typology in which I define Pentecostalism by using the indicators of religious practice mentioned above (including the tongues variables), to create an additive index. This typology, which I label, "Pentecostal worship practices," recognizes a Pentecostal continuum, in which congregations who engaged in the greatest number of these practices in their last worship service or in the last year are conceptualized as most Pentecostal.

For another typology of identity and practices, I also utilize NCS questions that relate Pentecostalism to restrictive practices based on the Holiness tradition discussed in Chapter 3. This typology, created in the form of an additive index, uses the following questions: "Does your congregation prohibit smoking tobacco?"; "Does your congregation prohibit the use of alcohol?"; "Does your congregation have any special rules or norms regarding dancing?"; "Does your congregation have any special rules or norms concerning homosexual behavior?"; "Does your congregation have any special rules or norms regarding cohabitation of unmarried adults?"; and "Does your congregation have any special rules or norms about who single people date or become romantically involved with?" These behavioral practices may be utilized in other religious traditions, but are characteristic to Pentecostals (see Cox 1995, Wacker 2001). This typology, which I label, "Restrictive Behaviors Index," recognizes a Pentecostal continuum, in which congregations who engaged in the greatest number of these regulatory practices are conceptualized as most Pentecostal.

Chaves, the principal investigator in the National Congregations Survey, has conducted many studies with the NCS data. He has run analyses of church engagement with social services, although he has not specifically examined Pentecostal congregations. I utilize his work, along with a myriad of other studies in determining control variables relating to social ministry. These include congregation size, annual income, percent with four-year degrees, percent poor, percent rich, percentage African-American ≥ 80, urban versus rural, clergy sex and clergy education. As discussed in Chapter 2, larger churches and those with greater incomes are more likely to participate in social ministry (Tsitsos 2003, Scott 2003, Levanthal 2002, Chaves 2001, Ammerman, 2001). Congregations with more college-graduates and middle-class churches engage more in social ministry. Those with a higher percentage of rich or poor congregants are less likely to participate (Tsitsos 2003, Chaves 2001). Urban congregations are more likely to participate in social ministry than suburban or rural ones (Mock 1992). And lastly, congregations with clergy who are well-educated (Owens 2005, Tsitsos 2003) and those with female clergy are more likely to engage in social ministry (Thomas 2010).

Data Analysis

Utilizing STATA Data Analysis and Statistical Software (Version 11), I employ multiple logistic regression analysis to examine the relationship between being a Pentecostal congregation and participating in social ministries,

controlling for other congregational factors. I am able to examine both Pentecostal as self-identified and as represented by congregational worship practices. I also conduct comparative analyses with other religious denominations and groups using multiple logistic regression. I examine the relationship between total number of programs and Pentecostal identity using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, and I explore Pentecostalism and types of services using cross-tabulations. I am able to compare Pentecostal churches with other conservative non-Pentecostal churches using the Chi-Square nonparametric technique. Chapters 5 and 6 fully explain the quantitative data analysis and expound on the findings of these tests.

Qualitative Methods: Key Informant Interviews and Participant Observation

In the absence of detailed research on the relationship between Pentecostal congregations and social ministry in the United States, the qualitative portion of Pentecostal responses to community provides new information while laying a foundation for other researchers to build on. I chose a qualitative strategy to supplement the quantitative data because qualitative studies allow for flexibility in information collection as opportunities arise, and thus are ideal for exploring under-studied phenomena (Creswell 2003). Field research is the venue of choice for accessing and understanding constructed or subjective meanings (Singleton and Straits 2005). By observing the context in which social players interact and incorporating participant views of their circumstances, researchers

are able to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the situation being observed.

To historically and sociologically examine the role of Pentecostal churches in the local community, I engage in field research through observations of five Pentecostal churches in the Atlanta, Georgia metro area. I have observed routine and special activities of the churches, including weekly church services and outreaches, and have conducted in-depth key informant interviews with church leaders and parishioners. By engaging in both forms of observation, I have been able to examine first-hand the existing social relations within the churches and in various leaders' activities within the community.

My methodology for this portion of the project is rooted in phenomenology, a framework for understanding meaning behind human phenomena. Originating in the works of Hegel and Husserl, phenomenology as a philosophical concept involves exploration of consciousness and what it means to *be* or *experience* (Sandmeyer 2009). Miller and Salkind (2002) discuss social phenomenology in relation to social theorist Schutz, who was "interested in how ordinary members of society constitute the world of everyday life, especially how individuals consciously develop meanings out of social interactions (people interacting with each other)" (152). They also discuss elements and procedures for phenomenological research, including the researchers' consideration of "their own preconceived ideas about the phenomenon to understand it through the voices of the informants" (152). Phenomenological studies typically involve in-

depth interviews with questions structured to capture meaning through significant statements and/or themes.

Revisiting Pentecostalism Conceptually

Quantitative research is preoccupied with measurement, and it requires an operationalization of variables that may not always capture the full meaning of a concept. Thus, in an attempt to find answers to my research questions, I use measures of Pentecostalism that are more or less satisfying, depending on how one conceptualizes Pentecostal. I attempt to narrow my scope of qualitative research to denominational US Pentecostalism, and thus define Pentecostalism (for the purposes of this study) within the realm of what some call “classical” Pentecostalism (Anderson 2004, Hollenweger 1997). Following this logic, Pentecostalism is the Christian movement that emphasizes the gifts of the Holy *Spirit (I Corinthians 12, 14; Hebrews 2)*, prominently including glossolalia, or "speaking in tongues" as applicable and accessible to Christians today. Pentecostals, as a distinct faction of Christianity (versus those Christians [or Charismatics] who believe in the gifts of the Spirit but remain within leading denominations, e.g., Pentecostal Catholics) characteristically belong to one of numerous Pentecostal denominations, some of the largest being the Assemblies of God (AG), the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), the Church of God (Cleveland), and the Foursquare Gospel Church.

My Role as Researcher

I was born and raised in a traditional Pentecostal church (Church of God Cleveland, TN). With my father being the pastor, as an observer, I had a unique behind-the-scenes look at how the church was run. As an insider, however, I had to deal with the emotional aspects of my personality and behavior being watched and assessed by the congregants of our church. This created both positive and negative experiences for me.

My father was deeply dedicated to his responsibility of spiritual guidance and emotional support to his parishioners. He was also very involved in denominational activities, particularly at the state level. The denomination offered state-wide church services/meetings in the summer and fall, and summer camps for children and teens. With this, I was able to build social networks, not only within our local church, but also with youth and adults in churches around Kentucky. As a result, I was also very involved in both local and general church activities.

The college I attended, Lee University, is a liberal arts school affiliated with the Church of God. My father attended the college in the 1960s, and it was pretty much my only choice for a distinct college experience. Although I knew people through my denomination, as I began to attend a larger Church of God church, I no longer felt that I was "under the microscope" of being the pastor's daughter. This allowed me to explore my personal involvement within the local church and the denomination, and to assess my personal belief system. I developed a critical eye towards denominational structures, principles and

practices, and the actions of the church in response to denominational membership. This, in turn, increased my self-awareness with regard to the belief/action dichotomy.

In this sense (being critically self-aware), I am able to distance myself from feelings that may create a bias toward what I think Pentecostals *should* do with regard to my research topic(s) and glean from the literature, my observations and interactions with participants to determine what is actually being done. However, my identity as a Pentecostal is crucial, I believe, in understanding how Pentecostal identity influences (or does not influence) relationships, responsibilities, and actions. It also allows me to offer an empathetic point of reference that is conducive to developing rapport with interviewees and church members.

Data Collection

I selected my initial four churches as locations for analysis from a traditional Pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God (AG)[14]. The Assemblies of God keeps an updated list of the churches within the denomination in the United States through their headquarters (The General Council of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, MO). I obtained a listing of churches within a fifty mile radius of the central Atlanta, Georgia zip code (30334) through a search of the AG Directory of Churches on the Assemblies of God USA website,

[14] The Assemblies of God is known for its emphasis on mission/outreach and diversity of congregations (see, for example, Blumhofer (1989)).

http://ag.org/. I then created a file with the name, location, and contact information for each church within the directory listing. At first, I attempted to obtain a systematic random sample of churches to observe by contacting (by telephone) every tenth church on the list. However, as several churches were missing updated contact information and because of low response rates, I began contacting the other churches on the list. I spoke with the pastor or available church leader to request permission for observation and interviews. Upon obtaining permission, I made an appointment to speak with the pastor and visit the church. The pastors of four churches responded to my initial contacts. Three of the churches I observed are in the southern Atlanta metropolitan area and one is located in the central urban area. Because my sample was skewed by location, I broadened my sampling strategy and began contacting various friends and acquaintances that might recommend churches for observation. I also conducted internet searches for Pentecostal churches within the northern region. It was through one of my searches that I came across the fifth church, though it is not a part of the Assemblies of God denomination.

In working on an initial project related to congregational outreach to immigrants, I selected Atlanta, GA as my research site because it is a non-traditional, "emerging" destination for immigrants. Migration scholars (e.g., Singer 2004) discuss gateways, or destinations for new immigrants, as ranging from "former gateways" that attracted immigrants in the early 1900's to "emerging" (tremendous growth in the past twenty years) and "pre-emerging gateways" (recent immigrant destinations, i.e. growth in numbers within the last

decade). "Continuous" or "traditional gateways", those who historically have received large numbers of immigrants and continue to do so, tend to have structures in place to accommodate new immigrants and have typically adapted (or even thrived) on a multicultural social environment. New gateways, however, must deal with population growth in relation to infrastructure, economic viability, social services, and cultural adaptation for which they may not have been prepared (Stamps and Bohon 2006). Atlanta is an "emerging" immigrant destination with over 400,000 foreign-born in the year 2000. Over a quarter of its immigrant population is from Mexico, with the majority remaining from Asia (India, Vietnam, Korea) (Census 2000). Non-traditional gateways are essential to research because they are still working to establish social structures, relationships, *and* boundaries within and between their existing communities and the incoming immigrant populations. Atlanta is also located in fairly close proximity to my hometown.

In this project specifically, through observations and interviews, I examine how church leaders and members of the Pentecostal Church are responding to their local communities. By utilizing open-ended questions[15] in semi-structured interviews, my objective is to understand how Pentecostals distinguish their religious identity, how they define their communities, how they describe their relationships with and obligations to these communities, and how all this is translated in the actions of the church and its members. Though previous data implies that theologically conservative congregations are less likely to participate

[15] See the appendix for a list of interview questions.

in social services, given the historical roots of Pentecostalism as a counter-cultural movement coupled with the rapid growth of Pentecostalism around the world (particularly in Third World countries), we would expect that the Pentecostal church in the United States and its members would provide a strong outreach to members of their local communities. My study of primarily Assembly of God churches in Atlanta, however, reveals that this is not necessarily the case among Pentecostal churches. In this portion of the dissertation, I address the following research questions: What are the responses of Pentecostal churches and members of those churches to their local communities? And as follows, what do Pentecostals feel is their responsibility or obligation to the community?

Units of Analysis: Churches (Observations), Church Leaders and Parishioners (Interviews)

Church #1 is located in an incorporated city south of Atlanta. Though the church is located near Interstate 75 and some residential neighborhoods, the area is largely exurban. The pastor (whom I will refer to as Pastor Ron[16]) describes the local community as a "small *white* town in Georgia that's becoming more and more diverse." The church is small with an average attendance of around 63 and, according to the pastor, is predominantly white (approximately 90%) and largely middle-class. Pastor Ron comments that "our church does not look like the community immediately around us" because the area is becoming more diverse.

[16] I have given each respondent a pseudonym.

He specifically mentions an influx of Haitians, Caribbeans, Mexicans and Cubans.

Church #2 is located in another incorporated city south of Atlanta. According to the pastor (Pastor Vaughn), the church has an upper-middle class, multicultural (60% white, 34% black, 5% Latino, 1% Asian or Indian) congregation, with an average age of about 39. The attendance runs almost 4000 on Sunday morning. The church also runs a daycare, elementary school, high school, and four-year ministry college. The area is largely suburban, which Pastor Vick calls "a bedroom community to Atlanta."

