ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:
GLOSSOLALIA IN THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH

James J. Hughes
Soc-Anthro Honors
Oberlin College
May, 1983
FIGURES

p.8     Figure 1: Map of distribution of Pentecostal Churches in Central Columbus, Ohio p.7
p.11    Figure 2: The United Pentecost Church
p.17    Figure 3: Fischer's Model of ASCs
p.22    Figure 4: Model of ASCs and Glossolalia
p.83    Figure 5: Relationships between social acquiesence, dogmatism, and mystical experience
p.96    Figure 6: United Pentecost Hierarchy
p.116   Figure 7: When American Sects and Cults Formed
p.128   Figure 8: Occupation of Persons in US, Ohio, and Columbus SMSA
INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses the general question of the relationship of altered states of consciousness (ASCs) and ongoing social processes and social structure, through the specific case of glossolalia in the Pentecostal church. Such a subject raises the question of proper balance between social science analytic conceptions and a more empathetic, phenomenological approach, attempting to understand the world from the perspective of those studied. This attempt at balance has been a consistent theme through the participant observation carried out in the Fall of 1982 in a Pentecostal church, and the literature research and theoretical modeling.

The theoretical prejudices brought to the work have shaped its final form. Complementary to "emic" phenomenological sympathies, a thorough interdisciplinary approach has been attempted, integrating data from psychology as well as from sociology and anthropology. Neo-Marxism, as a concern for elaborating the complex interrelationships of forms of techno-ecological adaption, social power (of classes, sexes, and individuals), and the web of culture, cognition, religion, etc. that reinforce social power, is central to the theoretical approach taken. Another aspect of neo-marxist approach is to focus on the ways in which power relations are articulated in interpersonal relations, language, culture, and religion, in a contradictory fashion; holding signs of egalitarian expression as well as reinforcement of the status quo.

In a balance with the focus on power relationships in society, society is seen as having a coherent set of systemic, evolutionary processes that are independent of the power relationships which take shape, though social evolution conditions power relationships and vice versa. For instance Turner's liminality-communitas concepts, and Wallace's mazeway revitalization process have shaped much of my thought in this area.

Finally, as discussed more fully in the last chapter, the concept of the New Class, roughly defined as "the educated", has become very important in my analysis of late-capitalist, post-industrial society. The development of this class, and its implications for religion, are elaborated at the end of the paper.
CHAPTER ONE: SUBJECT AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Pentecostalism has its roots in the 19th century Holiness movement, denominations of which still exist today. Holiness was an interdenominational movement that taught a "Second-Blessing" after one's intellectual conversion to Christianity. In contradistinction to the increasingly middle-class orientation of the mainstream denominations, the Holiness adherents inveighed for a return to Biblical literalism, emotional fervor, puritanical mores, and a rejection of ecclesiasticism, finally leading to their split with the mainstream denominations in the 1930's.

It was among the loosely associated network of Holiness congregations around the States that the reexamination of the Biblical precedents for glossolalia began. Scattered examples of speaking in tongues (glossolalia) had been reported in Christian histories, usually during great crises or revivals, but they never achieved ongoing ritual and doctrinal attention. However, the Holiness movement doctrine of "second blessing" provided a fertile ground for innovative (and possibly power-seeking) evangelists to elaborate doctrines that specified the "gifts" of the "second blessing" or "Baptism in the Holy Spirit", one of which could be glossolalia.

According to Pentecostal history and mythology, the first "falling of tongues" occurred in a Holiness Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, while Agnes Ozman's fellow Bible students prayed over her, under the guidance of their charismatic teacher William Parham, asking for her to speak in tongues as a sign of the "Baptism in the Holy Spirit", on Jan. 1st, 1901, she suddenly

began to speak in tongues glorifying God...I
talked several languages for it was manifested a
dialect [sic] was spoken. (Anderson, p.53). 

Occasions of glossolalia had been recorded earlier in the history of Christianity and in the Holiness movement. Nonetheless, Pentecostals see Agnes Ozman's dramatic experience as the beginning of the Pentecostal Age, the age before the End. The doctrine and practice of tongues as the sanctification experience did not become important until the founding of the Azuza St. Mission in 1906, the source of
much of present Pentecostalism through dozens of schisms and spin-offs.

Pentecostals were, and remain to this day, a highly sectarian movement characterized chiefly by their emphasis on speaking in tongues as the central "gift of the spirit" and sign of the sanctification or "Baptism in the Holy Ghost", a necessary precondition for salvation. Glossolalia is a verbal outpouring of nonrepetitive syllables, in an automatic and fluent stream, characterized by a belief that the speaker is not in control of the vocalization. (More precise research on the nature of glossolalia is reported in Chapter Two.)

Glossolalia has several forms in the belief system of Pentecostals. Throughout this paper I will be using the term to refer to all of the following phenomena. There is the form of glossolalia that Agnes Ozman professes, also called xenoglossy; speaking in a human language one has not previously known. This form is related to the "gift" of being able to witness or proselytize to those who don't speak one's language. This form is still formally believed in by Pentecostals, and some researchers are sympathetic to their claims to the point of elaborating theories of "cryptomnesia" or the latent memory of a language one once heard. Most researchers concur, however, that the vast majority of xenoglossic accounts are unsubstantiated and Pentecostals themselves have progressively deemphasized this ability since the earliest reports of missionaries in the field, attempting to communicate with the Chinese through glossolalia, began filtering back.

Much more common is the belief that tongues are spiritual languages of heaven, through which one is praising, communicating with, and showing one's subordination to God. Finally, more particularly, there is the belief that tongues can be interpreted as prophecy by someone other than the speaker, someone with the "gift of interpretation". Some Pentecostals cite scriptural evidence that this is the only legitimate use of tongues.

Other gifts of the Spirit include the ability to heal oneself and others, and to discern evil spirits and cast them out. While possession by evil spirits may even be psycho-physiologically identical to "the Baptism in the Holy Ghost", I have chosen to exclude it from the discussion of glossolalia, since evil possessions in the Pentecostal church do not usually involve glossolalia, though different churches may accuse tongue speakers of being possessed by the Devil. Further, evil spirit possession and exorcism do
not play the same role in the ritual processes of Pentecostalism. Evil spirit possession and exorcism are discussed however in Appendix Two.) All of these doctrines have been combined in various strengths with the belief that the Apocalypse is immanent, biblical literalism, and anti-intellectual disregard for ecclesiastical education.

Pentecostalism grew rapidly from its initial founding as a movement in L.A. in 1907, to the incorporation of the first association of churches (Assemblies of God in 1915), to its present international and multi-million member significance. One aspect of this growth has been constant sectarian splintering. Stark and Bainbridge (1981) have coded 417 American-born sects (splits within the legitimate religious traditions of their area) and 501 American-born cults (groups outside the conventional religious traditions). They find Pentecostalism to have the largest percent (26%) of sects in American history, followed by Holiness (15%). The largest denominations of Pentecostals are the Assembly of God with more than a million American adherents, followed by Church of God in Christ, Int. with one half a million members.

Pentecostalism has, from its origins been an international movement with an almost simultaneous origin in Wales and an active missionary tradition. The movement has branches in virtually every country in the world today, and is especially strong in Central and South America, and the Caribbean. In 1964 it was estimated that 74% of Brazil was Pentecostal (Willems, 1965).

In the fifties, the belief in the practice of tongues and the more general "gifts of the spirit" such as healing, prophecy and exorcism, began to spread in middle-class denominations and has come to be known as the Charismatic movement or Neo-Pentecostals. The charismatic movement has generally had a less sectarian and conflict-ridden relationship to its parent churches than the old-line Pentecostals had, and some have evolved to a positive working relationship with their ecclesiastical authorities. Catholic Charismatic Renewal is an example of a large and popular Catholic institution that has been endorsed by the church hierarchy to some degree and has experienced little relative conflict over doctrine since it does not insist that tongues are necessary for salvation as the older Pentecostal denominations do. On the other hand, more conservative churches such as the Lutherans have reacted with more alarm to charismatics in their flocks and have expelled ministers and whole congregations, giving birth in many cases to new denominations.
The Research

Pentecostalism was chosen as the case study for this paper because it is probably the most modern example of ongoing ritual ASCs in mainstream American culture. This of course depends on a set of exclusive definitions of "mainstream", "ritual" and "ASC". For instance, Stark and Finbridge (1981) put Pentecostalism on a scale of sectarian "tensionness", vis-a-vis society, as very highly tense, though still a sect and not a cult. This puts Pentecostals slightly less tense than the Amish. Obviously, then, saying that they are legitimate is questionable. Secondly, ritual ASCs, in much more socially legitimate contexts, could be said to be present at baseball games, cocktail parties, rock concerts, jogging clubs, and family TV hour. To these challenges I don't have a good response but that Pentecostalism is older, more ritually distinct and consistent, and consumes a more total commitment on the part of the participants. Further, the ASC (tongues) is generally taught through ritual participation, and is not as socially independent as a drug-state, or absorption in entertainment.

In the Spring of 1982 I wrote to Erika Bourguignon in the Anthropology Dept. at OSU and asked to attend courses she would be giving that fall on EthnoPsychiatry. Bourguignon is perhaps th foremost authority on the psycho-anthropological approach to possession trance (PT) in simpler societies, and in particular how power relationships, social change, and mental illness are related to PT, making her an ideal advisor for this project.

Upon arriving at OSU, I decided to do participant observation in a Pentecostal church in Columbus, OH, focusing in particular on the poor white community. As the first step, all the Pentecostal and Apostolic churches in the telephone book were mapped out and compared to what was known about the social composition of their neighborhoods.
Figure 1: Map of distribution of Pentecostal Churches in Central Columbus, Ohio

A = The Hilltop
B = Non-Residential Downtown
C = Black Neighborhoods
D = Ohio State University Area
The highest concentration of these churches, approximately 50 or 60, were in the black parts of town and the rest scattered in the poor Appalachian white sectors. I began attending different churches (marked with numbers) in early October and settled on church "5" as the research subject I would focus on after two weeks of evening and Sunday morning services.

Church I was very large, with approximately 300 members in attendance at the Sunday morning service and a well-developed church infrastructure. The young adult/unmarried youth group I was put in that morning had 7 young women and one other young male, who were studying a United Pentecostal denominational study guide. After this class I was invited to a Wednesday night prayer and bible study group for young people held in the male's home. The church had three ministers, each of whom led various aspects of the service. The sermon was given by the head minister who had (according to an informant) a graduate degree in psychology, and did use child psychology references in his sermon. My young informant on that occasion informed me

Reverend --------, is so smart, we hardly know what he's saying sometimes

This church was much too routinized and institutional for me to get a full understanding of the small-group processes I had intended to study.

Church 2 was a poor white Appalachian church with a young charismatic minister, but at the service I attended there were only 10 women and 3 men congregants, and they were all extremely agrarian-migrant poor. I saw little hope of achieving anonymity in this context. Church 3 was a very poor black church, with only 2 men, 6 women, and 6 children in attendance the morning I was there. The participants made it clear that the several months of illness of their pastor had devastated a poor but lively congregation, sending most of the members to other churches. The faith was being maintained by the senior church male who gave a long sermon on liberation from sin. Achieving anonymity as a white college student among 15 poor blacks would have been very unlikely.

Church 4 was overwhelmingly centered on the charisma of the preacher whose healing powers, wisdom and authority were extolled by all of the 70 or so biracial congregants. No one spoke in tongues during the service but the minister in a brief almost perfunctory blessing/healing performed on
congregants lined up five by five. The minister told the story of his spontaneous Baptism in the Holy Ghost which took place in a cornfield when he was a teenager. He had come from an anti-pentecostal Baptist family and was only briefly associated with a Pentecostal church before he started his own ministry, the "One World Faith Mission." Beyond being very interesting in its own right, this church would not have told me much of Pentecostalism as a general movement.

Finally, Church 5, which I will call United Pentecostal, was welcoming, had a moderate-sized congregation, and as it turned out was in the lineage of the oldest Pentecostal churches in the town. The congregation was 95% white Appalachian (one Black Haitian immigrant family) and solidly working-class. There were half a dozen teen-agers and young adults in the congregation and a total of 100 regular attenders, 2/3 women.

United Pentecost is located in an area called the Hilltop, in Columbus, OH, marked with a boundary in Fig. 1. The Hilltop is 18% black (compared to Columbus's 22% and the county's 15%) and is a mixture of lower-working class Appalachian and newer middle-class gentrifiers. Sixty-six percent of the labor force in this neighborhood is in sales, clerical, craftsmen and operative classifications. The population of the area is 12,000 people (compared to Columbus' 1/2 million and the county's 850,000) and 35% of the neighborhood's 10,000 dwellings are rented. The Hilltop is bounded on its east side by a poorer, blacker neighborhood prone to flooding; to its south by a highway; and to the north and west by areas similar to itself. The Hilltop is characterized as in an "early revitalization" stage, largely due to the influx of middle-class gentrifiers (Nerves, 1982).