Church #3 is located near downtown Atlanta, relatively close to Georgia Tech and Georgia State University. According to the pastor (Pastor Percy), the ethnic make-up of the church is largely African-American (around 50%), 40% white and 10% Latino, which is relatively reflective of the surrounding community. It is a relatively young church of a little over 200 in attendance, with an average age among adults of mid-thirties; including the children would bring the average to about seventeen years. The church is very urban, surrounded by a mixture of single-family, multi-family, and government housing.

Church #4 is located in a small incorporated city south of Atlanta central city. The church is fairly rural, with an attendance of roughly 80 to 100. According to the pastor (Pastor Vance), a large percentage of the church members are seniors on fixed income. The ethnic make-up is approximately 70% white, 30% black (African-American and Jamaican) or Latino.

Church #5 is located in an incorporated city north of Atlanta known for its recent upsurge of immigrant residents and businesses. The church, located in a storefront building (next to another storefront church), is comprised of approximately fifteen families (about 40 people). They are all of the same ethnic group, Malayalee, which according to Pastor Victor, is from the state of Kerala, India. The adults speak the Malayalam language, while the children primarily speak English. The congregants educational backgrounds, careers and socioeconomic statuses vary.

For observation, I attended each church at least once to observe a typical Sunday morning worship service[17]. The services lasted approximately two hours. I also observed a bi-lingual (Spanish-English) service at Church #2 (roughly two hours), participated twice in a Saturday community outreach of Church #3 (approximately five hours each), and attended a luncheon at Church #5 (around two hours).

The interview respondents were chiefly the church pastors, though I interviewed church leaders (official [paid] leaders and lay [volunteer] leaders) in Church #2 and Church #3. Pastor Percy also allowed me to freely interview parishioners that were willing to do so. Church leader interviews lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. I was able to also have a follow-up interview with Pastor Vaughn and Pastor Percy. In total I spent about 20 hours talking with the interviewees.

[17] The Sunday morning service is the most widely attended venue in the American Christian Church overall (See Hadaway, Marler and Chavez 1993).

Prior to each interview, I explained the project and discussed informed consent, distributing consent forms to the interviewees. Each interview was conducted face-to-face at the local church or by phone. The interviews focused on the church's feelings about and involvement in their local communities within the Atlanta, GA area. Introductory questions requested the demographic makeup of the church and its length of establishment. Questions also reflected on Pentecostal identity, belief and practice. I recorded each interview using a digital recording device and also took notes.

Data Analysis

Creswell (2009) describes qualitative data analysis as "an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study" (184). As early as Interview #1, I began making notes on findings I might consider *typical* as reflective or affirmative of existing literature related to Pentecostalism and/or immigration and findings I might deem as *interesting*. This is called the coding process. I made notes about my observations and adjusted my interview strategy as I saw the need arise to flesh out what I saw as emerging themes. In preparation for data analysis, I transcribed the interviews verbatim and organized my notes. Continuing the coding process, I combed through each interview for an overall feel of each church and then the similar and different experiences among the churches. The themes that emerged regarding Pentecostal identity, reaction, and responsibility

to community helped me to reshape my research questions and shape a description of the "essence" of the Pentecostal response to the growth of immigrant communities.

Though my difficulties in sampling raises concerns with regard to validity, I employed various strategies to ensure accuracy of findings. First, I clarified my relationship to the research as a practicing Pentecostal. Second, I attempted to broaden my sampling frame and obtained another type of church to gain another perspective. I reexamined the initial churches I observed with a more critical eye, and utilized existing literature sources, observations, and interviews to build a well-rounded study. As suggested by Creswell (2009), to ensure reliability, I double-checked each transcript to make sure they did not contain errors in the transcription process.

CHAPTER 5
PENTECOSTAL CONGREGATIONS AND SOCIAL MINISTRY

To examine the relationship between Pentecostal congregations and social ministry, I asked the question: How likely are Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry? Specifically, does identifying as Pentecostal (by denomination or tradition) affect the likelihood of participating in social services, community development, neighborhood organizing projects, or any other human service project or outreach ministry? And if so, does Pentecostalism affect the number of services, projects, or ministries? Formulating a hypothesis to the research question, however, is tricky. On the one hand, quantitative studies of theologically conservative congregations show a lesser likelihood of participation in social ministry and a lower number of services offered compared with more liberal congregations (Scott 2003, Chaves 2001 and 2004, Ammerman 2005, Ebaugh 2006). According to Simms (1995), quoting Evangelical spokesman Carl Henry, conservative theology involves:

> A belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, the two natures of Christ, the Virgin Birth, the bodily resurrection and second coming of Christ, salvation by grace through faith, the sinfulness of man, the sacrificial death of Christ for sin, the Bible as the inspired Word of God and the final norm for doctrine, evangelism as the main task of the church, and the Christian life as one of holiness and godliness. (P. 131)

Pentecostals adhere to this doctrine. On the other hand, the early history and foundations of the US Pentecostalism with its focus on social inclusion, and the worldwide growth of Pentecostalism as an empowering religious movement (see Chapter 3), provide evidence for a unique Pentecostal approach to social

outreach. I would argue that Pentecostals should be at least *as likely* as non-Pentecostals to participate in social ministry.

Table 5.1 shows the descriptive statistics for the dependent variables (social ministry measures) and Pentecostalism (by self-identity – that is, claiming to be a part of a Pentecostal denomination or Pentecostal religious tradition). I created a dichotomous variable for Pentecostalism (self-identified Pentecostal congregation versus non-Pentecostal congregation) excluding non-Christian affiliations. Table 1 also includes descriptive statistics for the control variables used in the analyses.

The results of Table 5.1 show that almost 70 percent of Christian congregations participate in social ministry. This corresponds with Scott's (2003) assessment that "most studies have estimated that somewhere between 60 percent and 90 percent of all congregations provide, or are involved in the delivery of, at least one social service" (16). The average (mean) number of ministries per church is between 3 and 4, but most congregations actually participate in 1, 2 or 3 projects. Pentecostal churches make up 6.25 percent of Christian congregations, which indicates a well-proportioned sample.

With regard to control variables (discussed in Chapter 2), the most important factors in determining likelihood of participation in social ministry are size and income. For this sample of congregations, the mean size of adult regular attendees is about 700; however, this number is skewed by some very large churches sampled. The median number of adults (not shown) is 250. Mean congregational income is also skewed at $729,469, with the median (not shown)

better portraying the middle range at $260,000. Looking at the averages for "percent rich" and "percent poor" indicate that church attendees are largely middle class. About 15 percent of the congregations are mostly African-American. Well over half the churches are located in urban areas. And interestingly, the majority of the clergy are theologically trained.

In Table 5.2, I display the odds ratios calculated from log odds coefficients for identifying as a Pentecostal congregation and control variables against participation in social ministry. The bivariate analysis shown in Model 1 indicates that congregations identifying as Pentecostal are about 70 percent less likely to participate in social ministry than non-Pentecostal Christian congregations. Model 2 includes the non-religious control variables. When taking into account these factors that have been shown to affect participation in social ministry, Pentecostalism is no longer significant. In fact, only congregation size (number of adult participants) and number of college graduates show a positive correlation to participation in social ministry. In Model 3, when comparing Pentecostal congregations specifically with other religious families, all traditions are significantly more likely than Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry with the exception of Other Conservative, Evangelical, or Sectarian congregations. This latter group's likelihood to participate in social ministry is no different than Pentecostal's. When factoring in the controls, once again denomination/tradition no longer significantly influences participation. The significant determinant of involvement is congregation size (adult regular participants) where, as expected, a larger pool of participants increases the

likelihood of participation. Higher numbers of college graduates now only shows a marginal higher likelihood of participation as well.

These are interesting findings in that previous research, as discussed in the chapter on methodology, gives us important factors (utilized as controls here) that influence social ministry participation. However, when accounting for all of these factors and the independent variable of interest (Pentecostal), only congregation size remains significantly correlated. There is some multicollinearity among the controls in that size affects income, % college-educated, % rich and % poor. Still, the analyses confirm the direct effect of congregation size on likelihood to participate in social ministry, and also show that there may be an indirect effect of the independent variables on social ministry participation through congregation size. What this says to us about the relationship between being a Pentecostal congregation and participating in social ministry is that Pentecostal congregations may be less likely to participate in social ministry because they tend to have smaller congregations with fewer resources. Whereas the average congregation size in the entire study population is around 700, the average Pentecostal congregation is closer to 400. When taking out the most considerable outliers (a congregation of 5 and one of 20,000), the mean size for Pentecostal churches is 300. The median church size is 100. Though denominational identity may play a role in whether or not churches participate in social ministry, it is more likely to be about whether there are enough people and resources to accomplish such a task.

Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Frequency	Percent	n	Mean	St. Dev.
Dependent					
Congregational participation in social ministry	1,810	68.82	2,630		
Engagement in other human service projects	477	33.1	1,441		
Total number of social ministries			1,451	3.20	2.46
0	118	8.13			
1	285	19.64			
2	262	18.06			
3	267	18.40			
4	166	11.44			
5	123	8.48			
6	83	5.72			
7	53	3.65			
8	34	2.34			
9	27	1.86			
10	13	0.90			
11	11	0.76			
12	2	0.14			
13	2	0.14			
14	5	0.34			
Independent					
Self-identified Pentecostal	165	6.25	2,642		
Religious			2,642		
Family/Tradition	643	24.34			
Roman Catholic	601	22.75			
Baptist	277	10.48			
Methodist	184	6.96			
Lutheran	152	5.75			
Presbyterian or Reformed	76	2.88			
Other	77	2.91			
Mainline/Liberal Protestant	178	6.74			
Episcopal					
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or	289	10.94			

Variables	Frequency	Percent	n	Mean	St. Dev.
sectarian)					
Other Christian					
Size			2,740		
Total Persons				2,172.14	5,297.58
Adults (Regular Participants)				708.85	1290.73
Annual Income			2,077	$729,469.6	$1,639,475
% 4-year Degrees			2,433	37.94	26.82
% Poor			2,277	22.86	22.63
% Rich			2,350	13.41	17.58
% African-American ≥ 80	420	15.33	2,740		
Census Tract			1,506		
Urban	1,000	66.40			
Suburban	223	14.81			
Rural	283	18.79			
Clergy Sex			2,630		
Male	2,483	94.41			
Female	147	5.59			
Clergy Seminary-Educ.	1,194	82.40	1,449		

Table 5.2 Odds Ratios of Participating in Social Ministry in the Last 12 Months[18]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Self-identified Pentecostal	0.31***	1.50	REF	REF
Religious Family/Tradition				
Roman Catholic			4.35***	0.52
Baptist			2.37***	0.68
Methodist			4.07***	1.31
Lutheran			5.78***	1.17
Presbyterian or Reformed			5.76***	0.97
Other Mainline/Liberal Protestant			4.37***	1.40
Episcopal			10.10***	1.32
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)			1.37	0.30*
Other Christian			2.28***	0.55
Size				
ln[19] Adults (Regular Participants)		1.33**		1.45**
ln Annual Income		0.95		0.94
ln % 4-year Degrees		1.26*		1.24†
ln % Poor		1.04		1.10
ln % Rich		1.06		1.04
% African-American ≥ 80		0.88		0.89
Census Tract				
Urban		REF		REF
Suburban		0.73		0.69
Rural		0.97		0.94
Clergy Sex				0.54
Male		0.43†		
Clergy Seminary Educated		1.41		1.25
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1605.76	-401.94	-1555.60	-392.23
Pseudo R-squared	0.0161	0.0421	0.0468	0.0653

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

[18] Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors are shown in Appendix 1.
[19] ln refers to the natural log of the variable as indicated.

The findings in Tables 5.2 show that, when congregational characteristics are taken into account, Pentecostals are no more or less likely to engage in social ministry than most other congregations, despite the findings from studies (cite) that show that conservative congregations are less likely to engage in social ministry. To understand this further, I explore whether or not Pentecostal congregations engage in fewer (or more) of these ministries, relative to other congregations. Table 5.3 shows the results of an OLS regression analysis of the effect of Pentecostalism on the number of social ministry programs offered by congregations. The bivariate analysis in Model 1 indicates that congregations identifying as Pentecostal are likely to participate in approximately one fewer program than non-Pentecostal congregations. Comparing Pentecostal churches specifically to other congregations confirms that most other religious families are likely to participate in around one more project than Pentecostals. Presbyterian or Reformed Churches have about two more programs, on average, than Pentecostals. Accounting for the control variables, the religious identity factor is no longer significant. Congregation size, income, and percentage of college-educated congregants significantly affect number of programs, but only by a small number.