As it turned out, however, only about half of the members of the church lived in this area at present, with some living as far as 15 miles away. Nonetheless, the historical roots of the church remain in the Hilltop and the adjacent communities and many of the members grew up here. (The assistant pastor grew up in the neighborhood as a boy 50 years ago and remembers looking in the front door to see what all the shouting was about. After moving ten miles outside of town, and converting to Pentecostalism, he started dating a woman who was related to the pastor and became a member at United Pentecostal through her.)

The data I collected consisted of attending services approximately 3 times a week from mid-October through the
end of December. In addition I had dinner at the homes of two families, went on a Hayride with 30 or so church members, and went to a church lunch in the basement after one of the services. I attended as a college-student who had become interested in Pentecostalism through my research and portrayed myself as a believer in the faith, though actually I was not. After several weeks in the church I was baptized and eventually "spoke in tongues" to the objective satisfaction of the congregation. At no time was my full research intent revealed. (For a discussion of the circumstances and ethics of this style of research, see Appendix One).

In an average service there are between 50-80 people, with an even age distribution though women outnumber men 2 or 3 to 1. The minister's mother was one of the first Pentecostal ministers in the city and apparently had a very successful ministry as it spawned a number of the present Pentecostal churches, such as Church 1. After the elder Mrs. S.'s death, her son, Rev. S., took over a major portion of her church and moved it into the current building approximately fifteen years ago.

The church is a large white plain square building dominated by the highway overpass five hundred yards away. The church has two levels:

Figure 2: The United Pentecost Church
Services are held Wednesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 9:30 or 10:00 (despite frequent ministerial reminders that

Back in the old days we would pray all night and we may just do that tonight if that's what it takes to cast out that Old Devil.)

Sunday school is held from 10-11 AM for classes of young children, teenagers and adults. The adults receive a formal Bible lesson from one of the lay ministers. Sunday school is followed by a sermon from 11 noon or 12:30. The most "evangelical" service of the week, geared towards potential converts, is on Sunday night, from 6:30 to 9:00 or 9:30. Attendance at all services is expected. Dress is very conservative with a strong taboo on pants, makeup, or revealing dresses for women and girls, and most men wear two and three piece suits.
APPENDIX ONE: REFLECTIONS ON NON-OBSERVER PARTICIPATION

My first concern upon attending United Pentecost was to maintain an open line of communication. In the expectation that revealing my research plan would cripple for an indefinite period of time any open communication, I left my true purpose vague for several of the first sermons I attended, allowing them to assume I was there as a potential convert. Though I had initially intended to come clean and reveal my research plans, my opportunities for doing so without embarrassment passed quickly.

In line with my concern for "emic" research I think it can be argued that my subsequent baptism and "impersonation" of being a Pentecostal gave me a more profound "interior" understanding of the subject. Further, Pentecostals are a militantly evangelical sect, and in the two week period before I finally underwent the Baptism into the church, every service ended with a direct appeal to me to convert "before it's too late". This clearly would have created a barrier to my collection of undistorted perceptions of the community, even if direct attempts to convert me had subsided. There are in the literature a dozen cases of researchers gaining the trust of Pentecostals in participant observation situations, though many did not have the additional handicap of not even honestly being able to say they were Christian (I'm buddhist), and therefore could find some grounds on which to legitimately relate to the Pentecostal faith. Also, most of the cases are of periods of long-term research of up to 4 years or research in the more ecumenical and tolerant Charismatic communities, not a four-month visit in a militantly evangelical, working-class sect. I simply did not have very much time to establish trust.

Further, as a sort of precedent, I would cite Roger Homan's (1978) research in working-class Pentecostal churches in Britain:

Such is the relation of pentecost to the world that one who declares himself to be a non-pentecostal by failing to show conventional responses renders himself subject to concentrated attention in the form of evangelism. On most occasions it was desirable to be left alone to observe the proceedings unhindered and so the researcher found it expedient to anticipate the normal institutional greetings with his own "Good evening, brother. Praise the Lord" and "God
Bless"; further, he gave positive responses to such enquiries as "Do you love the Lord?". The stance most fruitfully adopted, therefore, was that of a fellow Pentecostal from a distant assembly: in this role it was appropriate to stand for hymns, partake in the breaking of bread, and render note-taking as inconspicuous as possible. (Homan, 1978, p.500)

Ethical arguments are much more subjective, but I have several reflections. At an intellectual level, I felt and feel that the most important ethical yardstick is the suffering or distress which the researcher may cause the subjects. If this is the critical factor, rather than more abstract concepts of honesty, I would insist that the research was ethical. I had no intention, having once embarked on my subterfuge, of revealing my true identity, the anger and embarrassment of which act would have been the major potential harm of my actions.

The major regret I have had about my research "technique" was its inefficacy at yielding substantial data. In the first place, the fact that I had been baptized and spoken in tongues and that we were all white, in no way ensured my acceptance into the community. Class differences inhibited their trust of me till the end, and this central existential fact of "upper-middle-class-student-out-for-kicks-in-the-ghetto" vs. "sincere-benighted-workers-in-defiant-ignorance" became a central datum in my analysis, as I discuss in Chapter 5. Secondly, though at one point I expressed the desire to "witness" to the academic community through writing a paper on Pentecostalism, I could never make a legitimate argument for doing social science research as a Christian. Pentecostals believe God enters man and speaks through his tongue. How can I as a Pentecostal ask fellow believers "...yes of course its God, but what about your class background, political attitudes and family structure?"

Again to cite colleague Homan (1978, p.501)

In this participant role the observer never declared his research interest nor made notes in the meetings or in interviews. While the fully participant strategy afforded the development of depth insights and access to the more confidential transactions of assembly members, it had the predicted limitation of inhibiting interrogation designed to clarify points supposedly familiar to
bone fide members of the assembly.

Finally, I must confess great and constant guilt and shame over my lack of moral courage and deception, completely untouched by my intellectual rationales. I believe the degree of my guilt indicates the power of socialization devices in the church, and of churches in general. I established relationships in the church, especially with one of the elders who took me under his wing somewhat and whose wife was attendant at my final successful attempt at tongue-speaking. The warmth that was shown towards me was largely due to the automatic warmth toward potential converts, though for some the warmth was honest. Also, participation itself, devoid of psychic predisposition such as a need to believe in something or even a belief in Christianity, generates commitment as Bromley and Shupe (1981) suggest in their critique of recruitment theory.

During services I began to experience irrational fears that the Pastor had suspected or been informed of my dishonesty and that his general vituperation against sinners in our midst was directed at me. I began to feel compulsions to confess and fear the possibility of psychic eavesdropping, thinking "what if they really do have these abilities they claim..." Fears would evaporate outside of the church and the Christocentric supernatural recede into high improbability again... till the next long sermon.

I began to feel strong identification with the subjects. Friends who derided them incited a defensive feeling that only I, who had known them as real people rather than as stereotypes, could criticize them. I confronted in myself the fear that if I didn't snark inwardly everytime I said "Hallelujah" or remind myself that I was a buddhist agnostic after each prayer that I might begin to lose my identity. This insight led me into much of the theoretical discussion in the next few chapters.
CHAPTER TWO: ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND PERSONALITY

Ornstein's model of altered states of consciousness (ASCs) is probably the most popular in the literature. According to this model, the human sensory system functions primarily to filter the infinite possibilities of an organism's monitoring of its environment down to finite modalities: hearing, smell, etc. Evolutionarily, we have been programmed to habituate to certain constancies in our sense environment in order to put attention toward the pursuit of food, the escape of predation, thought, etc. This automating and habituating in the cerebral cortex takes the form of conceptualization, or the creation of categorization, so that we can begin to stereotype response-behavior on the basis of past experience and learning. These conceptualizations are maintained at their most sophisticated level by an ongoing stream of thought which refreshes and refines (through "reality-testing") the conceptual framework. This conceptual framework and its categories encompass our most basic concepts about self, time, space, relationship, etc., as well as more mundane thoughts and knowledge. These conceptual frameworks, connected to "drives" and conditioned response sets, feed back on our sensory input further selecting the data we consider pertinent from the environment.

In Ornstein's model then, altered states of consciousness, or ASCs, are defined as psycho-physiological experiences of deautomatization and dehabituation. ASCs, by overloading or quieting the categorization, thought and sensory filtration processes, induce experiences of extraordinary awareness, of internal and external environment, mystical union, and hallucination. Though experiences which temporarily suspend categorization, and the routine flow of thought-stream with which we remind ourselves who, where and why we are, may not be biologically adaptive, there may be systemic advantages to a cyclic clearing of the slate and starting over. Obviously many ways of interrupting cognitive processing have been employed historically and cross-culturally. Ornstein and others point to chanting, drugs, meditation, and ecstatic dance as ways of deautomating consciousness. How can these and other phenomena be understood and categorized by their different mechanisms?

Ludwig (1968) outlines five general non-exclusive types of causes of ASCs: 1) reduction and or 2) increase of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity, 3) increase
and 4) decrease of alertness or mental involvement and 5) biochemical changes such as drugs, hypoglycemia, fasting, fevers. Somewhat parallel, and even more useful, is the model elaborated by Fischer (1971) which postulates two general types of ASC, the hyper- and hypo- aroused states, and finds that data on the EEG readings, saccadic eye movements, and sensory-motor behavior of various ASCs and psychoses, are correlated to this continuum as diagrammed below:

Figure 3: Fischer's model of ASCs

Fig. 1. Varieties of conscious states mapped on a perception-bullucination continuum of increasing ergotropic arousal (left) and a perception-mediation continuum of increasing trophotropic arousal (right). These levels of hyper- and hypor arousal are interpreted by man as normal, creative, psychotic, and ecstatic states (left) and Iazen and samadhi (right). The loop connecting ecstasy and samadhi represents the rebound from ecstasy to samadhi, which is observed in response to intense ergotropic excitation. The numbers 35 to 7 on the perception-bullucination continuum are Goldstein's coefficient of variation (40), specifying the decrease in variability of the EEG amplitude with increasing ergotropic arousal. The numbers 26 to 4 on the perception-mediation continuum, on the other hand, refer to those beta, alpha, and theta EEG waves (measured in hertz) that predominate during, but are not specific to, these states (17).
At points of both hypo- and hyper-arousal, the central nervous system shuts off a normal function of differentiating cognitive units. At both ends of the continuum similar subjective "mystical" experiences are reported related to the dedifferentiation of cognitive units. Both sensory flooding and sensory monotony or isolation "override" the habitual sensory experience, eliminating concepts of "self" and "other", or creating a more random, sense-unrelated pattern of interpretation. Clearly, most circumstances in which people speak in tongues are circumstances of hyper-arousal, though there are reported instances of quiet or spontaneous tongues which will be discussed later. Even in situations lacking ecstatic dancing, singing, and fervent prayer, intense internal emotional states, with powerful psycho-physiological effects, may be aroused through devices such as evangelical preaching (Sargent, 1959).

Frequently, though, ecstatic tongues, and the more inclusive category of possession trance (PT), is accompanied by group stimuli which encourage a hyper-aroused state. In United Pentecost, there was a short period at the beginning of the service for a quiet "warm-up" prayer, when people could speak in tongues, but rarely got more excited than a couple whoops and moans. The most spontaneous and trance-like states occurred during strong, loud, and repetitive (almost chanted) song. There were an organ, piano, and drum and large amps in a small room, used to drown in sound converts who were "tarrying for the Holy Ghost" at the altar. Not only did this music provide a cover for the potential glossolalic, allaying self-consciousness, but also was clearly connected to the millenium-old consciousness-altering effect of ritual music.

Bourguignon (1973) classifies the cross-cultural sets of ritual ASCs into states where there is a belief that a spirit has possessed the individual experiencing the ASC, which she calls possession trance (PT), and states where there is no accompanying possession belief, which she calls trance (T). The altered state, PT, is seen to be independent of the belief in possession; e.g., an ill person may be believed to be possessed but not be in PT. Also, PT may have positive, ambiguous or negative roles, such as being part of a community cult ritual to which tribal members feel called; or as a phase of a healing ritual where either the healer or the healee may experience PT; or as a wholly negatively evaluated syndrome which may be difficult
to distinguish, from psychotic episodes or multiple personality. In Bourguignon's (1973) statistical analysis of 488 simple societies she found the existence of PT in half of them.

The behavioral similarities and subjective reports of glossolalics lead most researchers to conclude that tongues are a (usually) less dramatic version of PT. The South American and Caribbean areas where Pentecostalism is rapidly growing have native Indian and Africanist traditions of possession trance, and there are many cases of syncretism of these tribal possession beliefs and Christian beliefs, through the device of the discernment of good possession (Holy Spirit) from evil possession demanding exorcism. In the transcript of an exorcism at the end of this chapter a young informant remarks upon (albeit leading) questioning

...tongues are a kind of possession; but by God.

In United Pentecost, observations of glossolalic episodes ranged from the quietly reverential to the catatonic-ecstatic. As will be commented on later, most men tend to just throw their hands and head in the air and glossolate while punctuating their performance with shouts of "Oh Jesus" or "Hallelujah". The average woman's performance is a tearful wail with more fluid and absorbing glossolalia. All participants flush, perspire and frequently cry. (As I'll discuss later, crying and other emotional displays are encouraged as signs of fuller possession by the Holy Ghost.) Motor automatisms, such as flailing arms and legs are common at United Pentecost. The range of performance is great within the community however as some, especially women, will become ecstatic easily at every service, and others, who have presumably spoken in tongues at least once, will remain quiet and withdrawn, or verbal and involved but never ecstatic.

A major debate has arisen in the literature over whether glossolalia is indeed an ASC. This debate is most clearly articulated by an exchange between Goodman (1969, 1972a, 1972b) and Samarina (1972). Goodman's research points out a number of phonetic similarities between tape-recorded incidences of glossolalia from North America and the Caribbean.

An analysis of the phonology, accent pattern, and
Intonation (of these glossolalia samples) shows the individual utterance to have a threshold of onset, a brief rising gradient of intensity, a peak and a final, often precipitous, decay.

She then proposes that these similarities are due to their common relationship to an ASC.

Samarin's position, as a sociolinguist, is that tongues are a learned "style of discourse", governed by rules of Pentecostal communities, and have a limited communicative function (rather than, as Goodman suggests, being non-communicative). Therefore tongues cannot be a state of complete dissociation, a state presumably in which individuals would contravene social rules and previous learning. The same argument may indeed be turned on the ASC and PT relationship. PT obviously being conditioned in many ways by social norms. Samarin denies that the most parsimonious or "only conceivable" explanation for phonetic commonality is a common ASC. There are certainly numerous individuals in old-line Pentecostal churches whose behavior in glossolalia indicate little ASC, and in the newer Catholic charismatic movement, trance-level PT is the rare exception.

The previous historical occurrences of tongues show rather conclusively that tongues can and do occur without prior learning, or even an awareness of the existence of such a capacity. The historical pre-Pentecostal occurrence of glossolalia is especially associated with anomic populations which have had their social learning, and general conceptual systems, disrupted by change, poverty, catastrophe, etc. According to the Ornsteinian model, the central element in ASCs is deautomatization/dehabitation; tongues can be seen to be the expression of a verbal deautomatization. Linguistic patterns from one's native language(s) ordinarily inhibit the rapid and fluent creation of pseudo-languages, as does self-consciousness in a public situations. The general cognitive disarray of anomic is congruent with the cognitive randomization of the hyperaroused ASC, which in turn facilitates glossolalic production.

Out of these collective behavior situations, normative patterns emerge which begin to structure the anomic situation. Once norms develop to structure the spontaneous occurrence of "the Holy Ghost", then communities begin to bring reinforcement and sanctions to bear to eliminate the behaviors which don't fit their norms. Finally,
second-generation members and members are inducted into the practice without necessarily having an original state of extreme cognitive disarray, and consequently have to be reinforced more thoroughly in order to discover the behavior. Also, their experiences of the behavior will be less dissociated or ASC-laden. Initial tongues are characterized by greater degrees of ecstasy and dissociation, which is understandable in that a higher state of arousal/ASC/dissociation will be necessary to trigger one's initial tongues, than is later necessary once the behavior is learned. Once one knows the behavioral patterns, the behavior will be easier to switch into. To the extent that one begins to associate the ASC to the psycho-physiological arousal created by the behaviors, the ASC will be easier to achieve. In turn, the arousal and ASC will feed back onto the behavior increasing its fluency and rapidity. But the tongues behavior itself is not necessarily an ASC or accompanied by an ASC.

To answer the question of how a dissociated individual can be responsive to social reinforcement cues, or be limited by past learning, a concept of the "subconscious" must be introduced. "Complete" hyper-arousal can be said to be seen in psychotic breaks in which the individual is no longer responsive to the environment, and in extreme cases of ASC induction in which individuals become catatonic or lose consciousness. Any state short of these can be presumed to have a degree of functioning environmental awareness. This residual subconscious awareness is the realm in which learning of the glossolalia behavior, or the shaping of the random verbal behaviors into glossolalia, takes place. Also, this is the realm in which past learning experiences about appropriate and inappropriate ritual behavior are rooted, which determine the individuals' behavior while in PT. More generally, the psycho-physiological ASC interacts with the cognitive material in the subconscious, expressing this material in various ways. The extreme example of this is the fully dissociated shaman, acting in one of her spirit-roles, expressing her personal needs and desires, as well as acting in a role-governed way appropriate to the ritual. Yet she will not remember the behavior.
My own attempts at speaking in tongues sheds some light on this issue. After services in various Pentecostal churches, I was fairly familiar with the glossolalic pattern. In United Pentecost, on my third or fourth service, I was invited to come and pray at the altar at the end of the service while the piano rang down and the congregation sang. There were several others kneeling at the altar, some water-baptized but "tarrying for the Holy Ghost", and others spirit-baptized but seeking strength. A young, 20 year-old boy who had just gotten his ministerial licence, and had graduated from H.S. six months before, joining the other six lay ministers on the stage behind the pastor. He knelt beside me and began encouraging me to pray "Hallelujah" over and over again. He told me "Hallelujah" was the highest form of praise and that repeating it rapidly would bring me to an experience where

...the Lord will make the words sound funny

and I should just

...let go then and let the Lord take over.

So, I gave it a try, praying quickly "Hallelujah, Hallelujah,..." over and over again. The boy had his hand on my back and speaking in clipped tongues beside me as if
he was issuing orders. He was joined by his father, a lay working-class man who was probably the highest-status man in the church who was not a lay minister, and who in some ways had more status than those who sat on the stage. Mr. S. joined Chris to listen to my short, garbled attempts at duplicating glossolalia. After 5 to 10 minutes of their praying along, with me stopping after every 20 seconds of halting babble to see if I had mastered the technique, they were clearly disappointed. Taking me aside I was asked if I had ever been baptized. Answering "no" I was told that I probably wouldn't get tongues till I had repented my sins and been baptized in water. (For a further discussion of these rituals see Chapter 3.)

The next attempt I made was in the baptismal tank, dripping wet, with my hands in the air and an audience of half the congregation. As I attempted to change the syllables from "Hallelujah,..." to "ale meena pura taky alacu pimbulo" the ministers would encourage me by saying

that's the Lord trying to come through...let him
through and cleave your spirit...abase yourself to
God

Again, after fifteen minutes of halting syllabic production with periodic stops to check for positive reinforcement, my ministerial attendant told me to stop.

For the next two services I was called to the front of the church to the altar to tarry for my spirit-baptism. While everyone sang the last songs of the evening, and the piano, drum and organ played, 5 or 6 of the lay ministers would gather round me for twenty minutes of embarrassment. Placing hands on my shoulders and back, or standing several feet away with a hand outstretched, they would pray in English and in tongues, channeling the Spirit toward and into me. I prayed fervently. I was encouraged to more faithfully and completely repent, to think only of Jesus, to not let my "self" get in the way of my openness to God's command of my tongue. Indeed, it became clear that my repeated failure to verbally and behaviorally duplicate glossolalia, or at least the state of excitation seen as necessary for and indicative of initiatory tongues was due to my inability to fully open to the Lord, to abase my spirit to God. Thus, when I beseechingly asked what my attempts were if not tongues, that it was my "self" speaking.
Some churches tell their members just babble any old thing and that's tongues. But that's just themselves speaking, and sometimes it's the devil. There are a lot of people going around speaking tongues who aren't in the Way.

It was confided to me that some parishioners don't receive the gift of the Holy Spirit till weeks, months or years after their baptism. In fact, confided the assistant pastor,

My wife (who is also now a lay minister) didn't get tongues till two years after she was baptized. She was still smoking cigarettes see, though she'd given up drinkin' and cussin' like she used to (she had been a harmaid before their marriage.) It wasn't until she stopped smoking that the Lord came in. Think of what you haven't repented. S'long as you're addicted to worldly things, the spirit won't enter.

Before the fourth unsuccessful attempt I practiced for several hours attempting to speak babble fluently, and finally memorizing a Korean chant that I had learned at a Zen Center. That night, interspersed with my "Hallelujahs", I began introducing the syllables from this chant. One of the lay ministers stopped me after about five minutes and asked:

Son, have you ever "meditated"?

Acknowledging that, yes, perhaps I had, he proceeded with the aid of several others to attempt to drive the "Asian spirits" from my mortal frame. They asserted that the previous meditation I had done (they really meant chanting) had embedded evil forces in my spirit and that they had to be cast out to open me to the Holy Ghost. By shouting "Leave him" and making forceful exertions in my direction, I was ritually cleansed. Fortunately, I was not further questioned as to the precise circumstances and degree of my previous pagan involvement, nor was I subjected to as thorough and painful an exorcism as the hapless fellow in Appendix Two. Nonetheless, my embarrassment was acute, my
astonishment at their recognition of "Asian tongues" great, and my puzzlement that they had not interpreted my "Asian tongues" as xenoglossic communication about the meaning of the universe, was profound. (This case may show that stress alone is not sufficient stimuli for tongue-production.)

Ministers continually reminded me that I should pray at home for tongues, and that they were available to pray with me at all hours. During prayer they literally supported me, not only with laying on of hands and shouted encouragement, but also simply holding my hands in the air. Indeed, the behavior associated with invoking the Spirit is quite telemetric. While attempting to call down the Spirit through praise, one should lock up and hold one's arms up, hands outstretched like a radio antennae "tuning in" God. During services, when a preacher delivers a particularly fiery part of a sermon, hands will shoot into the air, cupped and turning back and forth as catching sound-waves, and during prayer in a service, the entire congregation puts both hands in the air, with the cupped palms usually turning slowly back and forth like spiritual dish antennae. The descriptions of the experience itself are frequently in electric metaphors, especially the initiatory or powerful tongues episode.

I felt like an electric current was boring down my head and along my spine, through my feet into the ground.

I felt a force come up from my back and enter my tongue and lips so that I couldn't control them anymore.

The indwelling Holy Spirit "shines" from the face of the convert like a "light bulb turned on". Holding my hands up in the air, thus, was a way of encouraging my "tuning in", and the more I shock, cried and generally acted as if I was being given large doses of heavenly juice, the more excited my attendants became (i.e. the more positive reinforcement I got.)

Finally, on my fifth attempt, after having only gotten four hours of fitful sleep before Sunday school, I was again called to the altar after the 11-noon service to tarry for the ghost. I had spoken to the assistant pastor beforehand and encouraged him to not have people flock to my side at the altar, as this made me acutely embarrassed.
Accordingly, after this service, only his wife and another lay minister came to my side. I began fluidly praising the Lord "Hallelujah", allowing my tongue to falter and find a source of randomness other than my own efforts. As my Hallelujahs, shaking and intonation reached a peak after about fifteen minutes, I finally got positive reinforcement. My attendants, Brother R. and Sister W., both lay ministers, got more excited with my verbal production than before, and I found myself speaking more fluent, non-alliterative and non-repetitive patterns than before. I spoke rapidly in this way for 1-2 minute spans, stopping to wait for commanding encouragement to continue. This went on for approximately ten minutes before I was no longer encouraged to continue. Since then it has been fairly easy to "snap into" the glossolalic behavior, depending somewhat on mood and company.

The assistant pastor described to me at one point his own conversion experience. He had grown up in the neighborhood of the current church, which had been pentecostal then as well, but under different management. He had gotten married to a Lutheran woman and been a Lutheran till his wife's death. After this he experienced a spiritual crisis and shopped around for a suitable faith, trying Baptists, Methodists, and Nazarenes. Finally, while shopping for a car, a car lot attendant told him that he'd had a dream that Mr. W. (the person who is now assistant pastor) was searching for the Holy Ghost. Taking the willing, but embarrassed, aspirant to his truck, the young man proceeded to instruct him in prayer. The man told Mr. W. to raise his hands in the air and pray fervently, waiting for inspiration to change the words. When the words began to change in Brother W.'s outflow of adoration for the divine, he was encouraged to "not hinder the Lord". Mr. W. began to experience a burning sensation in his back which spread up his arms into his face and lips. Suddenly, he was crying and sweating profusely, and the verbal stream was automatic.

The rest of the day, Brother W. continued to spontaneously speak in tongues and feared that he would embarrass himself at his civil service job the next day. Fortuitously, though he spontaneously and uncontrollably spoke in tongues in his car on the way to work, he was able to control this bubbling, joyous feeling and its manifestation in glossolalia.