Once again, the analyses show a direct relationship between size/resources and participation in social ministry. Those with more resources engage in more ministries. The denominational factor loses salience when taking into account congregational factors. As Warner (1993) attests to the importance of identity to

Table 5.3 Effect of Pentecostalism on Total Number of Ministries (OLS regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Self-identified Pentecostal	-0.98***	-0.15	REF	REF
	(0.27)	(0.51)		
Religious Family/Tradition				
Roman Catholic			0.73*	-1.01†
			(0.29)	(0.54)
Baptist			0.78**	0.68
			(0.29)	(0.52)
Methodist			1.44***	0.46
			(0.33)	(0.56)
Lutheran			1.30***	0.34
			(0.36)	(0.57)
Presbyterian or Reformed			2.07***	0.92
			(0.38)	(0.60)
Other Mainline/Liberal Protestant			1.37*	0.26
			(0.57)	(0.83)
Episcopal			1.97***	0.61
			(0.45)	(0.67)
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)			0.30	-0.14
			(0.36)	(0.61)
Other Christian			0.95**	0.10
			(0.31)	(0.54)
Size				
ln Adults (Regular Participants)		0.16†		0.49***
		(0.09)		(0.10)
ln Annual Income		0.21**		0.13*
		(0.06)		(0.06)
ln % 4-year Degrees		0.45***		0.37**
		(0.12)		(0.12)
ln % Poor		-0.08		-0.01
		(0.10)		(0.10)
ln % Rich		0.15		0.08
		(0.10)		(0.10)
% African-American ≥ 80		-0.25		-0.66*
		(0.33)		(0.33)
Census Tract				
Urban		REF		REF
Suburban		0.01		-0.06
		(0.26)		(0.25)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Rural		0.11		-0.03
		(0.27)		(0.26)
Clergy Sex				
Male		-0.67		-0.56
		(0.42)		(0.42)
Clergy Seminary Educated		-0.14		-0.05
		(0.29)		(0.30)
R-squared	0.0091	0.1142	0.0386	0.1435

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

religious organizations, identifying as Pentecostal relates to a congregation's likelihood of participating in social ministry. However, these analyses seem to confirm Wuthnow's (1998) argument for the declining significance of the denomination and Warner's (1994) corollary of the important role the congregation now plays. Congregational factors such as size and income are more influential to social ministry practice than denominational identity.

The second part of my first research question asks whether adherence to Pentecostal practices contribute to whether or not Pentecostal congregations participate in social ministry. In other words, is the relationship of Pentecostalism to social ministry dependent on the ways in which Pentecostalism is defined? Table 5.4 shows descriptive statistics for the variables of interest related to Pentecostal practices. I include the frequency of congregations where congregants have spoken in tongues in the last months to show that although tongues has historically been the distinguishing practice for Pentecostals, this sample displays a noteworthy number of tongues-speaking congregations (totaling 528) apart from just Pentecostals (165). This attests to the growing number of Charismatic congregations within traditional denominations and in non-denominational churches in the United States. I created an index for Pentecostal Worship Practices from variables of church service practices of speaking in tongues; jumping, shouting, or dancing spontaneously; raising hands during worship; and calling out "amen" or other expressions of approval. Pentecostal worship is an important part of Pentecostal identity and ritual (Anderson 2004, Cox 1995).

I created another index for Restrictive Behaviors for congregations' rules or regulations regarding congregant behaviors. As discussed in Chapter 3, Pentecostalism has roots in the Holiness movement and adheres to the doctrine of sanctification which means to be "set apart" from the world. Yamane (1998) writes, "Compared with Americans generally, pentecostals are very traditional on moral issues such as abortion, sex education in schools, premarital and extramarital sex, and homosexuality" (4). He continues, "In general, Pentecostal churches tend to uphold strict codes of behavior, proscribing social dancing, gambling, and the use of tobacco or alcohol, and prescribing self-control and individual achievement" (4-5). I created the index using variables for rules against dancing, smoking, consuming alcohol, homosexuality, cohabitation, and regulations on dating.

The data were limited to certain questions asked in the National Congregations Study which did not include inquiries about restrictions on appearance, such as women wearing jewelry, makeup, pants, or cutting their hair. These practices were an important part of early Pentecostal standards of holiness (Wacker 2001), but only apply to a small portion of Pentecostal denominations today.

Table 5.4 Descriptive Statistics of Pentecostal Practices

Congregation	Frequency	Percent	N	Mean	St. Dev.
Pentecostal	165	6.25	2,642		
Speak in Tongues (in last 12 months)	528	20.11	2,625		
Pentecostal Worship Practices Index			2,740	-0.004	0.73
Restrictive Behaviors Index			1,226	-0.001	0.69

Table 5.5 displays the odds ratios calculated from log odds coefficients for Pentecostal Worship Practices (and control variables) against participation in social ministry. The bivariate analysis shown in Model 1 indicates that congregations who adhere to Pentecostal Worship Practices (Pentecostal or non-Pentecostal) are approximately 24 percent less likely to participate in social ministry than those who do not adhere to these worship practices. In Model 2, when controlling for identification as Pentecostal, adhering to Pentecostal worship practices is only marginally related to social ministry participation. However, Pentecostalism remains significant to a lesser likelihood (65 %) of participating in social ministry. Thus Pentecostal identification is more saliently related to social service practices than expressing Pentecostalism. Model 3 includes the same non-religious control variables presented in Tables 5.1-5.4. When taking into account these congregational factors (e.g., size, income, etc.) that have been shown to affect participation in social ministry, adherence to Pentecostal Worship Practices is no longer significant. So, neither identifying as Pentecostal nor expressing Pentecostalism in worship are as influential in determining participation in social ministry as the congregational factor of size.

Table 5.5 Odds Ratios of Participating in Social Ministry in the Last 12 Months[20]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Pentecostal Worship Practices Index	0.76***	0.90†	0.98
Pentecostal		0.35***	
Size			
ln Adults (Regular Participants)			1.32**
ln Annual Income			0.96
ln % 4-year Degrees			1.24†
ln % Poor			1.04
ln % Rich			1.07
% African-American ≥ 80			0.89
Census Tract			
Urban			REF
Suburban			0.72
Rural			0.95
Clergy Sex			
Male			0.43†
Clergy Seminary Educated			1.35
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1620.80	-1604.31	-402.28
Pseudo R-squared	0.0068	0.0170	0.0412

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

[20] Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors are shown in Appendix 2.

Table 5.6 shows the results of an OLS regression analysis of Pentecostal Worship Practices on the number of social service programs executed by congregations. The bivariate analysis in Model 1 indicates that congregations who adhere to Pentecostal Worship Practices are likely to participate in a slightly less number of programs (0.17) than those who do not. Accounting for the control variables, the worship practices are no longer significant. Congregation size, income, and percentage of college-educated congregants significantly affect number of programs (positively), but only by a small proportion. As with the analysis on Pentecostal self-identification, there is a direct effect of (larger) congregation size on a higher number of social ministries. There is also an effect of greater income and congregants with degrees on the number of ministries a congregation participates in. This follows the results of previous research as previously discussed - that more resources contribute to more social services (Tsitsos 2003, Scott 2003, Levanthal 2002, Chaves 2001, Ammerman, 2001). The other variables, including Pentecostal Worship Practices, seem to be mediated through these significant congregational factors. That is, those congregations with more resources, regardless of their denomination or worship practices, participate in more social resources.

Table 5.6 Effect of Pentecost Worship Practices on Total Number of Social Service Programs (OLS regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Pentecostal Worship Practices Index	-0.17*	-0.05	0.24
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.15)
Pentecostal		-0.91**	
		(0.10)	
Size			
ln Adults (Regular Participants)			0.16†
			(0.09)
ln Annual Income			0.19**
			(0.06)
ln % 4-year Degrees			0.47***
			(0.12)
ln % Poor			-0.09
			(0.10)
ln % Rich			0.15
			(0.10)
% African-American ≥ 80			-0.45
			(0.35)
Census Tract			
Urban			REF
Suburban			0.03
			(0.26)
Rural			0.13
			(0.27)
Clergy Sex			
Male			-0.68†
			(0.42)
Clergy Seminary Educated			-0.02
			(0.30)
R-squared	0.0027	.0093	0.1176

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

The findings in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show that the degree to which churches engage in Pentecostal practices has an indirect effect on the likelihood of engagement in social ministry and the number of social ministries in which congregations are engaged. However, this effect is mediated particularly by congregation size. I also examined whether or not defining Pentecostalism based on beliefs about sanctification (labeled here as restrictive behavioral practices) affects relationships to social ministry. Table 5.7 displays the odds ratios calculated from log odds coefficients for restrictive behavioral practices (and control variables) against participation in social ministry. The bivariate analysis shown in Model 1 indicates that congregations who advocate restrictive behavioral practices (Pentecostal or non-Pentecostal) are approximately 51 percent less likely to participate in social ministry than those who do not promote these rules and restrictions. In Model 2, when controlling for Pentecostal identification, adhering to restrictive practices remains significant as does Pentecostalism. So, both Pentecostal identification and practices associated with the doctrine of sanctification are related to participation in social ministry. (That is, both are less likely to participate – Pentecostals congregations versus non-Pentecostal congregations and congregations who adhere to restrictive behavioral practices versus those who do not.) Model 3 includes most of the same non-religious control variables presented in previous tables[21]. When taking into account these factors that have been shown to affect participation in social ministry, adherence to Restrictive Behavioral Practices remains significant.

[21] Limitations in the data did not allow for a complete model as with the previous variables of interest.

Thus, the support for restrictive behaviors as a reflection of spiritual value or holiness is an important factor in influencing other social behaviors (i.e., participation in social ministry). This is significant whether or not the congregation is Pentecostal and controlling for other congregational factors. Congregation size and the percentage of college-educated congregants are also significant.

Table 5.7 Odds Ratios of Participating in Social Ministry in the Last 12 Months[22]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Restrictive Behavioral Practices Index	0.49***	0.60***	0.61**
Pentecostal		0.30***	
Size			
ln Adults (Regular Participants)			1.48**
ln Annual Income			1.05
ln % 4-year Degrees			1.32*
ln % Poor			0.997
ln % Rich			1.02
% African-American ≥ 80			1.22
Census Tract			
Urban			REF
Suburban			---
Rural			---
Clergy Sex			
Male			0.24†
Clergy Seminary Educated			---
Log pseudo-likelihood	-632.22	-621.77	-278.10
Pseudo R-squared	0.0424	0.0583	0.0922

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

[22] Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors are shown in Appendix 3.

In addressing the question of the likelihood of Pentecostal congregations to participate in social services, I performed regression analyses on various aspects of Pentecostal identity: self-identification as Pentecostal, Pentecostal worship practices, and restrictive behavioral practices. In bivariate analyses, all were significantly related to participation in social ministry. That is, congregations identifying as Pentecostal, participating in Pentecostal worship, or adhering to restrictive behavioral practices are less likely to participate in social ministry than those who do not identify as Pentecostal or do not adhere to these practices. However, when controlling for congregational factors that previous research confirms to influence participation in social ministry, both self-identification as Pentecostal and participating in Pentecostal worship are no longer significantly related to engagement in social ministry. This indicates only an indirect relationship of Pentecostal identity and practice to social ministry mediated through congregational factors, principally congregation size. Thus, churches with more resources are more likely to participate in social ministry regardless of denomination.

Interestingly, even when controlling for the congregational factors, including congregation size, adhering to restrictive behavioral practices remains significantly related to participation in social ministry. That is to say, those who adhere to restrictive behavioral practices are less likely to participate in social ministry than those who do not. I must re-emphasize here that not all Pentecostal congregations adhere to these practices and not all congregations that adhere to these practices are Pentecostal. The doctrine of sanctification, as discussed in

Chapter 3, emerges from the Wesleyan Holiness tradition out of which Pentecostalism traces its roots. An intriguing disconnects arises here with Wesley's emphasis on social ministry as an outward sign of inner piety and Methodism's continued prominence placed on social engagement versus the American holiness movement's shift toward a spiritual addressing of society's woes as a reflection of sin or moral failure. This resulted from a conservative understanding of the Social Gospel in American Protestant as a move towards secularism, which I discuss in Chapter 6. Nonetheless, adherence to restrictive behavioral practices is in an effort to become sanctified, or set apart from the world unto God. This separateness, however, may also separate congregations from their communities and thus lead to a lesser likelihood of participation in social ministry. The analysis here confirms this lesser likelihood of participation.