Complete dissociation is not necessary or common among glossolalics in America, though it does occur, esp. in initiatory tongues. The behavior of being "slain in the
spirit" refers to a powerful trance the glossolalic enters which forces her to collapse on the ground. This is taken for granted in most churches and the "slain" are covered up, or ignored while they pray. I witnessed at one service a young boy and an older woman pray on the floor in front of the altar for an hour and a half. Most tongue speakers acknowledge that they are aware of their surroundings and remember what transpired during their "infilling", which is not the case with most PT in simpler societies. For instance:

I was aware of what was going on around us. His wife was preparing a meal. I was not caught up in any ecstatic experience nor was I emotionally beside myself. I just sort of opened my mouth as if I were to speak and tried to let go and sure enough, this language came out. (Gerlach and Fine, 1970, p.150)

The key elements that are usually used to differentiate an inspired glossolalic performance from something else ("self", the devil, or just a person obstructing the Lord) are non-alliteration, non-repetition, and fluency, as has been noted by other researchers (Williams, 1981). These are elements that convinced my attendants of the legitimacy of my performance. Mrs. W. remarked

Sounds like Italian or Chinese

Further, my performance was behaviorally "involved" enough to fit the model of absorptive ASC, though I subjectively was maintaining a critical, cognitive self-awareness.

Thus, from my experience, at least one can say that the category "tongues" may be in some performances a non-ASC learned behavior, similar to Samarin's "style of discourse". This non-ASC "style of discourse" may be in some instances (such as mine) creative, automatic, non-alliterative, etc., though probably will tend toward less fluency the less absorbed and ASC-laden the individual is. It is certainly indisputable, on the basis of my and most other researchers observations, that some tongue-speakers go into some level of ASC of a trance or eventually catatonic variety.
Mental health and glossolalia

The social scientific approach to Pentecostalist's mental health has not always been characterized by great psychological sophistication or attempts at culture-free evaluations. Influenced by the Pruedian tradition that equated mystical experiences with "regressions to earlier ego states", and a broad psychoanalytic dismissal of phenomena as "hysteria" or "group hypnosis", Pentecostalism was treated as the product of ignorant, mentally ill people (Cutten). Before the Sixties, those who acknowledged that Pentecostalists were not necessarily pathological were arguing against the popular consensus to the contrary. During the sixties, however, assumptions about mental illness and religious phenomena were critically examined, and the modern emerging consensus on glossolalia has been shaped by these debates.

Two psychologists influential in these debates have been Iaing (1965) and Szasz (1960). Iaing's most hotly debated argument has been his contention that schizophrenia and mental illness in general, is a reaction to an insane world. According to Iaing, the mentally ill have been labeled as "mentally ill" and not encouraged to find the positive or "shamanistic" elements of their experience, thence to reemerge with a renewed self. Parallel to Iaing, Szasz argued that the socially weak are labeled mentally ill and contended that there really was no discreet phenomena "mental illness", but only the summary of behaviors society has decided are unacceptable.

Simultaneously, the humanistic psychology movement sought to redefine the meaning of "sane" from the average to the extraordinary. Maslow's quest to define the universal self-actualized personality and its characteristic "peak-experience", and aberrant anthropologist/authors such as Carlos Castaneda and his series of field reports on Indian drug and mystical practices, began to legitimate a reappraisal of glossolalia. Some began to suggest that Pentecostals had been judged ethnocentrically and that tongues were therapeutic and a peak-experience in their own right. Certainly, the description of the experience of tongues by Pentecostals fits the the peak-experience model: a feeling of oneness with humanity and God, timelessness, recognition of eternal and universal truths, etc.

The rise of the middle-class, "respectable" Charismatic movement was also a spur for the reappraisal of tongues, as
the social perspective of social scientists was much closer to that of the Charismatics than to that of the old-line denominations, who had been invisible to all but the sociologist of religion.

Research

The questions that have generally been addressed in psychological research related to glossolalia are: a) Are Pentecostals and Charismatics more or less psychologically "adjusted" compared to their peers. b) Is tongues a therapeutic or cathartic device. c) Are converts to Pentecostalism more or less disturbed before their conversion, than those who don't convert. (Hine's 1969 and Richardson's 1974 reviews of psychological research on glossolalia have been canabalized in this section.)

An early predecessor to the modern approach to glossolalia was Boisen's (1939) research which compared Holy Rollers who practiced tongues to his psychiatric patients who had behaviors similar to tongues. Though he found a conceptual similarity between the possession beliefs of his patients and the belief in Holy Spirit "possession" he found no medical illness among the glossolalics. He pointed to the social context of the church as an explanation for glossolalia's non-pathological nature, and even suggests the practice to be therapeutic for normal individuals, and patients that he had had, when it occurred in the context of socially constructive groups norms. On the other hand, his research was not complete in looking at the mental state of participants before participation, and it is a common problem in these reports that converts' self-edited autobiographies are used as evidence of change.

Like Boisen, Alland (1961) observed a Negro Pentecostal church whose members were wholly lower-class and concluded that they were acting within the cultural expectations of their community rather than out of psychoses or ignorance. He felt that since the behavior did conform so well to the expectations of the church, that it was a learned behavior. On the other hand, Alland points to certain neurotic patterns emerging from guilt and anxiety in the Negro church community (1961:204)
as one of the contributing causes of predispositions to trance. He acknowledges that personality differences play a role in receptivity to trance. Unfortunately, this research does not have a comparison group.

Vivier's (1960) work is one of the more complete psychological studies of glossolalia and is frequently cited. His basic design used a number of personality tests, a biographical questionnaire and a questionnaire measuring religiosity. He compared three groups: 24 tongue-speaking Pentecostals, 20 non-tongue-speaking Pentecostals, and 20 members of a church that disapproved of glossolalia. The three groups were carefully matched for age, sex, education, religious convictions and occupation.

Vivier found two differences between glossolalics and non-glossolalics: a) the glossolalics tended to delay gratification more than controls and, b) they were significantly less realistic and practical, more concerned with feeling than thought or action, and more tolerant and humane in their interests generally defined by Vivier as a "shrewdness-naivete" factor, Pentecostals appearing more naive. Though Vivier generally concludes that Pentecostals are not pathological he does comment:

Dynamically (glossolalics) can be considered as a group of people who, psychologically speaking, have had a poor beginning in life. This has been reflected by their difficulty in adjustment in the home situation in infancy and later childhood. It can be therefore seen that they have been torn by insecurity, conflict, tension and emotional difficulties. Being troubled by doubt and fear, anxiety and stress, they have turned from the culturally accepted traditional, orthodox, and formalized, to something that held out for them the unorthodox, the supernatural; to an environment of sensitiveness for emotional feelings and a group of people bound with the same purpose and clinging to each other for support. (Vivier in Richardson, p. 204-205)
This ambiguity among researchers about the difference between pathology and psychological predispositions toward trance and joining of sects obscures conclusions about Pentecostalists' mental health. On the one hand, virtually all modern researchers deny that Pentecostals are psychotic or severely neurotic, and on the other hand they assert that there are personality differences which predispose some individuals toward trance and sect membership, and that these personality traits are not generally positive. Most researchers are assuming the fundamental model that religious conversions are motivated by alienations or deprivations, a theory that will be dissected in Chapter Three.

Gerrard and Gerrard (1961) conducted research on snake-handlers in West Virginia for several years, a practice which is historically related to Pentecostalism and the sect-members of which practice glossolalia. A full sociological survey of the area was done, and a large psychological inventory administered to sect members, as well as a control of conventional church members in the area of comparable socio-economic backgrounds. The results of a very complete analysis of this data indicates no significant differences between the two churches but the trend is toward the sectarian being closer to the psychological "norm" and the conventional church members being more repressive, depressive and neurotic. Again, however, the question of what the members of the snake-handling church were like before they joined was unexamined.

Wood's (1965) study is of comparable completeness. Wood used Rorschach tests to measure differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals of similar socio-economic standing in two rural Southern communities. Wood finds differences, in "shading" and "movement" responses, between the Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals that he feels indicate differences in basic habits of perception, and interpersonal interaction. Rather than coming to a firm conclusion, he offers fifteen hypotheses to explain the differences, which are generally:

Hypothesis 2: Pentecostals are mobilizing their resources to meet the strongly felt threat of instability in their value-attitude systems and their social relationships, and they are emotionally aroused concerning these needs; nevertheless they have not established completely
meaningful or satisfying value-attitude systems.

Hypothesis 3: Pentecostals have an uncommon degree of uncertainty concerning interpersonal relationships.

Hypothesis 7: Pentecostals attract uncertain, threatened, inadequately organized persons with strong motivation to reach a state of satisfactory interpersonal relatedness and personal integrity.

Hypothesis 8: Pentecostalism provides patterns of behavior leading to personality integration, interpersonal relatedness and certainty.

Hypothesis 10: Emotionally intense religious experience is connected in an important way with the process of personality reorientation.

Hypothesis 13: Religious enthusiasm (such as Pentecostalism) is one solution to socio-cultural situations in which cases of personality disorganization are widespread. (Wood, 1965, p.93-96)

Ari Kiev (1964) examined ten West Indian schizophrenics and a group of normal West Indian Pentecostals, both groups immigrants in England. He concluded that

... the schizophrenia patients could not maintain sufficient control of autistic and regressive behavior to fit into the prescribed ritual patterns. (1964)

This touches on a recurrent theme in the debate over the difference between schizophrenia, and shamanistic or ritual hallucinations. A classic study by Jane Murphy (1976) denied that labeling of a behavior a dysfunctional alone made it dysfunctional, and in particular, she denied that simpler societies made no distinction between the shaman and the insane. In her study of the Eskimo and African Yoruba she found behavior disorders similar to schizophrenia, which the natives labeled as "crazy" and distinguished from shamanic states on the basis of whether the individual is in control or not. None of those labeled "crazy" ever became
priests or shaman.

Kiev finds the case much more complex (1974). He postulates a stress-diathesis model of mental illness, i.e. that individuals are more or less susceptible to a biochemically based psychotic syndrome, and that their environmental and life experience will create greater or lesser pressures (stress) towards tripping the individual into psychosis. This is a first level of cultural conditioning of mental illness which, like ASCs, has a psycho-biological basis. The second, more controversial, level is that, while a psychotic and non-psychotic may be distinguishable, many societies cited by Kiev encourage certain types of mentally ill to take up ritualistic training as spirit cultists or to be exorcised of their demons. One may think of Spiro's exorcists in Burmese Supernaturalism, whose psychotherapeutic roles are elaborated. (For a further explanation of this theme see Appendix Two.) Through belief in a spiritual "calling" or "affliction", cultures eliminate negative self-concepts of the mentally ill, who tend to assume guilt for their illness under modern medical practices.

A positive response to mental illness is most dramatically seen in the case of paranoid schizophrenia, who make no effort to find out how their hallucinations were produced, or why they have occurred, in those cultures in which such phenomena are not regarded as abnormal. Indeed, they are often seen as an indication of something especially worthwhile— as, for example, in Puerto Rico, where spiritualist healers are selected on the basis of their hallucinatory experiences. The Puerto Rican with hallucinations who becomes a spiritualist healer incorporates his symptoms into the role and thereby reduces the likelihood that secondary symptoms or complicating patterns will develop. (Kiev, 1974, p. 20)

While induction into roles may act to alleviate or channel certain forms of psychological dysfunction, other researchers go further to assert that role-induction is primary, and that psychological predispositions play little role. For instance, Plog (1965) conducted a study of Charismatic groups in California and Washington using indepth as well as general psychological inventories. While this research is non-longitudinal and had no control, this
probably is the largest study to date (800 subjects). Plog concluded that the only area in which Neo-Pentecostals tended to differ from the norm is "interpersonal relationships", and that it is in this area that Neo-Pentecostals report the most consistent improvements from membership.

A more recent and much better designed piece of research is Lovekin and Maloney's (1977) study of a Catholic Charismatic "Life in the Spirit" seminar. Surveys were given to Catholic participants before, after, and in a follow-up, and three groups were compared: Old Glossolalics (who had spoken in tongues before the seminar), New Glossolalics (who spoke in tongues at the seminar for the first time) and Non-Glossolalics (who attended the seminar, and never spoke in tongues). No groups were psycho-pathological at pre-test, and all groups changed in the direction of "personality integration". The study concludes that participation in the seminar is not the result of dire psychological disorder, not are the positive effects of participation attributable solely to glossolalia.

Catharsis

Most researchers find some degree of cathartic or therapeutic role being played by the practice of speaking in tongues. Classically, Freudian-influenced researchers suggest a connection between tongues being "oral" and sublimation of various "oral needs" such as dependency. Iaaffal sees glossolalia as providing a verbal form for discharging a conflicted wish, while the expression itself is stripped of meaning. Lapsley and Simpson suggest that tongues are a "regression in the service of the ego", providing release for internalized conflicts. Pattison sees thought/affects connected to different sounds in glossolalia, therefore a form of expression of specific subconscious thoughts.

The more general concept here is that ASCs are an opportunity for the subconscious to express itself. Kelsey approaches tongues from a Jungian perspective (on the basis of Jung's own reflections on glossolalia) to suggest that the practice is

... a positive preparation for integration of personality ... and may well be an unconscious
resolution to neurosis (Richardson, 1974)

Spirc (1960) elaborates the Freudian theme of expression of the subconscious, by specifying three reasons Burmese become shamans: sexual, dependency, and dionysian needs. Sexual needs are especially clear in cultures with taboos against women expressing independence or strength, and against male homosexuality. In these situations cults frequently provide opportunities for women and men to be possessed by licentious and outrageous spirits of either sex, which demand of them symbolic or real sexual behavior. This is less the case with Pentecostals since the Holy Ghost is somewhat a more narrow possession cult norm, with fewer legitimate behaviors than are available in most PT cultus, especially in its deemphasis of sexuality. Anecdotal evidence for the ecstatic performance being sexual is common. For instance, Homan (1980) cites a case where a young man in a particularly ecstatic congregation had an orgasm while in the throes of his being "slain in the spirit", and later excused himself to clean up. An informant reported to Homan that his wife was having orgasms in her charismatic prayer group.

In United Pentecost there were occasions where members would be told

You must become brides of Christ

A number of the women who speak in tongues at the services, especially the younger ones, could be assumed by most observers to be the most sexually repressed and in need of sublimatory catharsis. Certainly the moans, dancing and general imagery of possession is sexual in style.

Bourguignon shows that women are statistically more likely in cross-cultural research to be practicing possession trance than men. She relates this to women's subordinate role and shows how women are allowed to express mockery of men, and their own desires for power through their "possessed" role. Also, the images that are used in possession are feminine and passive: being mounted as a horse by the god, being sexually desired or "possessed" by the spirit, carrying the spirit within one like a fetus (Bourguignon, 1981). This relationship between a passive female psychology and passive ecstatic ritual images is further explored by Hood and Hall (1980) who show that women
are much more likely to describe both erotic and ecstatic states in passive language than men. This general idea that possession's ritual images will psychologically resonate with submissive personalities relates to Spiro's postulate of dependency needs being fulfilled through possession.

Finally, Spiro sees PT expressing Dionysian needs, or the need to be freed from social mores and norms, as it is satisfied by the structured chaos of the possession performance. This will be discussed in Chapter 4 in the context of liminality-communitas theory.

In Scheff's (1980) theory of catharsis, the most important elements of ritual release of emotion are the psycho-physiological processes of crying, laughing, sweating, shouting, and heavy breathing. These exact processes of memory recall of repressed experiences and release of the attendant emotions. As already discussed, crying, sweating, and heavy breathing are common in Pentecostal and Charismatic services even if the individual does not dissociate or experience automatic behaviors. Laughing is more rare as a part of glossolalia, though there is more humor in a Pentecostal service than in most other mainstream denominations of "God's frozen people".

(Rev. S.): Do you think Jesus was a happy man or a sad man? I think he was a happy man. My Bible says he wanted to bring joy to the world. I tell you I love my Jesus cause he wants me to dance and shout.

The ironic juxtaposition of the joyfulness emphasized in the service and the constant crying and unnerving, pain-wracked moaning of the enraptured, is most easily understand as reflecting the painful nature of life and the joy of the release of this burden to Christ. Hutch (1980) sees tongues as a "ritualized amalgamation of laughing and crying"; two fundamental experiences of life, joy and hurt.

Sargant sees the stress of the convert to be largely the result of the intensity of the ritual rather than the personality or life experience of the individual. Nonetheless, his model emphasizes the cathartic impact of the release of this neuro-psychological stress through ecstatic experience which, he suggests, effects neuro-psychological changes.

The most subjective, but most important measure of the
cathartic impact of the practice of tongues is the report of the glossolalics. Almost all glossolalics assert that one feels "better" after one prays and speaks in tongues. In particular, the imagery of the "burdens" is used

Whatever your burden is tonight; your job, your husband or wife, an illness, I want you to come up to the altar tonight. Jesus can remove your burden... No one should leave here tonight who doesn't have the "victory". As long as you've got something troubling your mind, you need to be on your knees seeking "the victory".

According to Hine (1969, p. 223), frequent tongue speakers perceive themselves as better off after conversion, i.e. the on-set of tongues. An informant of Gerlach and Hine's (1970, p. 123) reports:

When this language began to come it was to me a tremendously releasing experience

Conclusions

On the basis of my field and literature research I feel a number of conclusions can be drawn. Glossolalia is generally a learned behavior, though it can be "discovered" independently of its institutionalization. While the psycho-physiological behavior is conditioned by social norms and learning, the behaviors may be accompanied by an ASC which we have referred to as PT and which is characteristically a hyperaroused state. This ASC may then in turn feed back on the behavior, increasing the fluency, non-alliterative, non-repetitive nature of the speech. These effects occur as the ASC breaks down the normal cognitive patterns (such as self-consciousness or English linguistic patterns) which would inhibit the glossolalic production. Nonetheless, the ASC production is generally conditioned by a normative ritual process, and has a strong tendency to recede as the behavior becomes more automatic and habitual, esp. after conversion.

While the lines between pathology, normality, and
sanity have not been clearly drawn, Kier's stress-diathesis model is a starting point. Social stresses and deprivations create a psychological predisposition toward taking up glossolalia and also toward having a stress-triggered breakdown. The experience of an ASC upsets normal ways of thinking and feeling much like electro-shock treatment (Sargent, 1959) and is a positively evaluated experience in its own right. Glossolalia catharts emotional stress for most participants and may avert mental illness. Also, participation and commitment to the cause alleviate many deprivations such as normlessness and isolation, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. There seems to be substantial evidence that psychological stress and various social-psychological deprivations, will predispose individuals to membership, and influence their frequency and intensity of tongue-speaking.

While, in general, glossolalia has been a sub-culturally "normative" behavior, and in many cases has had a self-actualizing or therapeutic effect, because of Pentecostals powerless and statusless position in our society, they have in the past been dismissed as pathological, a Szaszian case in point. Pentecostals are in many ways modern shamans, practicing a modern PR, and can be distinguished from the mentally ill. On the other hand, there are many complex interrelationships between mental illness and ecstatic experience. Pentecostals themselves recognize an ambiguous area between sanctity and insanity when they warn that some "emotionally unstable" individuals may abuse the practice of tongues. Thus, the ritual social scientific injunction: more research should be done in this area.
APPENDIX TWO: EXORCISM IN PORTSMOUTH, OHIO

The central character of this story is young Chris S., a 20 year-old minister who is central to the social structure of United Pentecost. His entire family, father, mother and sister, converted to Pentecostalism in United Pentecost four years before I arrived. His parents had moved from Kentucky to Columbus in the fifties, and though they had not known each other in Kentucky, met and married. As discussed in Chapter 3, whole-family and dual-spouse conversions are not uncommon, and they tend to have a reinforcing effect on each individuals commitment, as well a tendency to alleviate family and marital problems that had existed before conversion (Vivier, cited in Richardson, 1974).

After his family converted, Chris and his sister, both H.S. students then, were timid about letting their new religiosity be known in the school. But soon, the secret was cut and both began to "burn bridges behind them" by witnessing to (usually alienating) their friends. Chris and his sister, after discussions with the pastor, decided to drop out of worldly pastimes; the football team for Chris, and cheerleading for his sister. Quickly, their circles of friends became those who either were in the church, or were familiar and comfortable with Pentecostalism, but could deftly keep the S.'s evangelical tendencies at bay.

When I first entered the church, Chris was the first to attempt to teach me tongues, as I describe in Chapter 2. His father is a forceful testifier and is obviously proud that his son has gotten his ministerial licence, and is delaying getting a job now after H.S. to preach. When I first arrived in United Pentecost, the pastor had to continually remind the new, young minister to join his fellow elders on the stage, something he was obviously embarrassed to do. His embarrassment did not extend to his preaching, though, and he relished the opportunity to speak long and forceful (if somewhat halting and stereotyped) testimonies. Within the context of the church, he was not another unemployed youth living with his parents; he became a charismatic evangelist, the newest light in the congregation, on whom many hopes (and not a few crushes) were pinned.

I was tipped off to the events reported below in several of Chris's testimonies, in which he referred to
...that guy we cast the demons out of down in Portsmouth... You know, when we cast those demons out of him there was just me and Smokie and Terry, but the next day that guy said he had seen four men in the room. Who do you think that fourth man was? I know it was my Jesus...

Intrigued, I approached him later and asked if I might tape-record a report from him on what had transpired in this exorcism he had performed, with which tape I could write a paper "at school". He accepted the premise, but said that instead of an interview I could just have a tape that his mother had recorded of her son and his companion, Smokie, describing their adventure. This tape is transcribed below.

The story takes place in Portsmouth, Ohio, two hours south of Columbus. Chris, and his two friends, Smokie and Terry, both Pentecostals but subordinant in status to Chris, are visiting a congregation which is somehow related to United Pentecostal, presumably also in the denomination of United Pentecostal.

*****************************************************************************

Chris: Only first went down there Monday night. When we was going down there we felt like something was going to happen. Somehow we got on the subject of demons. We started talking about demons. Smokie was the first and after that we thought we could feel it. So we went to church, you know we went to that house and got ... and stuff and went to the church and we all started praying and playing music and stuff and the Lord started speaking through us and started telling us what was going to happen. I don't remember what all he told him but I remember what he told me. He spoke to me and said "He will come unto to you. He needs help and he wants help." And he said "He roam the streets". And this guy right here he lives in a car, and walks the streets most of the time. And I didn't know nothing about him, the Lord told me about him. And I don't remember what else he said.

Listener: ...........

Chris: No, he didn't tell me that, he showed me that. And then he goes "He will come unto to you and then you will see him again". In other words, he will come once and then
you will see him again later. But then later on while I was praying, I had my eyes closed and the Lord showed me what he looked like: black hair, parted on the side and they thought it was somebody else at the time, somebody downtown who seemed really off. So I took it from there it was sin. Smokie was praying and the Lord spoke to him in the same way: "Stand still".

Smokie: "See the salvation of the Lord".

Chris: And finally after a long time we settled down and went to sleep, and the next morning we got up and we thought we was going to go downtown 'cause we thought that that was where we was going to find this man. So we went and ate and got dressed and went downtown. And we set there for a couple of minutes and just felt that it wasn't there. We knew it wasn't the right place. So, I think all three of us felt at the same time "Well, let's go back to the church and pray" you know, to find out what the Lord wants us to do. So, we went back to the church and me and Terry was praying, and Smokie, he felt real weak. Did not have any strength at all.

Smokie: And I had been........ man, was I tired.

Chris: So me and Terry was praying, and Terry went to lie down, he felt like laying down, so we laid down on one of the benches. And as soon as he laid down on the bench the Lord spoke to him and said "He's coming to you right now". So he got up and stood up, and right then the door knoc on the church door (Exclamations from the listeners) the door was locked and we heard the doorknob turning. And Smokie said "There's somebody at the door" and Terry went up and opened the door, and let him in and I didn't know at first. I didn't realize.... And Terry said "Is that him?" And I said, "Well give me a minute to go back and pray, so I can go back and pray". And the Lord said "This is the one" and he said "Pray for this one. This is the one that has the demon". And he told me to pray for him. So me and Smokie was sitting in the sanctuary, talking to him and Terry went back in the pastor's office to read something, and Smokie was talking to him and the Lord kept telling me to pray for this guy, so I finally asked him "Do you mind if I pray for you?" and the guy said "What?" and I asked him about three times. And Smokie asked him "Do you care if we encint you and pray for you?". And he just looked at Smokie and said "Well, I don't think so." And he just picked up his coat and he just about ran out the door, he practically ran out the door. So we was trying to talk him into letting us pray for him. And he kept saying "No, no, I'm afraid of
what will happen, I might start laughing like I did before."
...when he was trying...

Listeners: ...........

Chris: Well, he didn't know what it was I think.

Smokie: Before he got out the door, he wouldn't let us
ancint him, so I put some oil on my finger without him
seeing it. I reached out to shake his hand and said "Well,
we hope to see you later" and he actually bumped my hand,
when I put this oil on his hand. His hand just went ZOOOM.

Chris: Yeah, so then he said he was going to come back
to church. And we was all there and we knew what we had to
do, the Lord told us, what exactly we had to do. And the
Lord showed me a vision of me, of us three, always praying
for him, and they (the other two) was just standing there,
you know.