All in all, these analyses confirm the arguments of scholars such as Ammerman (2005), Chaves (2001), and Wind and Lewis (1994) as to the importance of the congregation to the American religious experience. If the significance of the denomination is declining as Wuthnow (1998) suggests, then the congregation has potentially replaced the denomination as the dominant organizational field for religious action. Congregation size and access to resources influences participation in social ministry more than denominational affiliation, including Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER 6
PENTECOSTALISM, CONSERVATIVISM, AND SOCIAL MINISTRY

As discussed in Chapter 2, Chaves (2001), Tsitsos (2003), Ammerman (2005), and other congregational researchers argue that theologically liberal congregations carry out more social services than conservative congregations. As such, congregations associated with mainline Protestant denominations are more likely to participate in social ministry than conservative Protestant congregations. This supports an overarching historical and theoretical frame illustrated in Wuthnow's (1998) *The Restructuring of American Religion,* where he argues that due to historical events, modernization, and social and cultural change in the twentieth century, the denomination as the guiding organizational field of religion in America has been supplanted by opposing ideologies—ideal types of conservativism and liberalism that cut across denominational boundaries. This has been widely accepted by scholars in congregational studies, and follows the ebb and flow of the sociology of religion's ever-evolving views on organizational religion, particularly American Christianity, from Weber to Herberg to Fink and Stark.

This is no new idea, however, as some would argue that American Christianity has seemed to come full circle from the social gospel and its ensuing response (Lyon 1997). Emerging and developing in the second half of the eighteenth, with its height during the so-called Progressive Era, the social gospel was mainline Protestantism's "higher" response to industrialization, urbanization

and rapid social change (alongside its "worldly" orientation through rationality and education). At a time when Protestantism overall was largely evangelical, but diverging on the ideas of modernity and theology and rationality, liberals and conservatives disagreed on not only their view of society but the means by which to approach it. Although conservatives viewed social upheaval as a sign of the end to come, conversion and the gospel message was the means by which man could evade his ultimate doom. Liberal Protestantism viewed society as ultimately redeemable. Not adhering to a premillenialist theology, mainline Protestants emphasized the Church's responsibility to ameliorate social conditions. According to Browder (2007):

> These Social Ideals were a set of principles passed in 1908 (revised in 1912 and reaffirmed in May 1919) by the Federal Council of Churches, an umbrella group of Protestant churches that had embraced the liberal Social Gospel movement and sought to ameliorate social injustices. They included minimum wages and maximum hours, and a broad set of antipoverty measures (P. 102).

Often called the father of the Social Gospel movement, Walter Rauschenbusch argued for the church as both a spiritual and social haven for society's downtrodden. According to Bowman (2007), "Building upon these ideas, he delineated what he called Christ's laws of service, sacrifice, and love, complete with New Testament references and promised blessings; they required Christians to consecrate their property, effort, and minds to social service" (104). This message had largely evangelical undertones, so according to Flynt (1999), as long as a holistic approach to the gospel was preached, evangelicals did not protest. But when the perception from fundamentalists and conservatives became that social action was the alternative to conversion, the rift between the two

theological camps widened. In fact, the Pentecostal movement emerged from the Holiness response to mainline "worldliness:" the need for spiritual renewal, the premillenialist emphasis on conversion and evangelism, and the empowering of Holy Spirit to accomplish these tasks.

The current view of theological liberalism/conservativism generally reflects this heritage of thought. Walsh (2001) writes, "Serving the general public with social service programs isn't a high priority for many of the nation's conservative Protestants, who emphasize soul winning above all else" (1). And Chaves (2001) adds that "mainline individuals and congregations are, in a variety of ways, more connected to their surrounding communities than are individuals and congregations associated with more evangelical or Conservative traditions" (53-54). Research seems to reinforce this. Referencing Ammerman, Ebaugh (2006) writes:

> The top priority goal for mainline Protestant congregations (55%) is serving the community (compared with 32% for conservative Protestant groups), while conservative Protestant congregations list "spreading the faith" as their top priority (75% of evangelical churches compared with 12% for mainline Protestants). This difference in goal priorities is reflected in the types of outreach programs supported by the two traditions, with 47% of mainline Protestant groups sup porting social services compared with only 25% of evangelical congregations (P. 381).

Some emerging studies, however, have questioned the validity of these claims particularly with regard to social ministry, or have looked at anomalies within the theological camps (mostly focusing on conservatives). For example, Koch (2006) observes a program for AIDS victims within a church where "they understand this work as an expression of that strongly conservative and fundamentalist tradition. This program is supported by a set of values that

ground the church's work at the street-level in a manner reminiscent of Jesus' work with prostitutes and lepers" (405). The program has largely been guided by leadership with an activity mentality and been fueled by community receptiveness. This supports Levanthal's (2002) claim to the interaction of leadership and congregational characteristics. In *Rethinking Restructuring*, Becker (1999) discusses how social ministry often reflects an ethical rather than an ideological ethos. She writes that "…ideas about mission, core tasks, and identity seem to be determined by religious-institutional imperatives that are common among religious organizations and that cut across, rather than reinforce, a liberal/conservative divide" (23).

Here, I reexamine the affect of theological ideology on participation in social ministry. I ask: What is the relationship of Pentecostalism to conservatism and how might this influence Pentecostal congregations' social action? Specifically, do Pentecostals differ from other conservative congregations in their likelihood to participate in social service? And, do Pentecostals participate in different types of social service than other conservative congregations?

Table 6.1 shows the descriptive statistics for the dependent variable (participation in social ministry) and theology (by self-identity – that is, claiming to be more on the conservative side, right in the middle, or more on the liberal side). I also created a binary variable to compare Pentecostals (coded 1) with non-Pentecostal Conservative congregations (coded 0), with non-Pentecostal non-Conservatives excluded from the analysis (coded as missing).

The results of Table 6.1 show (as stated in Chapter 5) that almost 70 percent of Christian congregations participate in social ministry. Conservative churches make up about 55 percent of the general sample, with Liberal congregations at 10 percent. In the delimited sample (Pentecostal versus non-Pentecostal Conservative), Pentecostals make up about 11 percent with other Conservatives at 89 percent. The controls are the same as those discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

Table 6.1 Descriptive Statistics with Theological Variables

Congregation	Frequency	Percent	N	Mean	St. Dev.
Participation in social ministry	1,810	68.82	2,630		
Theology			2,665		
Conservative	1,476	55.38			
Moderate	919	34.48			
Liberal	270	10.13			
Pentecostal versus Non-Pentecostal			1,529		
Conservative	165	10.79			
Pentecostal	1,364	89.21			
Non-Pentecostal Conservative					
Religious			2,642		
Family/Tradition	643	24.34			
Roman Catholic	601	22.75			
Baptist	277	10.48			
Methodist	184	6.96			
Lutheran	152	5.75			
Presbyterian or Reformed	165	6.25			
Pentecostal	76	2.88			
Other					
Mainline/Liberal	77	2.91			
Protestant	178	6.74			
Episcopal					
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)	289	10.94			
Other Christian					
Size			2,740		
Total Persons				2,172.14	5,297.58
Adults (Regular Participants)				708.85	1290.73
Annual Income			2,077	$729,469.6	$1,639,475
% 4-year Degrees			2,433	37.94	26.82
% Poor			2,277	22.86	22.63
% Rich			2,350	13.41	17.58
% African-American ≥ 80	420	15.33	2,740		
Census Tract			1,506		
Urban	1,000	66.40			

Congregation	Frequency	Percent	N	Mean	St. Dev.
Suburban	223	14.81			
Rural	283	18.79			
Clergy Sex			2,630		
Male	2,483	94.41			
Female	147	5.59			
Clergy Seminary-Educ.	1,194	82.40	1,449		

In Table 6.2, I display the odds ratios calculated from log odds coefficients for identifying as a Conservative, Moderate, or Liberal congregation and control variables against participation in social ministry. The analysis shown in Model 1 indicates that (with Conservatives as a reference) congregations identifying as Moderate are 1.76 times more likely to participate in social ministry than Conservative congregations, while Liberal congregations are 2.63 times more likely to be involved than Conservative ones. This confirms previous research (e.g., Chaves 2001) which demonstrates that liberal and moderate Protestants are more likely to engage in social services than conservative Protestants. Model 2 includes the non-religious control variables. When taking into account these factors that have been shown to affect participation in social ministry, interestingly, the difference between Conservatives and Liberals is no longer significant, while Moderates remain about twice as likely as Conservatives to participate. In Model 3, when taking into account religious tradition, Moderates and Liberals are more likely to engage than Conservatives and all traditions are significantly more likely than Pentecostals to participate in social ministry. This indicates that whether or not a congregation is conservative or liberal, if it is Pentecostal, it is less likely to participate in social ministry. When factoring in the controls, however, once again the difference between Conservatives and Liberals is no longer significant, while Moderates remain about twice as likely as Conservatives to participate. Denomination/tradition no longer influences participation. The significant determinant of involvement is congregation size

(adult regular participants) where, as expected, a larger pool of participants increases the likelihood of participation.

In addressing the specific research questions, Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show the results of one-way tests of Chi-square. Table 6.3 examines the relationship to participation in social ministry of Pentecostal congregations versus non-Pentecostal Conservative congregations. The analysis indicates a significant relationship where non-Pentecostal Conservative congregations are more likely to participate in social ministry than are Pentecostal congregations. Table 6.4 examines this relationship with regard to specific types of ministry listed by congregations participating in the National Congregations Study. The significant types of ministry, where in each case non-Pentecostal Conservative congregations are more likely to participate than are Pentecostal congregations, include disaster relief, Habitat for Humanity Projects, and home building, repair or maintenance.

Table 6.2 Odds Ratios of Participating in Social Ministry in the Last 12 Months[23]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Theology				
Conservative	REF	REF	REF	REF
Moderate	1.76***	2.03**	1.42**	1.87**
Liberal	2.63***	1.34	1.88**	1.09
Religious				
Family/Tradition			3.90***	0.44
Roman Catholic			2.44***	0.73
Baptist			3.48***	1.11
Methodist			5.25***	1.03
Lutheran			5.09***	0.92
Presbyterian or			REF	REF
Reformed			3.89***	1.30
Pentecostal				
Other Mainline/Liberal			7.53***	1.16
Protestant			1.60*	0.32†
Episcopal				
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)			2.34***	0.56
Other Christian				
Size				
ln Adults (Regular Participants)		1.27**		1.43**
ln Annual Income		0.97		0.94
ln % 4-year Degrees		1.19		1.20
ln % Poor		1.01		1.05
ln % Rich		1.06		1.03
% African-American ≥ 80		0.81		0.79
Census Tract				
Urban		REF		REF
Suburban		0.72		0.68
Rural		0.95		0.92
Clergy Sex				
Male		0.47		0.54
Clergy Seminary Educated		1.31		1.29
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1553.79	-394.43	-1504.36	-386.23
Pseudo R-squared	0.0182	0.0561	0.0495	0.0757

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

[23] Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors are shown in Appendix 4.

Table 6.3 Pentecostal versus Non-Pentecostal Conservative Congregations and Social Ministry

	Pentecostal	Conservative Not Pentecostal	x^2	p Value
Participate in Social Ministry			33.05	0.000
Yes	70	875		
No	95	464		

Table 6.4 Pentecostal versus Non-Pentecostal Conservative Congregations on Type of Ministry

Type of Ministry	**Pentecostal**	**Conservative Not Pentecostal**	x^2	**p Value**
For victims of rape or domestic violence			0.202	0.653
At least one	2	24		
None	87	748		
Cleaning highways or parks			0.256	0.613
At least one	3	35		
None	86	737		
Clothing or blankets, including rummage sales			0.256	0.613
At least one	13	129		
None	76	643		
Specifically for college students or young adults			0.0996	0.752
At least one	1	12		
None	88	760		
Disaster relief			5.377*	0.020
At least one	4	100		
None	85	672		

Type of Ministry	Pentecostal	Conservative Not Pentecostal	x^2	p Value
Non-religious education			0.000	0.988
At least one	11	95		
None	78	677		
Specifically for senior citizens			0.506	0.477
At least one	10	69		
None	79	703		
Programs focused on issues of race or ethnicity			3.337†	0.068
At least one	0	28		
None	89	744		
Feeding the hungry			0.022	0.884
At least one	42	358		
None	47	414		
Programs targeting men or women in particular			1.015	0.314
At least one	8	98		
None	81	674		
Habitat for Humanity projects			3.899*	0.048
At least one	3	75		
None	86	697		
Programs targeting physical health needs			3.733†	0.053
At least one	10	152		
None	79	620		
Programs targeting the homeless or transients			0.696	0.404
At least one	18	129		
None	71	643		
Home building, repair, or maintenance			8.918**	0.003
At least one	14	239		

Type of Ministry	Pentecostal	Conservative Not Pentecostal	x^2	p Value
None	75	533		
Programs directed at immigrants, migrants, or refugees			0.540	0.463
At least one	1	18		
None	88	754		
Programs targeting people outside the United States			0.058	0.810
At least one	9	72		
None	80	700		
Programs to help people obtain jobs			2.063	0.151
At least one	4	16		
None	85	756		
Specifically for children or youth			0.066	0.797
At least one	25	207		
None	64	565		
Program is nowhere else classified			1.560	0.212
At least one	20	222		
None	69	550		
Programs targeting prisoners or people in trouble with the law and their families			0.158	0.691
At least one	6	44		
None	83	728		
Programs with explicit religious content			0.152	0.697
At least one	11	107		
None	78	665		
Programs focused on			1.285	0.257

Type of Ministry	Pentecostal	Conservative Not Pentecostal	x^2	p Value
crime prevention, crime victims, police and fire departments, military personnel				
At least one	0	11		
None	89	761		
Substance abuse programs			1.067	0.302
At least one	4	20		
None	85	752		
Providing furniture, household items, and money for rent or utilities			0.445	0.505
At least one	10	70		
None	79	702		
St. Vincent de Paul			1.999	0.157
At least one	0	17		
None	89	755		
Explicit volunteering, not including Habitat for Humanity			1.384	0.239
At least one	2	39		
None	87	733		

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

These analyses show that theological orientation does in fact matter overall, however more so between moderate and conservative congregations than between liberal and conservative congregations. This does not fully support previous research. Nevertheless, when looking specifically at Pentecostal congregations versus other conservative congregations (as I do in the chi-square analysis), denominational identity has a stronger effect on participation in social ministry than does adherence to a particular theological orientation.

In Chapter 7, I explore Pentecostal identity more fully as I look to the key informant interviews. What does it mean to be Pentecostal? And how does this identity influence congregational practices?

CHAPTER 7
PENTECOSTAL IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY

As scholarship sends us mixed message as to the potential for Pentecostal involvement in social service, it is important to understand the nuances of Pentecostalism in relation to identity, faith and social ministry. In visiting five very different churches in the Atlanta area, I was able to gather a diversity of perspectives on what Pentecostal identity means and how this relates to Pentecostal practices including outreach. The interviews allowed me to see where these perspectives overlap and where they differ, showing the intersections of denomination and congregation.

In order to more fully understand Pentecostal identity, I asked participants: "What does it mean to be Pentecostal?" The common thread among the responses was the emphasis on the Holy Spirit and reference to Acts Chapter 2 of the Bible. Common themes that emerge among the discussions are the baptism of the Holy Spirit as an experience that takes place in a believer's life apart from, or subsequent to, salvation, i.e., the conversion experience; the application of the gifts of the Spirit in modern (current) times; and the Holy Spirit as an empowering entity for the believer in witness. The first two themes are extremely important in that they separate Pentecostals from other Christian denominations who not believe in the "baptism" of the Holy Spirit apart from salvation (e.g. non-Pentecostal Evangelicals) and those who believe the gifts of the Spirit died with the apostles and the early church (e.g. mainline Protestants).

Pastor Ron came to the "little country church" with a Masters of Divinity degree, to "revitalize the church." He gave an extensive answer to the question on being Pentecostal:

> It places…Pentecostals place a greater emphasis on person and work of the Holy Spirit. That's in general. Um, now, that's what every Pentecostal would agree on – greater emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit.
> So in general it's a greater emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit. And, uh, I am a post-modern missional Pentecostal…which means that I would suggest, and I can argue and defend Biblically, that Pentecostalism has to do with mission. Being a Pentecostal means missions – that's what Acts Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 and the rest of Acts is all about…is being on a mission. And Pentecost was, was the Feast of weeks; it was the fiftieth day after Passover; and it was theologically significant that on the day of Pentecost, Jesus fulfilled the promise that they would be clothed with power in Acts Chapter 2. But the point of Pentecost is Acts Chapter 1 verse 8 and 9 that says: "You're gonna be witnesses." And that's what Pentecostalism should be all about…is being witnesses all over the world.

I then asked him if he thought the church defines being Pentecostal in the same way. He responded as follows:

> Until, before Jan…before let's say March, no. But they're beginning to see that Pentecostal…that being …because I'm preaching right now a sermon series on Sunday nights called The Mission of God and I'm preaching through Acts. Verse by verse all the way through Acts and I'm showing very clearly that…and you know what, people are, people are, you know, people's minds, no, ideas about Pentecostalism is definitely turning here. I can definitely see a shift in their way of thinking because I can show Biblically that this is what it's all about. Before, Pentecostalism was all about the charismatic experience of a relationship, a very charismatic and powerful relationship between God and the individual person. That's what Pentecost meant to them, being blessed in a worship service with this experience. And I'm trying to move this church away from that. And I'm trying to show Biblically that Pentecostalism has everything to do with mission, and this experience is a by-product of that mission.

In the discussion, he also mentions his recently received degree and his being a "missionary's kid." Accordingly, his up-bringing and education have influenced his view of Pentecostalism, and he is passing this on to his church. Because of his intense interest in the topic, I went on to ask how he felt about the traditional view of Pentecostal as being defined by the baptism of the Holy Spirit through speaking in tongues. He replied:

> From the traditional Pentecostals, that's the…well, let me take that back. From 1906 on, it became…For the first, I'd say, thirty years of the revival since 1906, of Pentecostalism, modern Pentecostalism, that theology was filtered through it being a sign of the end times. Ok? Then, as a new generation grew, it became more about the experience of baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. That was, that was what Pentecost was all about. Before, it was the end times and we got to reach people. Then it became a personal experience, and it began to define membership. Now that's, it's shifting back. I think the pendulum is starting to swing back the other way…and many Pentecostals, young Pentecostals, are saying no, no, no, this is not what this is about. It's not about this personal experience – it's about mission. And the pendulum is swinging back. So, baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues is not the end. It is a means to the end. And the end is world evangelization. And it is a gift that God uses to achieve that end.

In other words, the Holy Spirit gives believers power to witness, to convert others to the Christian faith. This is what he means by "mission."

Pastor Vaughn was straight-forward with his response to the question on Pentecostal identity. He answered:

> It is an adherence to, the uh, the second work of grace, which is Acts Chapter 2, Verses 1-4. We believe that, uh, every born-again believer can be Spirit-filled. And by being Spirit-filled, we mean that they can receive a second work of grace into their life. And then when they receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they will speak in other tongues. We believe tongues is a prayer language for every believer who would like to have it,

> and, uh, we believe that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is something given to each believer to help them to be witnesses of the gospel of Jesus Christ. That's why Pentecostal churches grow, it's because they're evangelistic.

He emphasized the baptism of the Holy Spirit as an experience marked by speaking in tongues that will help the believer to tell others about the Christian faith. This reflects a more classical standpoint within Pentecostalism in that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues go hand-in-hand. In other words, speaking in tongues is the "initial evidence" of Holy Spirit baptism. I also asked the question on Pentecostal identity to the Hispanic pastor of Church #2. He answered as follows:

> Pentecostal is not a religion. Pentecostal is not something that you do, something that you convert to. Pentecost is an experience, uh, and I take that from Acts chapter 2. Then, when Acts chapter 2 happened, it was the baptism of the Holy Spirit. It was not a religion, it was an experience. And I, and I emphasis that because a lot of people in our Spanish congregation come from a Catholic background. And I never…during that, I never once down-graded their religion, but I represented Pentecost as an experience with God that will change their entire life. That's why we…the title of our Spanish ministry, we call our Spanish ministry…our name is *Encuentro*, which means encounter. And one of the things…that's one of the things I say every single Sunday is that we don't represent a religion. We don't represent legalism. We represent Jesus Christ and through an encounter, an encounter and experience with Him will change your entire life.

So, the Hispanic Pastor distinguishes between Pentecostalism as an experience and Pentecostalism as a religion. To many Pentecostals, religion is about ritual, while it should be about relationship. The pastor expresses this when he says, "We don't represent legalism." This helps him to make a distinction between

Pentecostalism and Catholicism to his congregants. He does this by emphasizing the *experience* of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Pastor Percy, the pastor of the inner-city church, gave a brief answer to the question. He simply said:

> Living out the Book of Acts – I guess Chapter 2; believing in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Chapter 12 of I Corinthians… 13 and 14…12, 13, and 14[24].

His son, a congregational song leader of the church gave a similar answer:

> Um, like believing in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, like speaking in tongues, healings, those type of things.

Church #3 is so much different than the other churches, in terms of aesthetics and atmosphere. The church meets in a local gymnasium, dress is more casual, and the atmosphere is much more laid-back in relation to time and organization. The church reflects the urban vibe of the community. When I asked a few church attendees what it meant to be Pentecostal, some of them had never heard the word Pentecostal. Church #3 placed a lesser emphasis on being Pentecostal and a greater emphasis on being an inclusive place of worship.

Pastor Vance, from the more rural of the churches, answered the question on Pentecostal identity from the perspective of attending the Missionary Baptist Church quite a bit growing up. He discussed how, in Alabama (where he was "born and reared"), there was some dissention between the Baptists and

[24] These Scriptural chapters discuss the "gifts of the Spirit," which are abilities given by the Holy Spirit to believers for the benefit of both the believer and the Church. These include gifts of wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miraculous powers, prophecy, distinguishing of spirits, speaking in tongues to the church in a message, and interpretation of tongues or the ability to interpret the message of tongues given to the church (from the New International Version). Different abilities are given to different believers, as the Holy Spirit determines. There are guidelines for these gifts, also discussed in these chapters.

Pentecostals about who was saved, or born again. And his answer seems to reflect both the commonalities and differences among Pentecostals and other Christians:

> Pentecostal…goes back to the term in my def…alright…the day of Pentecost in Acts 2…when the church, uh, the early church…when Jesus had told them to go back to Jerusalem and tarry until you'll be endued with the power from on high… and the baptism in the Holy Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost. That's to me where the term Pentecostal…that we believe in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in other tongues…as the evidence that you have received, uh, the baptism.

He goes on then to illustrate what it means to be "baptized in the Holy Spirit" using a Styrofoam cup and a larger container of water.

> Just looking at this cup has water in it – we think of the Spirit. I mean, when a person gets saved, they get the Holy Sp…God only has one kind of Spirit, the Holy Spirit. People say 'Oh, you only get the Spirit when you get the baptism.' No, when a person is saved…when God puts his Spirit inside of a person, that's the Holy Spirit. So, I don't care if you are Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, Catholic, Timbuktu, whoever…when they are born'd again of the Spirit of God, they get a measure…I mean, you get the Holy Spirit. Now, I can't show it fully…but there's a difference in having the Spirit in you (if this other one was deep enough) and being baptized. The one right here [Styrofoam cup] has water in it, but if this container were large enough, that cup would be totally submerged in water. [Container full of water and when cup is placed in container, it is submerged in water; thus, the cup is filled and overflowing with the water unlike having water in it apart from the container]. Not only does the cup have water in it, but the water has the cup…
> So, the Pentecostal church believes in being submerged in the Spirit, not just having a measure of the Spirit in you but being in the Spirit to the extent that the Spirit is in you…the Spirit covers and completely surrounds you. That way…here the cup controls the water because the shape of the cup controls the shape of the water. But when this is totally [submerged], the water controls the cup…if it's totally baptized…
> That, to me, is what the Pentecostal experience is like…

He then goes on to talk about how, in their church services, he comes prepared with a sermon, but sometimes the Holy Spirit "leads" him in another direction – it may be in singing or prayer or other forms of expression. In observing Pentecostal churches, I have come to understand that this is an important part of Pentecostal worship – allowing some flexibility in the order of the church service for what Pentecostals call "a move of the Spirit," where the pastor or church leaders hear from the Holy Spirit to go in a different direction with the church service. Typically, the pastor will announce to the congregation that he feels "led of the Spirit" to deviate from the service order. This occurred in a service I attended in Atlanta. The pastor told his parishioners that he had a sermon prepared to deliver, but "felt led" to have a time of congregational singing instead. The spiritual divergence element also distinguishes Pentecostal worship from other Christian denominations, such as Catholics or Lutherans, who utilize the liturgy, or worship ritual in their worship services.