Smokie: We were at the sides and he was at the head of
them.

Chris: Yeah. So this guy said he was going to come back
to church and his brother Keaton was there teaching the
Bible study and this guy's name was Rick and he sat there a
while till about the first half of the service and then got
up and left. And Smokie and I thought, well, why is he
leaving, you know, the Lord wants this done, somebody has
got to do something. So we asked Terry to go after him, and
Terry said "I can't go after him, I can't push him". So he
didn't do nothing. But he left half-way through the
service, and the minute church was over he walked right back
through the door. And he sat right down. And we went over
to Brother Stittler's 'cause he took Brother Stittler's
daughter home. And me and Terry went over there in the van,
and Rick was in the van. And Brother Stittler was trying to
talk him into getting baptized, and saying "It's the Devil
that wants you not to get baptized." And see, nobody knew
he had a demon except us. And this guy you know, he just
kind of went along with everybody. Saying "Yeah, well, I
know I will someday. But right now I'm just..." You know.
And Brother Stittler was saying, "Well, probably before this
night is over you'll get baptized." So we went to brother
Stittler's house and took them home and then got in Smokie's
car and was going back to the church. And we decided to get
something to eat.

So we bought lunch meat and stuff like that, and a
whole bunch of bread. And we went there and we was eating,
and me and Smokie had sandwiches. And Rick sat in the sanctuary and said he couldn't eat lunch meat 'cause of ulcers, so he sat in the sanctuary playing the organ. So we all ate and everything, and he came in there and was sitting around for a while. And Terry was real tired so he laid down and was going to go to sleep. And Rick sat there a couple of minutes with us, and then he laid down beside Terry. Smokie was studying something 'cause he had to preach. And then I told him, "Well, I'm kind of tired", and I think I laid down and kind of dozed off. And I woke up to this noise that sounded like a locked door and somebody trying to get in, somebody shaking it like this, trying to get it open. I thought it was something outside trying to get in. And he was up there (Smokie) just reading his Bible and I looked over at him and said "What's that?" And he said "It's Rick". And it didn't register. And then I said "Where's he at?". "He's in that bathroom". There's nothing in that bathroom but a toilet and a sink. I don't know what he was rattling around making noise with. But it was awful loud noise and sounded like the doors to me. I got to admit that was the only time that I felt afraid, when that was happening.

And we was standing up there and Rick came out, and he walked up there and he was kind of quiet and he seemed kind of weird, kind of different. He said... Smokie asked him if he was alright, and he said "Well, I need something to eat," and went back in the office and started making himself a sandwich, and we just kind of looked at each other, 'cause he had just said he wouldn't eat any. And he was sitting there making a sandwich and his hands was shaking like this. He was shaking and trying to make it and just struggling to make it. He made it and took a bite of it. And when he was sitting there he covered his head up on the desk. He put his head down and covered it up. And me and Smokie was talking to him, and Smokie said "Rick, look at me" and Rick said "No" and Smokie said "Just look up" and Rick said "I can't".

We was trying to get through to him, and he couldn't look at us at all. And Smokie goes "Do you feel we have a different spirit?" and Rick said "yes" and Smokie said "Do you believe its a good Christian spirit?" and Rick said "Yeah" and then Smokie said "Well, then, what kind of spirit do you have?" and he said "I don't know" and Smokie said "Do you feel its an evil one?" and Rick said "I don't know". And so we started talking to him about praying for him and he said "Well, OK" and all this time he was resisting and so I poured the oil on his head. 'Cause when he came out of the bathroom to go in the office I picked up
the oil to take with me, 'cause I knew I'd need it. And he was resisting, and I poured a little oil on his head and he didn't know it. And then finally he goes "Well, you can pray for me, but turn out the lights". He wanted us to do it in the dark. But I said, the Lord spoke to me and told me to tell him, "No", I said, "We can't do that 'cause we're children of the light, we don't work in the dark, we work in the light." And Smokie started telling him some things like that, and he finally said "OK, go ahead". So I put some oil on my hands, and Smokie and I started praying for him. The first thing Smokie did was put oil on his hands and then on his forehead, and Rick started wiping it on his sleeves saying "Man, that's hot. What are you guys doing?...that's burning me." And Smokie sat down and explained to him about the situation with the demon and stuff, and he kind of took it a little bit shaky, but he accepted it and goes "Well, OK, go ahead and pray for me", but still wouldn't lift up his head and look at us.

So I was trying to put the oil on his head, and he was trying to wipe it off. So I lifted up his head to put the oil on, and he jerked and Smokie was holding his hands, so I started praying for him. And he just started shaking and all this. So we prayed for a while. And then we stopped and started talking to him, and I was trying to talk him into going into the sanctuary, 'cause we were in brother Stittler's office, it was a little small room. So finally we talked him into going in there. And I had to go in there and get Terry, I woke him up and said "Terry" I said "We're praying for Rick, and if you want to help us you should wake up, but if you want to sleep you should go in the office". So he kind of laid there and when Smokie came in he kind of kicked him and told him to get up. And finally he got up and went in the office to wake up.

And in the mean time, we brought Rick in there to pray for him, and we knelt down right in front of the altar and Smokie was talking to him and said "Rick, I want you to say this" and Rick said "What?" and Smokie said "Jesus Christ is God" and Rick said "Jesus Christ..." and he didn't say the rest of it. It took him about ten or fifteen minutes to get him to say "...is God". And then he was wanting Rick to say "Jesus Christ is God and has all power", but then, anyway, it took him about ten or fifteen minutes to say the whole sentence together, but finally did that. Terry came out then and we started praying for him, and I started praying for him with oil all over my hands. And I think Terry took some. And I laid my hands on him, and he fell backwards and was laying on his back. I laid my hands on his head, he started shaking, fell backwards and was just
laying on his back there. And I walked around to his side and started praying for him. I put a little oil on my finger and put it on his forehead. And we started praying for him. I put a little oil on my finger and put it on his forehead. And we started praying for him, and he was really shaking. And I started commanding this demon, I said "If there be a demon in you I command you to show yourself in the name of Jesus Christ" and he was starting to breathe kind of heavy and started making these weird noises. And we kept praying and finally he came up and started saying "NO...NO" just like that.

Listener: Like the one....?

Chris: No this one was different. So I was praying and saying "Satan, you've got to come out of this body" and I was rebuking him and stuff. And he kept saying "No" so after a while I said "Satan, listen to me." He kind of got still for a minute and I said "You know you have to come out of this body don't you?" and he told me where I could go then. And we just looked around and started praying more. And he got really bad then 'cause he started fighting. And he had the strength of four or five men 'cause we couldn't hardly hold him.

Smokie: I said "God, if you're going to give us strength, give us the strength of Samson now".

Chris: And we was praying for him and all this stuff. And he was really putting up a fight and then he calmed down. The spirit went down within him. And my voice was leaving me. This was after about an hour, and I wanted to stop, cause I had to talk to him, and my voice was leaving 'cause I had been praying so hard. And as soon as they stopped and started to let go of him, that thing started to swing it's arms and started to kick. So we grabbed a hold of it and just kept on going. And I kept trying to get it to tell me its name and all it would say is "NO". You know, we couldn't get a name out of it, and Smokie went down and put his head up against his face. And Smokie said "Are you the spirit of Keel(?)" and he just kind of laughed. So Smokie said "I know. You're the same kind of spirit as Judas Iscariot". And that thing just started jerking and started laughing really weird, like mocking laugh, and we could tell by that which one he was...

Listener: Which would that be?

Chris: Uh, (the) deceit one, or (the) murderous one, or whatever. But this spirit was really strong, so we kept
praying, and it just kind of laughed. I kept trying to get it to speak to me and all it would say is "NO". I kept trying to get this thing out. And I was sitting there going "Satan, you're a coward, you won't even talk to me" and man, he didn't like that. And I said "Satan, I dare you to speak to me". And he said "NO" and kind of laughed. So I said "Satan I triple dare you to speak to me" and he said "NO" and kind of laughed. So I said "Satan speak to me so I can laugh with you". And he just kind of started putting up a fight and they had to hold him still. And we started asking him all this stuff. So I asked him "Do you like olive oil?" and he said "NO". So we started putting more on him, we put some on his lips. And the spirit was trying to spit it out. And we put it on his neck and he started jerking and everything. And I don't mean to be gross, but I had to cover my face 'cause I was sure he was going to spit on me.

I thought he would. You know we was praying for him and anointing him and everything and he just kept spitting it out and everything. And really putting up a fight. And we started talking to him about some things. I go "Satan, you know that all demons are bound by God". Man, he started putting up a fight. And he said, "In the name of God that cast you out of Heaven I bind you in the name of Jesus Christ" and he really started fighting them. He was slapping us like little rags, picking us up with no problem. All this time I had oil on my hands and all this time my hands never left the side of his head, even with all that jerking he did, my hands stuck to the side of his head. And I was praying. And I asked Rick "Do you think the word of God is true?" and he says "NO". I said "Oh, but the word of God is true and all demons are subject unto God" and he says "NO" and started hollering. He grabbed his tie and ripped the buttons off his shirt. So Smokie was trying to fix it. And he knew this thing was going to get rowdy so he just took his shirt off. And I said "Satan, it says in the Bible 'Greater is he that is in me than he that is in the world'" and he said "NO" and he just started putting up a fight. And I said "yes, Satan, greater" and he just picked up both of those guys, one with each arm and started swinging them around.

Smokie: One on each hand.

Chris: One on each hand. And the guy is Smokie's size (small).

Smokie: I started laughing.

Chris: and Terry got down there by his legs. And this
guy got Terry in the scissors, you know what that is. And it just so happens that Terry was operated on a long time ago, you remember when he almost died? And it was right in his stomach. And that's exactly where the devil got him and tried to rupture his insides. If the Lord hadn't of been in him we think the Devil would have ruptured his insides.

Listeners: But Terry.....?

Listener: I never seen like this before.

Chris: Everytime he would start jerking around I would say, "Satan, I bind you in the name of Jesus Christ" and I'd say that a couple of times and he'd settle back down. And the song "Ain't no grave" came on (the tape-player) and I asked Satan "Satan, do you like this song?" and Satan said "No" so we started singing that song. He started jerking around, and struggling, while we was singing. He kind of went down in for a moment so we got more oil and anointed him. About this time we ran out of oil. We only had one bottle. We anointed his lips and his feet.

Smokie: Here comes a miracle now.

Chris: This bottle was empty. Smokie picked it up and turned it over on this guy's lips and oil came out of it.

Smokie: I said "God, you know the bottle is empty. But Lord, I know you can make oil". I turned the bottle over and it started dripping, drip-drip-drip.

Chris: Right on his lips. And he started spitting it out, and moving his head back and forth like this. And all this time I had my hands on his head. So I got down and started talking to him and daring him to speak to me. I was challenging him to speak to me. I said "Satan, I been challenging you to speak to me" and you have yet to meet my challenge. Satan, you have been around since the beginning of the world, and you think you have all power, you have all power, you won't even speak to me, just a man, because you are scared of me" and he started putting up a fight. And I started saying "Greater is he that is in me than he that is in the world" and man, he didn't like that. And he started putting up a fight you know. And then we started talking about "the blood" (of Jesus). And he didn't like that.

Smokie: I had to lay over top of him, I didn't have shirt on or nothing so I put my head against his, and I was telling him, I said "Satan, my body is considered a vessel unto God. And its full of holy oil"
Chris: When he was doing that, he laid his Bible on this guy's chest and this guy's hands started pushing it away at first. Smokie said he could feel the Devil was working on that. Then, he started pulling the Bible towards him. This thing was trying to send us on our way and was holding onto the Bible, so Smokie said "No" and took the Bible away from him. Then we started talking about the blood, and this thing started saying "No, No". So I said "Back off buddy!" Terry got down on his face and tried to talk to this demon. Terry got a little excited. We started talking to him about the blood of Christ and having the blood applied and all this. We were trying to get him to calm down. So Terry took one arm and Smokie took the other and Smookie said "Tell him about the position he's in: the position of Christ outstretched on the cross". I said "Satan, you are in the same position that Christ was on the cross" and he didn't say anything but just kind of laughed so I said "and we're going to crucify you right back into outer darkness" and he said "NO".

So Smokie and Terry put their fingernails in his palms and dug them in. And he kept saying "No". And I said "Satan, I command you to leave this body". And he kept saying "No". At about that time the song "I'll fly away" came on (Editor's note: "Fly away, fly away, spread your wings and fly away to the Lord... when I die, by and by, I'll fly away") So I said "Satan, I bind you in the name of Jesus Christ". I said "Satan, listen to me". And it really surprised me 'cause he stopped. And he listened, and I said "Satan, listen to that song". I said "Satan, do you like that song?" And he said "No". And I said "Why don't you like that song?" and he just said "No". And I said "Come on guys, let's start singing this song" So we started singing "Fly away..." And then when we got to the part "just a few more weary days..." Man, he really started kicking. Kicking like crazy, 'cause, you know, the Devil knows he's only got a few more days. And, man, we was singing that and he was putting up a fight like crazy.