In looking for churches to visit and having exhausted my contacts with the Assemblies of God, I began searching the Church of God (Cleveland, TN) for churches in the north Atlanta area. I called and sent e-mails, targeting multi-cultural churches or churches with outreaches to immigrants or multi-ethnic populations. Through my inquiries, I came across an Indian church and was able to make contact with the pastor. We communicated by email and set up a phone interview and visit to the church. I asked the pastor similar questions to those I had asked the others, but kept the door open for the conversation to diverge.

What I found through the interview and my visit to the church reinforced my findings regarding cultural influences and substantiated the research of many writers on religion and immigration.

The church was formed in 1996 by a group of people in the Atlanta area originally from the same southern Indian state (Kerala) that wanted to worship together in their own language. According to Pastor Victor, the majority of those attending now are the original charter members. About 90% are naturalized citizens or citizens by birth (the children of the naturalized citizens), while the remaining are still immigrants. I asked how the other congregants came to know about the church and the pastor replied:

> The Indians basically have advertisement at different conventions to let other people we are here at our church. Also, we let other church people know passing through with letter that we are starting a church, but are not trying to pull anybody from other churches, but just let them know if anyone is not attending a church, let them know that we are here. But most of the people come to the church through their friendship or some kind of relationship, or through knowing the people and things like that. And, some people are coming to the church because they have problems and they want spiritual guidance and things like that. So, there are different ways that they come to church.

He also referred me to the church's website[25], which reads: "The growth of the church is attributed to an adherence to the doctrines of Pentecostal faith and earnest prayer of the believers of GFGA….Formed as an independent church, GFGA merged with the Church of God, Cleveland, TN in 1998." The church started in a home, and is now located in a storefront building that has been

[25] http://www.gfgaonline.org/

remodeled on the inside with a small platform for the speakers and music leaders and padded chairs for the congregants.

In a typical church service (as the one I attended), they follow a custom of separation of men and women. The men sit on one side while the women sit on the other. The women cover their heads[26] with scarves. They conduct services in both Malayalam and English, with the youth leading the English worship. The (English) music is very similar to that of the non-indigenous churches I visited. The pastor preaches in both languages. This is a very important aspect of the church, as the pastor says, "…they feel comfortable worshipping in their language." This follows the argument of Hirschman (2004), who states: "Immigrants, like the native born, have spiritual needs, which are most meaningful when packaged in a familiar linguistic and cultural context" (1207-1208).

According to Hagan and Ebaugh (2003), for immigrants, the church in the host country provides social networks and preservation of culture. Hirschman (2004) says that "…many immigrants, historical and contemporary, joined or founded religious organizations as an expression of their historical identity as well as their commitment to building a local community in their new country" (1207). In speaking with Pastor Victor, I wanted to get a sense of how the members of the Indian church perceive identity, with regard to being Pentecostal, with regard to being *Malayalam* Pentecostals, and also how, as an indigenous

[26] "If a woman does not cover her head, she should have her hair cut off; and if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut or shaved off, she should cover her head" (I Corinthians 11:6, *New International Version*).

church, they understand their relationship to the larger church institution. Without asking directly, I wanted to get a feel for whether or not they would *want* to be a part of a non-indigenous church if they were targeted for outreach by them. I asked him very similar questions to those I asked the other pastors, but allowed the conversation to divert when necessary.

When asked what it means to be a Pentecostal Christian, Pastor Victor responded:

> For me, Pentecostalism is an experience. It is not a religion, it is an experience. To me, that is very important. Let me make sure that I clarify my statement. Pentecostal, just for the name sake is not going to do anything. You have to be true Christian …saved, baptized, believe in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and one step further…you have to be living in the newness of Christ. You need those four things and that means a lot to me, and that means a lot to the church people…. People have to see the difference in you. When you say you are Pentecostal, they have to see what the difference is in them and you. You have to live by the fruits of the Spirit. You have to show them. You have to have compassion for other people. You have to have a missionary attitude. You have to have love, to have peace, to have joy, all those things. People have to see those things to be your lifestyle or there's no point in saying "I'm Pentecostal." That's what the Bible teaches.

Interestingly, he does not place too much emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He mentions it, but does not attempt to identify it as the distinguishing factor of Pentecostalism. Much like the Hispanic pastor in the large, exurban church, he talks about the *experience* of Pentecostalism and how one's lifestyle is a reflection of this experience. He refers to a "missionary attitude," which relates to Pastor Ron's description of the Holy Spirit empowering believers for mission, or the sharing of one's faith.

Pentecostals thus identify with other Christians in the salvation experience, but distinguish themselves by ascertaining a distinct experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Their identity is manifested primarily in the worship experience where the gifts of the Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, are demonstrated freely and openly. From my observations, I found their music to be vibrant and energetic. Church services have a typical order, including corporate worship through music, corporate prayer, the receiving of (monetary) offerings, and a pastoral address or sermon; however, the Spirit may "lead" the pastor in another direction, such as to song or prayer. An Assemblies of God Pentecostal may not be distinguishable from other Protestant Christians, however, outside the worship (church) setting. This follows Wacker's thesis about primitive and pragmatic tendencies. He devotes an entire chapter to the subject of Pentecostal worship and how they "discerned order within disorder, reason within unreason" (111). He also devotes a chapter to social demographics to show how the Pentecostal was[27] the *typical* American. If the Pentecostal experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit empowers believers for Christian witness and outreach, we would expect Pentecostals to reach out to their communities; however, as "typical Americans," they may be mixed in their views on religious involvement in social service.

When delving into the topic of social ministry, I asked them to broadly define community and then asked about their specific communities. I also asked about their perceived responsibility to these communities.

[27] Wacker's text addresses first-generation Pentecostals in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Pastor Ron responded with an optimistic eye on the future:

> This church is internally focused. But that's changing….Because I am going to make it an externally focused church. And when you become an externally-focused church, and you focus on the community around you in trying to reach those people that are around you, then you must address immigration, you must address various cultures, you must address various religions and ethnicities, um socioeconomic backgrounds. You have to address it when you become an externally focused church. This church hasn't been.

I asked him how he plans to implement this, and he replied:

> I don't know yet. Um, well, Step One is founding out who's there. Step two is finding out what their needs are. Step Three, meeting those needs. And then, Step Four, moving them into…[ministry]. This is essentially our model of ministry here…it's connect to God, connect to people, and connect to purpose. And what we're trying to do is move people into the church, into a place of ministry inside and outside the community. …But the idea is, is that churches who do the least amount of things and focus on what's really important, they get the most done. We have to understand who the community is around and then strategically…or not strategic…and then on an analytical level, finding out what their needs are, and then meeting those needs, and *then* move them into a service.

When I asked about challenges, he mentioned:

> Financial challenges…'cause once you identify those needs you want to meet those needs.

So, this church has not traditionally been an outreach church, but the new leadership is pursuing change. It would be interesting to follow up a few years down the road to see if this progress has been made.

For Pastor Vaughn, social ministry is an important outflow of the church's mission. Because the church is large with adequate resources, they have been able

to develop ministries around the needs of the congregation and local community.

He says:

> Um, to me, community is, would be, relationships. And those people that you're directly connected with…have all races and socio-economic backgrounds. And I, and I really think our church models our community pretty, pretty good. In fact, it's the most racially diverse church in south Atlanta. And probably our staff is the most racially, gender, and age-related diverse staff in probably metro Atlanta.

In a second interview, followed up on a discussion we had about Pentecostals and outreach. Here is how I approached the topic:

> We had talked last time bout an earthly kingdom and a Heavenly Kingdom. I have been doing some research and one of the critics of Pentecostals in the past is that basically they are so focused on end times or the Second Coming of Christ, knowing that they are going to leave the world that they don't bother themselves with the social welfare of others.

And he replied:

> Maybe some Pentecostals believe that, but by and large the Assemblies missions program is second to none. And the reason it is second to none is that we are building schools, hospitals, feeding programs, orphanages, Bible Colleges all over the world and even on the home front, we are very involved in our community to such an extent that every year they have a favorite church of the week, and our churches gets it almost every year.

I also talked with the Hispanic Pastor about their specific ministries to the community. He responded:

> So, we have a heart for the Hispanic community, um, 'cause there's so many needs. There's so many needs and that's one of our projects this coming year as well…it's just how better can we can serve the Hispanic community. Because right now what we are dealing with is, uh, a lot of people have lost their jobs. Because of the economy there really is no construction going on. So there is a lot of low income families. So one of the questions that raised up in our mind, me and the leaders, is how better can we serve the Hispanic community?

When asked what he felt his responsibility to the community was, he replied:

> Uh, just to really be a pastor here and really minister to them. Uh, they need help, any help they can get. And my job here is to just minister to them, to preach Jesus to them, and to just love on them while they are here. Some are here just temporary, some are here, you know, for a longer time. And us as a church we are just here to be here for them.
>
> We will be having pretty soon an English course this coming year. Um, more like an English class. That's not going to be a form of outreach. I've been looking at it from the sense of before when we would do outreaches we would do it like as far as like a service within the community, like a Spanish service or something within the community on the streets. Uh, a lot of them won't come out to that because they don't know who to trust. But if… One of the things we we'll be building up is, you know, a job list opportunity. You know, just getting where we could be a resource here, uh, for them to find jobs and I can give them a list on how to finds jobs. Uh, we're going to be starting English classes- so they can learn English. Um, we have different things over here as far as, um, with the Women's ministries. We have stuff for Men's ministries here. Um, I have a couple that's starting, it's more of, um it's going to be a couple's ministry over here. So we have some stuff for the community as well, you know and the people in our church. Cause we want to involve the community in that.

He also referred me to others in the church:

> A good person to meet with is a lady that- and I 'm not sure if this helps- she's a lady, she's from Panama, she has a ministry here, um and I can talk to her cause she may be good. She, um, she helps women that come out of prison, um and helps them get back on their feet. And there's different people that she has in her ministry. It's not a ministry a part of the Hispanic ministry. It's her ministry; it's called Women of Excellence. That's something that she does within the community. And then there's another lady in the Spanish ministry that she helps out with some translation, um, translation services. As far as you know, like when people have to go to court, she'll translate for them. So she's in the community quite a bit herself.

As the largest of the churches, it has both religious and social ministries as a part of the church and within the community.

Pastor Percy's church is very urban. Previous research and the findings in the previous two chapters have demonstrated that urban churches and churches located within low-income areas are more likely to participate in social ministry. This is true of the church here. In fact, it has probably the most extensive outreach of all the churches, even though it is not the largest in size. I participated with the pastor and some of his parishioner in a Saturday outreach passing food out to needy families in the surrounding neighborhoods. We also visited a home for people living with AIDS. The mission and vision of the church are centered around "acts of kindness" and meeting needs as part of showing the "love of Christ."

When asked about the community, Pastor Percy said:

> Community…we love our neighborhood. We're friends with our neighborhood. We're impacting our neighborhood. This street is a notorious. We had shootings everyday here; we had drug dealings. Today, not one drug dealer in this block and other blocks as well. We feed the hungry, the homeless at the church. We took over 50,000 pounds to single moms, delivered to their homes, sat with them every week. We are the largest give-away program at Christmas in Atlanta. We just love the community.

Well, how would you define your local community?

> How would I define it? Poor, violent. Excluding our impact: visionless, hopeless entrapped, angry…We deal with about 5,000 people every week.

So, the church here sees the great need of their surrounding community and works to meet both spiritual and physical needs. They received donations from outside sources to help fund these ministries. They also have volunteers from other churches within the denomination to help with the execution. They offer

internships for those wanting to start or participate in similar ministries elsewhere. All this helps to offset the costs of implementation.

In a diametrically opposite setting is Pastor Vance's church. For him, social ministry is an outflow of one's faith. He has big dreams for his church – specific ones – but is impeded by the need for manpower and money. He says:

> [Community is…] anybody that lives in the outreach of the church. That fits in with the Lord's vision for this church I shared with the previous pastor, bur never went anywhere because it was my vision not his. I grew up in church I have been in church all my life. I have seen the church in a sense walk around with hands out asking the community to help them. God gave me burden and vision to see church turn into outreach. We have 12 acres and looking for grants or a way to get some grants to buy a highway…road turns little ways with pine trees at back of the property. We want to buy land to build single-family homes for elderly close to the church. Softball field, walking track open to community. Gymnasium room with sewing machines for others to teach community to sew for their kids. Teach computers – we wanted to start this fall with a tutoring service for the community. We have a man that does crafts and a couple of contractors for wood shop so folks can come in and learn something. Have a place for elderly people's cars to service automobiles. We want to move from a church where the community thinks we want their money…And it takes money to pay bills but we want to give back. That is the vision I have to make this church a service church to reach whoever we can reach. It is whoever God puts in our hands and that is who we serve.

When asked about his responsibility to the community, he replies:

> Do all we can to serve them to offer spiritual counsel and direction for their lives. Offer services…like moving into the service direction because if we can offer them help and meet some physical needs they'd be a whole lot more inclined to come and be part of our church by offering to serve them. That is what we want to do is to serve them. We want to minister to whatever their needs are…kids…tutoring…if we can help them in whatever way, then that is what we want.

And the challenges:

> Finding folks willing to work…the Lord gave me the vision and he will send me the helpers but finding some folks willing to do these things. They can talk but may not be willing when it comes time to do it – that's the challenge we face. I have some folks but my right hand man is hard to find and people like him are hard to find. A retired contractor that went with us to Alabama to cut grass…so there are different ones stepping up to help. They're coming out of the woodwork so to speak to be a part…just need to know where…to make it reality and reach the folks we want to reach.

I also asked a similar question to Pastor Vance as I did to Pastor Vaughn. Referencing the premillenialist stance so often referred to in the literature, I asked if Pentecostals were more focused on a heavenly kingdom then an earthly one. He responded:

> Sadly…have you ever heard the saying you are no earthly good? Only after I got older and began to study and look into it did I get my parents to [even] start voting…so many of early pence. I think they were looking that we should just pray for God to take care of things instead of taking part of what is here. We've got people that are in our area living in substandard homes so we need to serve. As Christians we are guaranteed a heavenly home. I think I mentioned that if we don't reach out and touch people out yonder then we're not changing anything in order to be effective. We know where we're going but the Bible didn't just say to just walk in say we're going to heaven, but he gave that [Holy Spirit] to me to empower me to make a difference. I think we're seeing more of that mindset than in the past but there was a time to a great extent where we believed that if people wanted to come then the door was open, and didn't see the part of going out and bringing in those who don't have that heavenly hope.

This church's stance on social ministry corresponds with what Levanthal (2002) found in that clergy orientation/attitude toward service activities and involvement in local advocacy efforts affect the church's response or likelihood of participating in social services. With the proper resources, this church could likely have viable community outreach. Similarly with Church #1, a follow-up would be beneficial to see if progress has been made.

When I ask Pastor Victor to define community, he talks about "…all the people that live in the area…includes Indiana, Americans, African-Americans, Whites, Hispanics;" but when I ask him about the growing immigrant population in the area, he refers to Indian immigrants. He says:

> Yes, there are a lot of Indians who moved here and a lot of other groups here. A lot of Indians from other areas have moved here. Most of the people who moved in are nurses or a major profession, some doctors… There is a large group of Indians here, but not, let's say, Christians. There are a lot of Hindus around here that I know of. They even have their own mall and business center. Several temples here. They actually built a large temple a few miles from our church, and things like that.

So, being Indian is an important aspect of identity, but more so being Indian Christian. They operate in an intersection of moral geographies, both religion and ethnicity.

So then, do members of the Indian church reach out to immigrant community around them, including different ethnic groups? Or, do they mainly target those with which they share those intersections of identity: immigrant, Indian, Christian? Pastor Victor explained:

> This year in our board meeting we have been talking about different programs to reach the community, but we haven't been able to establish that yet. The group of Indians is a little bit different in the way the American churches are organized. The young people growing up here are more exposed to the American culture and they want to do things in the community. And we have been talking about doing that here. Some are personally involved in some of the mission work in the South American countries, third world countries, and underdeveloped countries. Those are the things we do.
>
> There is a very difficult situation even though some of the people would like to reach out to the community expanded, some people don't feel

> comfortable in going out to the community. They just want to reach the Indians. But again, like I said, those growing up here…the young people would like to reach out to the community regardless of where they are from – Caucasian, African-American, Indian, Hispanics. You know, it doesn't matter. They would like to reach out to them. That's the young people. But the first generation have a language problem and if they go out it would be hard for them.

Thus, even for immigrant or indigenous churches, there are barriers to reaching different ethnic immigrant groups. And Pastor Victor's response to his responsibility to the immigrant community was very similar to the other pastors I interviewed. He answered:

> My responsibility if they come for spiritual help is to provide spiritual help and spiritual enrichment and also teach the Word of God, and let them know about salvation. As a pastor, to care for them and attend to their needs and provide spiritual help, personal enrichment, teach the Word of God through Sunday school or Bible study. And to also make sure that they do understand the Word of God and teach them and their children about the Word of God.

As a Pentecostal minister, the responsibility is to provide spiritual and moral guidance to parishioners and others who request life direction. This is not to the exclusion of anyone; nonetheless, the elder members of the church find comfort in an ethnic religious experience.

In relating these findings to the framework of moral geographies, we see how Pentecostals embrace many identities – religious, political, and social, with the potential for inclusiveness or exclusivity. McAlister (2005), discussing Shapiro (1994), writes, moral geographies "'consist of a set of silent ethical assertions,' that mark connection and separation, and that shape politics and

culture" (251). In other words, moral geographies establish boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that influence mainstream culture. Brace, Bailey and Harvey (2006), from the field of geography, write about "geographies of religion." They argue that "in order to understand the construction and meaning of society and space, it is vital to acknowledge that religious practices, in terms both of institutional organization and of personal experience, are central not only to the spiritual life of society but also to the constitution and reconstitution of that society" (29). Thus, the actions of religious groups affect the larger society. Hence, how religious groups, including Pentecostals, respond to their communities has the potential to affect society as a whole. According to Edgell, Gerteis and Hartmann (2006) in discussing *moral boundaries*, "in a society in which religion is voluntary, pluralistic, and separate from the state, scholars have tended to understand religion as 'a fundamental category of identity and association' that is 'capable of grounding both solidarities and identities,' a boundary that fosters belonging" (212). They discuss how boundaries of exclusion are minimally referenced. But boundaries of exclusion are as equally important to cohesive relations among groups within society.

On the whole, this shows us (following Wacker's frame) that Pentecostals *do* have to balance between the primitive and pragmatic, the other-worldly and the mundane. All have positive outlooks on reaching out to their communities. The largest of the churches and the urban church make concentrated efforts in different ways to reach their local communities. Two of the churches have numerical and financial restraints and the "ethnic" church must balance between

cultural nuances and congregant expectations. Through this qualitative study, I come to understand why research sends us mixed messages. Through survey data, we find that Pentecostal identity is in fact a contributor to a lower likelihood of participation in social ministry. Case studies show us, however, that this is not always the case. For some Pentecostal congregations, as seen here, identity (especially with regard to Holy Spirit baptism) is about empowerment to witness and to serve.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

Through this study, I sought to examine the relationship of the Pentecostal Church to social ministry at the congregation level. I found that Pentecostal churches are less likely than non-Pentecostal churches to participate in social ministry. When controlling for various factors, Pentecostal identity is more important than theological orientation in determining likelihood of service, but not as important in comparison to congregational characteristics such as size and income. This confirms the findings of most congregational research; however, it challenges the notion that the denomination is not as viable as theological orientation in organizational identity.

From interviewing Pentecostal pastors, I found that Pentecostal identity is important to the local congregation and is a significant factor in expressions of worship and outreach practices. With regard to community outreach, as I found with Church #2, larger churches have the potential to reach out to the community with more resources, e.g., more staff and church workers, larger facilities, and more money to offer services. Nevertheless, the average church size in the Assemblies of God is 130-140 in membership and/or Sunday morning attendance[28]. So, most churches are relatively small and potentially limited in resources (as with Church #1 and #4), and this creates an indirect link between Pentecostalism and social ministry as shown in both my qualitative and

[28] http://ag.org/top/About/Statistics/Statistical_Report_Summary.pdf

quantitative analysis. Pentecostal congregations are less likely to engage in social ministry, but the relationship is mediated; small churches are less likely to engage in social ministry, and most Pentecostal congregations are small.

Thus, congregation size is one of the most daunting challenges to engaging in social ministry or to offering any type of services to residents in areas surrounding the churches, other than the benefits (personal, social and spiritual) of church attendance. This being said, the early Pentecostal church functioned on very limited resources and largely grew by word of mouth. As I discovered with Church #1, resource limitations may not be the only barrier to becoming involved. Church histories of attitudes toward social ministry also inhibit churches from expanding beyond its current attendance and as with Church #5 ethnic and cultural boundaries may pose challenges for leaders who must balance between the well-being of the congregation and the well-being of the community.

In examining the relationship between Pentecostal congregations and congregational social service activities, I addressed specific research questions. First, how likely are Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry? Bivariate regression analyses show that Pentecostal congregations are less likely than non-Pentecostal congregations to participate in social ministry. How does Pentecostal congregational identity influence this probability? Does self-identification of congregations as Pentecostal, adherence to Pentecostal beliefs and/or practices contribute to whether or not Pentecostal congregations participate in social service or community outreach? Pentecostal identity is important. NCS survey participants self-identify as Pentecostal either by

denomination or tradition. This identity relates to both worship practices and restrictive behaviors. Bivariate regression analyses with each of these identifiers demonstrate a lesser likelihood to participate in social ministry when either identifying as Pentecostal, participating in Pentecostal worship practices, or adhering to restrictive behavioral practices. Analyses controlling for congregational factors show only an indirect relationship between Pentecostal identity and social ministry. Congregation size and resources directly effect likelihood to participate. Large churches, regardless of denomination, participate more frequently and in more programs of social ministry. Congregations that adhere to the holiness doctrine of sanctification as expressed in restrictive behaviors (Pentecostal or not) are less likely to participate in social ministry than those who do not follow such practices. When asked about Pentecostal identity in interviews, church leaders reference the Holy Spirit in reference in both belief and practice.

Second, what is the relationship of Pentecostalism to conservatism and how does this influence Pentecostal congregations' social action? Pentecostal congregations are more likely to hold a conservative theological orientation than non-Pentecostal congregations. According to previous research discussed and regression analyses, conservative congregations are less likely to participate in social ministry than moderate and liberal churches. When including congregational control variables, moderate congregations are more likely to participate in social ministry than are conservative congregations. Do Pentecostals differ from other conservative congregations in their likelihood to

participate in social service? Chi square analyses show no significant difference in likelihood to participate in social ministry between Pentecostal congregations and non-Pentecostal conservative congregations. Do Pentecostals participate in different types of social service than other conservative congregations? Chi square analyses demonstrate that non-Pentecostal congregations are more likely than Pentecostal congregations to participate in disaster relief, Habitat for Humanity, and home repair projects. Pentecostal congregations do not participate more in any type of project than their non-Pentecostal conservative counterparts.

Lastly, what are the responses of Pentecostal churches and members of those churches to their local communities? What do Pentecostals feel is their responsibility or obligation to the community? From quantitative analyses, Pentecostal churches (as relayed through clergy and church leaders) see a need for reaching out to their communities in both a religious and social capacity. Churches are constrained by congregational attitudes toward outreach and congregational resources. These constraints may prevent certain churches from participating in social ministry; however, some Pentecostal churches appeal for outside resources to accomplish the spiritual and social missions of the church.