So then Terry or Smokie said "Tell him how much we love this body". So I said "Satan, we love this body that you are in" and he just kind of laughed. And I said "You know what? this body is going up to meet Christ and you can't do nothing about it" and he goes "NO" and started putting up a fight. And I said "Satan, we're going to command you to come out of this body and this body is going up to meet Christ in the air". And he said "NO" and I said "You know what we're going to do up there?" And he didn't say anything. So I said "We're going to sing and praise the
Lord and we're going to be with our God" and he started saying "No", and he started putting up a fight and he was hollering. And I said "This person is going up up there and there ain't a thing you can do about it," And he was hollering and all that stuff and all this stuff.

He kind of calmed down then. It kind of went back down in to hide. And then Rick came around, and started talking, we started talking to Rick. "OK", so we told Rick "Go back in and try to find this to bring it back up" and he went back in. About this time I heard this demon say something, and I didn't know what it was at the time. But I believe its what he said: He called him by name. Right after that Rick came back and said "I can't find him, I can't find him"

Smokie: I laid down on him and put my face against his face and said "Now, Rick, listen to me. Go down as far as you can go in yourself. He's hiding and you've got to push him out. Otherwise, you won't make it in the rapture". And then he went into a violent fit again.

Chris: Yeah. And then he came back up. And all this stuff. Man, I tell ya...let me think...I kept challenging him to talk to me. And I kept saying "If you've got a voice, I dare you to speak to me". And I kept saying "If you've got a voice, I dare you to speak to me". And about this time, after Rick got this thing back up, I kept saying "Satan, I challenge you to speak to me" and this demon was wanting to speak, but Rick...Rick wouldn't let it speak. You could see his mouth going like this. And he just held his moth together and wouldn't let him speak. And we kept telling him "Rick, let it speak" but he wouldn't. And I could tell this demon wanted to tell something to me, and I wanted to know what it was. But Rick wouldn't let it speak. And I kept saying "I challenge you to speak...If you have any voice at all, I challenge you to speak" and I started saying "I don't believe you have a voice to speak to nobody, I don't believe you're going to overcome us, I don't believe you're going to have the victory" and he started getting riled up, and all this time he would kind of laugh. And every time he got a chance, and got a hand loose, he'd come up at me like this, like he was going to grab me. And everytime he'd do that I'd move my leg real fast. And Rick never opened his eyes once. And everytime I'd move my leg, just as he'd about get it, he'd just laugh. He would laugh like "I scared you" or something. But I would move my leg real fast and he would laugh. I kept on praying and kept rebuking him.

We was out of oil, and we wanted to do something, so we
sent Terry back to get some water. We were going to use that as cleansing water. And you wouldn't of believed that water. We poured it on him and it rolled off and dried up just like that.

Smokie: I started pouring it on his neck and chest and just "whoosh" it was gone.

Chris: It was gone. And we just kept praying and this thing was kind of laughing and stuff. And this went on fer... I told him, I said "Satan, listen. Do you love me?" and he goes "No". I said "But I love yo" and he started saying "No" and I just kind of smiled and stuff, and I think he told me where to go again, I think he told me that about twice.

Mother: Well, that would be "him" (the Devil) speaking to you wouldn't it?

Chris Yeah. And I was just praying for him. About four o'clock the Lord spoke to me; the Lord brought it to my mind and I don't know why I didn't think of it before. I said "Satan, I give you permission to leave this body and enter into a dog and go out and kill that dog" and he said "No" (Editor's note: This refers to a story that was recounted several times in United Pentecost sermons of the possessed man in the New testament who responds to Jesus's inquiry of his identity "We are legion". Jesus casts the demons into swine which run into a river and drown.) And then he started hollering and saying "NO" and really fighting the hardest he ever had. At this point Smokie was on his chest. He was on his chest and had the Bible in between them. And I said "Satan, I give you permission to leave this body and enter into a stray dog and go out and kill that dog" and he said "No" and started hollering real loud about three times and then let out two of the most blood-curdling screams I have ever heard in my life. And his back was arched up real far and right after he got done screaming he just fell. Like a rag, he just fell there and we knew it was gone, man, we was feeling good. And we started talking to Rick, and the first thing Rick said after this happened was "Woowow" and man, you could just see a glow come over his face and a smile. And, oh man, I tell you, you hear about people jumping up and down and hollering.

Smokie: I looked at Rick and said "What do you feel like?" And the very first words he said were "I feel like I been born again".

Chris: Man, I tell you, when he let out those screams,
I jumped a first, but then I started praying. Those were the worst screams I've ever heard in my life. You would of heard those screams outside if there was anybody out there.

Smokie: then about four-thirty in the morning we baptized him in the name of Jesus Christ.

Mother: I bet it was awful dark out then.

Smokie: I pulled my car right down in there.

Chris: It was cold too. We he came back and laid down and we put blankets over him and was ready to go to sleep, he kept saying "Praise the Lord". And he was just smiling and it was so sweet, it was something. We was waiting for him to speak in tongues.

Smokie: We looked at him and he just had a glow like a lightbulb glowing.

Sister: How old is this guy?

Chris: Twenty-something.

Sister: Is that all?

******************************************************************************

Rick is deeply embedded in the Pentecostal community when he is met by the protagonists. He hangs out at the Pentecostal church, goes to services and his brother teaches Bible school. He has witnessed tongues and has friends, such as Brother Stittler's daughter, who are believers, who acknowledges a general belief in the cosmology, but is resisting conversion out of insufficient motivation to change friendship and lifestyle patterns. He is experiencing intense pressure from his environment, symbolized in the story by the respected authority figure, Brother Stittler, telling him that his unwillingness to be baptized is a sign of Satanic influence (which, in a Pentecostal context, can be a fairly casual dismissal of unwillingness to convert or hesitation or doubt of any kind), and that Rick will convert "before

While it appears at first glance that Chris and his Hardy boy comrades have stumbled on a hapless victim of charismatic reality-definition, on second glance, we see that Rick has been well-prepared mythologically, socially, and psychologically for his exorcism-conversion. One can
speculate about Rick's experience. Presumably, he was subjectively experiencing what Chris, et al, report he was experiencing. (The events certainly happened, having been verified by Brother Stittler and the other contacts between Rick, Rick's church and the Columbus church.) Rick must have been in some degree of hyper-aroused state by 4 in the morning, having catharted a great deal of his denial of Pentecostalism, God, etc. (the repeated "No, NO!""). In this case, the exorcism has served as an equivalent or surrogate conversion experience, with his baptism in water taking place in the charismatic after-glow.

Further, it seems clear that the three young, working-class exorcists were men with time on their hands, in need of establishment of self-identity and importance in their social world. A direct confrontation and victory over the Devil is a feather in one's cap. As Chris says:

I could tell this demon wanted to tell me something and I wanted to know what it was"
CHAPTER THREE: SELF IN COMMUNITY

Cross-cultural studies of religious behavior support the assumption accepted by most anthropologists that the capacity for ecstatic experiences and trance, or other assorted behavior is pan-human. Only the interpretation of it, the technique designed to facilitate it or inhibit it, and the form it takes, differ cross-culturally. When such states and behaviors are valued in society (as they are in many non-Western societies), this capacity can be systematically encouraged in some or all of its members. When they are devalued, they can be culturally inhibited, and appear only as deviant behavior. If such "deviant behavior" functions to set practitioners apart from the larger society through specific and desired personal changes, these extraordinary experiences may be institutionalized to make what David Aberle would call "religious virtuosi of the ordinary worshippers"...Through a functional approach to the phenomenon, we have come to assess glossolalia as a non-pathological linguistic behavior, which functions in the context of the Pentecostal movement as one component in the generation of commitment. As such, it operates in social change, facilitating the spread of the Pentecostal movement, affecting nearly every denomination within organized Christianity, and in personal change, providing powerful motivation for attitudinal and behavioral changes in the direction of group ideas. (Hine, 1969, p.211-226)

Modern sociology of religion has been debating two general models of recruitment and commitment. The first general model can be called the ideoclogical-deprivation model, and the second, the participation-structural model. The first model emphasizes the psycho-social factors that predispose individuals to join organizations, while the second model emphasizes, for instance, interpersonal networks in recruitment and the non-pathological nature of the participants. The position of this paper will be that there is no fundamental conflict between these perspectives, one being the ecology of a movement, the other its physiology (Gerlach and Hine, 1968). Also, different sets of deprivation, recruitment, and commitment mechanisms exist within different movements, having a differential importance
for the individual converts to the movements. A total picture becomes clearer when different researchers with different emphases between these extremes are studied.

One of the largest and most provocative studies of Pentecostalism is the research done by Gerlach and Hine (1970) from the perspective that structural elements are far more powerful in explaining the growth of Pentecostalism today than deprivation, mainly on the argument that neo-Pentecostals are not generally materially disadvantaged or socially unorganized. Further, according to Hine (1969), no solid evidence has been gathered that Pentecostals are mentally unstable, or experiencing meaninglessness or loneliness. This second objection is somewhat specious since few studies have had a longitudinal design, and the majority of the researchers have endorsed the deprivation model implicitly in their conclusions. The first objection betrays an insensitivity to the deprivations that the neo-Pentecostals themselves are expressing as motivations for their movement (as will be discussed in Chapter 6).

To provide a model of deprivations or alienations within which to discuss such issues, the work of Glock and Stark (1965) and Melvin Seeman (1960) has been drawn on. Amalgamating their models of "deprivations" and "alienations" four general categories can be differentiated: normative distress, self-estrangement, social isolation, and powerlessness.

Normative distress is usually called anomie when it applies to a social system, and normlessness, purposelessness, or role and value conflict, when it applies to individuals. Individuals may be experiencing this state because rapid social changes have destroyed held beliefs and roles, or the individual may have him or herself become alienated from the existent systems of belief. This state can also come about through exposure to deviant views which stimulate doubt, or intrinsic role conflict which creates ambiguity. In these situations, individuals will become attracted to social movements which promise and/or actually are alleviating these problems through the provision of a coherent set of beliefs, normative codes, shared and reinforced by the group.

Self-estrangement has two main aspects; organismic problems such as ill-health, and psychological problems, such as great stress or neurosis. Individuals suffering these problems will be attracted to movements that promise and provide healing both psychological and physical. More generally, the self-estranged will join organizations to
leave behind an old self and gain a new self.

Social isolation relates to a postulated need people experience for coherent and trustworthy social relatedness. Rapid social change not only destroys the way we understand ourselves and the world but also the way we relate to one another, tending to break bonds and atomize families and communities. Isolated individuals will tend to be attracted to groups that promise companionship, community and family.

Powerlessness is postulated here to be a deprivation in that individuals, probably genetically, as well as through socialization, have a need to control their environment. Those in socially or interpersonally powerless roles will be attracted to movements that promise either real or symbolic power.

Another aspect of the predisposition model is the assertion that individuals are more prone to join a movement when they share its general ideological and "problem-solving" orientation. In particular, religious movements will tend to attract those with a "religious" orientation toward problems, rather than a political, or scientific, orientation. Similarly, Christian movements will tend to attract members who have already been socialized into a Christian mythic symbol system.

Styles of problem-solving and deprivations make individuals susceptible to appeals, and when deprivations are satisfied, cement their commitment. Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1971) discussion of commitment mechanisms and Gerlach and Hine's (1970) model of Pentecostal movement structures will be used to elaborate the structural context through and within which these deprivations are satisfied.

The first major aspect of Pentecostalism, and social movements in general, that Gerlach and Hine emphasize is "acephalous (headless), segmental (cellular), reticulate (networked)" structure. It is predictable that Gerlach and Hine would make this element central since Pentecostals are so classically schismogenetic. As mentioned in Chapter One, Stark and Bainbridge found Pentecostals account for the largest number of American-born sects (25%) and that Holiness account for the second largest (15%). This is obscured somewhat by the neo-Pentecostal movement which has congregations several degrees less sectarian than the older movement, and are consequently somewhat less schismatic.