Implications

Issues of identity are very complex. Pentecostals operate within moral geographies of race/ethnicity, nationality, political and cultural ideals and

practices. The Pentecostal Church emerged from the Holiness movement, claiming to be "set apart" from the world, following the Scripture's call to holiness: "for it is written: 'Be holy because I am holy'" (I Peter 15:16). This meant a lifestyle of sacredness, not being part of the secular culture with its moral ambivalence and selfish motivations. For early Pentecostals[29], this meant not going to the cinema or the drive-ins, students not going to pep-rallies or sports events, women not wearing make-up, jewelry or pants. Their identity was as much outward as inward. Highly critical of the established Christian Church of the day, Pentecostals were nonetheless fundamentally evangelical, reaching out to "whosoever will[30]" including all classes, races, and ethnicities. Throughout history, spirit-filled believers endured grave persecution (see Anderson 2004, Chapter 2). They were criticized for their counter-cultural practices, especially their eccentric expressions of worship, particularly speaking in tongues. Commenting on the academic study of Pentecostalism, Dayton (1987) writes, "Until recently, say a generation ago, Pentecostalism was seen as a movement of illiterates, 'hillbillies,' 'rednecks,' 'snakehandlers,' or 'holly rollers,' who were at the margins of culture but who would remain there, without needing or leaving literature of much notice" (10). As Pentecostalism began to grow and spread throughout the world, it has been acknowledged as a viable faction of Christianity, pertinent to be studied for its contribution to the religious community and society as a whole.

[29] Some modern Pentecostals still follow strict rules of separateness.
[30] "Whosoever will" is a reference to Scripture. The term is used often in the King James Version, e.g., Mark 8:34, to mean *anyone*.

But as Pentecostalism began to appeal to more people, it also had to accommodate new cultural forms of identity. Some adherents would call it a tragedy. The dominant culture began to influence the US Pentecostal Church. Their identity turned largely inward, an identity of personal belief. Pentecostals are still known for their emphasis on the Holy Spirit and vibrant expressions of worship, including speaking in tongues. However, such expressions are typically only seen in the church setting, where only Pentecostals are present to witness and experience it. Even still, Pentecostalism continues to grow in the United States (though modestly) amidst shrinking numbers in other Protestant denominations. Interestingly, the Hartford Institute for Religion Research argues that a good deal of this growth comes from immigrants, particularly Latinos (http://hirr.hartsem.edu/research/quick_question32.html). If this is truly the case, immigrants may be growing the Pentecostal Church in the United States, without being targeted for outreach by established US Pentecostal denominations, from Latin America where Pentecostal growth is occurring at much larger rates. This implies that the Pentecostal Church will thrive among immigrants from countries where Pentecostalism is on the rise.

In essence, boundary-formation can separate groups of people that may have common identities in one or more areas. Pentecostals have a common spiritual identity, with common beliefs and forms of worship; however, boundaries of cultural, ethnic, and national identity (among others) keep churches segregated. Denominationalism also plagues the Pentecostal church,

and the Christian Church as a whole, by separating believers based on organizational or theological differences. Because moral geographies establish boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that influence mainstream culture, how religious groups (such as Pentecostals) respond to their communities both religiously and socially has the potential to affect society as a whole.

Future Research

Although this study examines the concepts of the belief/behavior dichotomy and identity with regards to Pentecostal congregations and social ministry, it is largely limited in scope. Future studies should continue to investigate statistical relationships between various types of congregations and participation in social ministry, particularly as survey data continues to be updated. More research needs to be done on the relationship between denomination and theological orientation to understand the intersections of identity between the two.

Further qualitative studies could lead to a better understanding of Pentecostal-community relations in the United States by looking at all types of Pentecostal churches. Are there differences, for example, between varying denominations (e.g., Assemblies of God, Church of God, and Foursquare Gospel)? Are there differences between tradition denominational Pentecostal congregations and non-denominational Pentecostal churches? Case studies open

the door to further exploring the discrepancies and anomalies in research as with Koch's (2006) study.

With regards to global Pentecostalism, Miller and Yamamori (2007) tells us that Pentecostals are the "new face of social engagement" (1). But Harvey Cox (2008) in his review of Miller and Yamamori argues that "the authors wisely limit themselves to the non-Western world" (108). Are Pentecostal congregations in the United States unwilling to participate in social ministry? Is social engagement not a priority for them? The Pentecostal tenet of adherence to Scripture points Pentecostals in the direction of loving their neighbors and sharing their faith. The particularly poignant emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit adds the vital component of empowerment to witness and unity among all nationalities through glossolalia. These factors open the door for Pentecostals to reach out to their communities in viable ways. Results from quantitative analysis tell us this is not likely the case. History gives mixed reviews. Case studies show us promise.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Logistic Regression Analysis on Participating in Social Ministry (Regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Self-Identified Pentecostal	-1.18***	0.41	REF	REF
	(0.16)	(0.50)		
Religious Family/Tradition				
Roman Catholic			1.47***	-0.65
			(0.18)	(0.54)
Baptist			0.86***	-0.38
			(0.18)	(0.52)
Methodist			1.40***	0.27
			(0.21)	(0.57)
Lutheran			1.75***	0.16
			(0.25)	(0.59)
Presbyterian or Reformed			1.75***	-0.03
			(0.26)	(0.61)
Other Mainline/Liberal Protestant			1.48***	0.34
			(0.31)	(0.93)
Episcopal			2.31***	0.28
			(0.39)	(0.71)
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)			0.32	-1.22*
			(0.22)	(0.60)
Other Christian			0.83***	-0.60
			(0.20)	(0.54)
Size				
ln Adults (Regular Participants)		0.28**		0.37**
		(0.09)		(0.11)
ln Annual Income		-0.05		-0.06
		(0.06)		(0.06)
ln % 4-year Degrees		0.23*		0.21†
		(0.12)		(0.12)
ln % Poor		0.04		0.09
		(0.09)		(0.10)
ln % Rich		0.06		0.04
		0.09		(0.10)
% African-American ≥ 80		-0.12		-0.12
		(0.31)		(0.32)
Census Tract				
Urban		REF		REF
Suburban		-0.31		-0.37
		(0.24)		(0.25)
Rural		-0.03		-0.06

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		(0.25)		(0.26)
Clergy Sex				
Male		-0.85†		-0.61
		(0.47)		(0.48)
Clergy Seminary Educated		0.34		0.22
		(0.27)		(0.29)
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1605.76	-401.94	-1555.60	-392.23
Pseudo R-squared	0.0161	0.0421	0.0468	0.0653

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

Appendix 2. Logistic Regression Analysis on Participating in Social Ministry (Regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Pentecostal Worship Practices Index	-0.27*** (0.06)	-0.11† (0.06)	-0.02 (0.14)
Pentecostal		-1.04*** (0.18)	
Size			
ln Adults (Regular Participants)			0.28** (0.09)
ln Annual Income			-0.04 (0.06)
ln % 4-year Degrees			0.22† (0.11)
ln % Poor			0.04 (0.10)
ln % Rich			0.07 (0.09)
% African-American ≥ 80			-0.11 (0.33)
Census Tract			
Urban			REF
Suburban			-0.32 (0.24)
Rural			-0.05 (0.25)
Clergy Sex			
Male			-0.85† (0.47)
Clergy Seminary Educated			0.30 (0.27)
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1620.80	-1604.31	-402.28
Pseudo R-squared	0.0068	0.0170	0.0412

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

Appendix 3. Logistic Regression Analysis on Participating in Social Ministry (Regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Restrictive Behaviors Index	-0.71***	-0.55***	-0.50**
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.16)
Pentecostal		-1.21***	
		(0.27)	
Size			
ln Adults (Regular Participants)			0.39**
			(0.13)
ln Annual Income			0.05
			(0.13)
ln % 4-year Degrees			0.28*
			(0.12)
ln % Poor			-0.003
			(0.12)
ln % Rich			0.02
			(0.11)
% African-American ≥ 80			0.20
			(0.36)
Census Tract			
Urban			REF
Suburban			---
Rural			---
Clergy Sex			
Male			-1.41†
			(0.76)
Clergy Seminary Educated			---
Log pseudo-likelihood	-632.22	-621.77	-278.10
Pseudo R-squared	0.0424	0.0583	0.0922

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

Appendix 4. Logistic Regression Analysis on Participating in Social Ministry (Regression coefficients shown; standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Theology				
Conservative	REF	REF	REF	REF
Moderate	0.56***	0.71**	0.35**	0.63**
	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.22)
Liberal	0.97***	0.29	0.63**	0.09
	(0.18)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.31)
Religious Family/Tradition				
Roman Catholic			1.36***	-0.81
			(0.19)	(0.55)
Baptist			0.89***	-0.31
			(0.18)	(0.52)
Methodist			1.25***	0.11
			(0.22)	(0.58)
Lutheran			1.66***	0.03
			(0.25)	(0.60)
Presbyterian or Reformed			1.63***	-0.08
			(0.26)	(0.62)
Pentecostal			REF	REF
Other Mainline/Liberal Protestant			1.36***	0.26
			(0.32)	(0.95)
Episcopal			2.02***	0.14
			(0.40)	(0.73)
Other Protestant (conservative, evangelical, or sectarian)			0.47*	-1.15†
			(0.22)	(0.60)
Other Christian			0.85***	-0.58
			(0.20)	(0.54)
Size				
ln Adults (Regular Participants)		0.24**		0.36**
		(0.09)		(0.11)
ln Annual Income		-0.04		-0.06
		(0.06)		(0.06)
ln % 4-year Degrees		0.17		0.18
		(0.12)		(0.12)
ln % Poor		0.01		0.05
		(0.10)		(0.10)
ln % Rich		0.05		0.03
		(0.10)		(0.10)
% African-American ≥ 80		-0.21		-0.24

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		(0.31)		(0.33)
Census Tract				
Urban		REF		REF
Suburban		-0.33		-0.38
		(0.24)		(0.25)
Rural		-0.05		-0.08
		(0.25)		(0.26)
Clergy Sex				
Male		-0.75		-0.62
		(0.48)		(0.49)
Clergy Seminary Educated		0.27		0.25
		(0.27)		(0.29)
Log pseudo-likelihood	-1553.79	-394.43	-1504.36	-386.23
Pseudo R-squared	0.0182	0.0561	0.0495	0.0757

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (†p<.1 noted as marginal significance)

Appendix 5

My original research explored how Pentecostal churches in the U.S. are responding to the growing immigrant populations in non-traditional, emerging immigrant destinations. I intended to conduct key-informant interviews in several churches for my study; however, due to a lack of church participation and personal circumstances, I broadened my study to general social ministry and added a quantitative portion. Below is the original interview guide I used. I have utilized the relevant data collected from the interviews in my current study.

Interview Guide

Pastor (Church Worker, Parishioner)
Name_____ (To be deleted unless permission given)
Gender_____, Race/ethnicity_____,
Education_____,
Socio-economic status_____
Church Name_____ (To be deleted unless permission given)

Can you give me a brief history of this local church?
How long have you pastored (worked for, attended) the church?
What is the current attendance of the church?
What is the demographic makeup (age, income, racial/ethnic) of the church?
Has the makeup of your church changed over the past year? 5 years? 10 years? How?

What comes to mind when I say the word "community"? How would you define your local community?

Are you aware of the growing immigrant population in the Atlanta area?
What are your feelings about this and/or what do feel are the effects of the growing immigrant population on the Atlanta area?
How does the current debate on immigration policy affect your opinions and feeling about immigrant populations?
Do you feel that immigration has affected your local church?
What, if any, do you feel is your responsibility to the immigrant community?
Does your church have outreaches and/or ministries to any particular immigrant group (or are your church services conducted in any other languages)? Do you offer any resources for immigrants, such as language classes, citizenship services, or job-training?
What do you feel are the challenges your church faces in serving the immigrant community?

What does it mean to be Pentecostal?
Can you explain the juxtaposition between the Pentecostal claim to a heavenly identity (i.e., "we are not of this world") and the obligation to one's country as citizens?
How do you think this affects the church's relationship to the national (and/or local) culture?
What is your role as pastor (church worker, member) in addressing social/political issues to your congregation? For instance, if you felt that a particular issue or law were unjust or immoral, would you address it from the pulpit?

The US Pentecostal movement began as a socially diverse, multi-cultural movement, but soon after, began to segregate. Do you feel that the Pentecostal church is becoming more or less integrated in the U.S.? Why?
Do you think that current attitudes toward immigration in the Church are associated with racial or ethnic boundaries (or neither)?

What should the position of your church be on immigration policies or issues?

VITA

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