Gerlach and Hine define a continuum of Pentecostal
churches that begins with the traditional, old-line, well-established sects, continuing to more recent charismatic splits out of other churches, and finally to the "hidden" Pentecostals within the various mainstream churches that have not purged charismatics. Gerlach and Hine point out that the Troeltsch-Weber sect-church developmental theory is only partially successful in explaining these different aspects of the movement. While the older "sects" do have lower SES than those who have remained within mainstream churches, the behavior of the newer, hidden, middle-class neo-Pentecostals is more classically sectarian, emphasizing spontaneity, rapid growth, and absence of formal hierarchy. The low SES sects have followed a slow evolution toward greater churchiness and deemphasis of charisma. The significance of church-sect theory and the growth of Neo-Pentecostals will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Many other observers of Pentecostalism have commented on the congregational and anti-hierarchical nature of Pentecostalism, which is facilitated by the tendency toward schism found especially among the older Pentecostal denominations. Gerlach and Hine focus on the way that the pentecostal movement achieves its decentralized structure and the way in which this structure facilitates its growth.

For instance, Pentecostalism has no international or national leaders, but merely sets of popular evangelists and the heads of dozens of denominational hierarchies. The influential "leaders" that do exist have no widely shared institutional bond, nor do Pentecostals in general. No group within the movement can make decisions binding on another group, except within individual denominations and occasionally not even in that case.

Segmentation refers to the cellular structure of the movement. Individuals are recruited into particular congregations not into an overarching organization. New cells are formed by internal splits from older cells, and prevent the formation of central, bureaucratic structures. This process is facilitated by a number of features: a) an ideology of personal access to power; that any individual inspired by the Lord has spiritual authority to found a church or criticize the hierarchy. b) Pre-existing social, personal and geographical cleavages, though counteracted by certain tendencies in social movements, are also affected by their pre-existing society. Class, religious, ethnic and racial differences have separated the movement into numerous strains. c) Personal competition among movement leaders splits churches and intensifies recruitment efforts. d) Ideological differences are frequently the rationale behind
a split, and presumably occasionally strong independent causative factors rather than just reflections of more material divisions.

Reticulation refers to the network effect of the decentralized connections between denominations, churches and other movement organizations. Personal ties between members of different local groups provide linkage. For instance, members of United Pentecost attended other churches with closely related theological beliefs, churches which in many cases were related to United Pentecost one or two schisms back. Similarly, leaders are acquainted with one or another, and Rev. S. at United Pentecost would have ministers from other churches come to preach and would occasionally refer to them in his sermons. Traveling evangelists, based both in and outside of established churches, hold revivals which draw broad sections of the Pentecostal community in an area, though none draw all the Pentecostals. These gatherings facilitate the communication of information between groups and the building of a diffuse commitment to the movement as a whole.

There are a few popular national and regional associations which provide integration of the movement at some level, such as the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International (FGBFI) which will be discussed in Chapter 6. Though there still are great ideological divisions within the movement, most congregations will accord a degree of legitimacy to another group that believes and practices the "gifts of the spirit," in particular glossolalia. United Pentecost was especially sectarian in its orientation toward others in the Pentecostal movement. Nonetheless, its members acknowledged that there were legitimate tongues being practiced in other churches, and that this was better than not being "in the truth" at all.

Gerlach and Hine second major theoretical elaboration on the structure of social movements in general and Pentecostalism in particular, is that recruitment is achieved mainly in face-to-face contact mediated through pre-existing, positively evaluated, significant social relationships. That is, street-evangelizing, while it may serve other purposes, is not a successful means of seeking converts; rather, friends and family are the two major sources of conversion. In this emphasis, they are joined by Stark and Bainbridge (1980) who, in studies on "the Moonies", a Doomsday cult, an American commune, and the Mormons, show that strong familial and friendship affiliations with members and weak affiliations with non-members, make individuals much more susceptible to
appeals and committed to their membership.

The complementarity between social isolation and recruitment through pre-existing ties is complex. For instance, Harrison (1974), in his study of Catholic Pentecostals, found that a "felt need for deeper Christian relationships" and a feeling that one was "lonely and in need of genuine friendships", were correlated with a positive initial evaluation of Pentecostalism. Also, graduate and married, students, with competing commitments, were underrepresented and had less positive evaluations of the movement. On the other hand, over half of all spirit-Baptized members first heard about the movement from friends, while a third of the non-Pentecostal Catholic controls who had heard of the movement, had heard about it from friends. Seventy-three percent of the participants who originally had one or more friends in the movement report that they went to a Pentecostal gathering after being urged to attend, while only half of those who originally had no friends in the movement encountered such pressures.

This points up a difference between neo-Pentecostal and Pentecostal recruitment discovered by Gerlach and Hine (1970). When family vs. friend recruitment is analyzed statistically, family recruitment is much more important among the sect/lower-class end of the continuum than among the "hidden" charismatic congregations. This is probably due to the higher incidence of primary socialization (parent-world) into the faith among old Pentecostals as opposed to newer sects, and also the greater degree of "nuclearization" of family culture in middle-class America which shifts affiliation from the extended family to work and community relationships.

Certainly, my observations in United Pentecost were that the church was a way of extending and solidifying the disintegrating Appalachian extended family since half of the church was related to the minister. When the minister’s brother died the church was not able to have a service the night of his funeral because the familial commitments of the congregation were so general, even though this man was not Pentecostal, that virtually everyone was obliged to attend. A special emphasis was put on whole-family conversions in United Pentecost. Women, and occasionally men, who attended without their spouses, either because they were not yet "in the faith" or were "backslidden", these members were strongly urged to "put the heat on".

Sister Agnes, think of your dear sweet daughter and your husband. They could die tomorrow in a
car accident or in the shower. We never know when death comes. Don't you want to be there in heaven with your loved ones beside. If anyone can bring them to the Lord, its you.

Vivier (1960) reports that, in his study, the glossolalics come from home atmospheres that were "disturbed" (e.g. alcoholism, epilepsy, mental illness) and that they had more initial problems in marriage than non-glossolalics. Further, marital problems were found to be greatly eased by joint conversion to Pentecostalism by spouses (Richardson, 1973). In United Pentecostal, at least one family of four converted all in the same service, and two acquaintances who happened to get baptized in water and speak in tongues on the same night, and were assumed to be having a relationship by the parishioners, were married two weeks later.

Wood's (1965) research also points to social isolation. He hypothesizes, on the basis of Rorschach tests, that Pentecostals are experiencing unstable social relationships, that Pentecostalism provides a means for establishing interpersonal relatedness, and that while members may still be experiencing some distress about unstable relationships, that they are seeking and achieving relatedness through membership.

This is fairly obvious to the observer in the customary greeting pattern of calling all other Pentecostals of similar denominational and theological leanings "brother" and "sister". This is clearly and consciously a means of creating communion and connectedness. Homan (1978) offers:

The description of role names and relationships within the group has implications for the social identity: in such descriptions of the group as "family" and "fellowship" it celebrates itself as a stable institution characterized by a network of desirable relationships.

As will be discussed later, recruitment and conversion into a church is described as being born into a family. The following response was given when I suggested that I might want to attend another Pentecostal church for a while:

This is where you were born. We're your family now. We have right to keep you here in our family and get the fruits of your commitment to Jesus.

Similar familial terms are used in neo-Pentecostal churches,
with similar emphases on communal relatedness. But while this may represent for the old-line, newly urban Pentecostal an attempt at solidifying a shaky family network, necessitating familial recruitment, for the suburban middle-class the Neo-Pentecostal church is a re-creation of a long scattered extended-family out of one’s mainstream church community and friends.

While Gerlach and Hine have well described the reticulate, decentralized, segmental structure of the movement and the face-to-face recruitment through pre-existing social relationships in Pentecostal recruitment, they largely dismiss predisposing psychological factors as environmental or ecological factors that might increase susceptibility to appeals. One pre-disposing factor that they acknowledge is a "religious problem-solving" orientation. Historically, the pentecostal flame "fell" among Holiness congregations who were well prepared for Pentecostal ideology. Similarly, Hine (1969, p.220) reports that before conversion to Pentecostalism

71% of our respondents considered their religious training to have been conservative or fundamentalist

74% were brought up to consider smoking and drinking wrong

83% were trained to accept the scriptures as authoritative

91% attended church regularly every week before conversion to Pentecostalism

54% were involved as officers or committee members in the organization of their churches (non-Pent. in 3/4 of the cases) before Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Hine points to Geertz’s (1965) theories that some individuals are socialized into "religious" perspectives which can be distinguished from, for instance, "scientific perspectives" in that:

(The religious perspective) questions the realities of everyday life not out of institutionalized skepticism which dissolves the world’s givenness into swirls of probabilistic hypotheses, but in terms of what it takes to be
wider, non-hypothetical truths. (Hine, 1969, p. 221)

Similarly, Harrison (1974) found Catholic Pentecostalism to be much more attractive to the religious student than the non-religious, scientific or political students. In particular, he found the movement growing out of an alienation from social gospel and liberalization tendencies within Catholicism by more traditionally religious, but socially malleable, students. Frequency of considering God in one's actions, belief that formal religious observance have meaning, preference for the Latin Mass, and belief that there is "new promise in the Church today" were all correlated to positive initial reactions to the movement, while political activism, social service, and majoring in science and engineering were negatively correlated.

Kanter

In Commitment and Community, Rosabeth Moss Kanter analyzes the commitment mechanisms of 19th century communes against their longevity and derives 3 basic aspects of commitment: retention of members, group cohesiveness, and social control. This is paralleled by three psychological orientations to membership: instrumental, affective and moral. Commitment may be furthered when individuals instrumentally evaluate what they have invested and what they would lose if they left, when they become affectively attached to the members of a community and cut off attachments to persons outside the community; and when individuals undergo a fundamental shift of self-concept and world-view, a death and rebirth, in which they adopt the normative system, roles and reality of the community.

All this is achieved according to Kanter's schema by six complementary processes: sacrifice and investment, renunciation and communion, and mortification and transcendance.

Sacrifice and Investment

The more it "costs" to join, the more the member will be inhibited from leaving. One aspect of such costs are rules of abstinence from dancing, illicit sexuality, alcohol and entertainment, all of which taboos are found in most Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches. Gerlach and Hine found 61% changed toward more conservative mores after
conversion, while many were already fairly observant of such norms. On the other hand, few Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches in America have emphasized more general austerity, comparable to that urged by many millenarian sects and communal movements. In United Pentecost, even the lowest status workers had large new cars and there was never a mention of the austere life as desirable in sermons, though certainly heavenly rewards were emphasized as primary. There are some aspects of Pentecostalism which fit the Weberian "Protestant Ethic" model though, and these will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Other aspects of investment are physical participation and financial support. Physical participation at the most basic level in Pentecostalism is attendance at services and prayer meetings, but at a deeper level, the church provides opportunities such as street evangelizing, teaching Sunday school, planning events, and traveling to other cities and churches. Similarly, financial commitment can be garnered through mundane service-to-service tithing, or large-scale acts of generosity, such as donating a thousand dollars, one's house or car to the church. These investments are usually irreversible, and no official records of such donations are kept.

Renunciation and Communion

A central concept for Gerlach and Hine's discussion of commitment is the bridge-burning act, in which the individual decisively renounces his or her affiliations to take up new roles. They find clear examples in Haitian Pentecostalism, where the ritual burning of voodoo objects cuts the convert off from his or her community and family. As will be discussed below, they compare the relative effects of a) frequency of speaking in tongues and b) a break of the convert from family and friends, to degree of participation. They are drawing a distinction in this case between the ideological commitment and personal identity change on the one hand, to public, social, material renunciation. They find that both factors contribute individually to greater participation, and that the combination of social renunciation and frequent tongue-speaking is more than additive in its impact on participation. Thus, social renunciation and communion with the new group is seen to be interdependent with personal ideological-moral commitment (mortification-transcendence).

Open acknowledgement of membership in a persecuted sect is a strong motivation for commitment to participation. As
Stark and Bainbridge (1981) point out, after 60 years of routinization, Pentecostals are still quite deviant in American culture. Most hostility is generated by the "emotionalism" of their worship, in particular glossolalia, the claims of healing and prophecy, the militant and cognatic evangelizing (based on the belief that all non-Pentecostals are damned) and the radical moral-behavioral changes that are demanded of members. Neo-Pentecostals generally have toned down emotionalism, doctrinal claims of special status, and the severity of the moral code, and therefore have encountered somewhat less alienation from church and family than old-line Pentecostals.

In accord with persecution psychology, it can be assumed that a portion of the persecution of Pentecostals is created, another portion imagined, and another portion inevitable. In heavily Catholic countries, for instance, even if Protestant Pentecostals attempted to hide and minimize their conflict with neighbors, it would be inescapable. Though neo-Pentecostals have toned down their emotionalism and sectarianism, compared to their educated, ecumenical peers, they are virtually as extreme as Pentecostals are compared to their working-class peers. A very poor, very uneducated Appalachian migrant woman rose to give her testimony one night saying:

I's standin' at the bus corna' the other day just praisin' my Jesus and singin' a song of praise and this lady stops and asks me "You're a Apostolic aren't you?" And I said "Yes, I am!" And then she said "And you're a Pentecostal too, aren't you?" And I said "Yes, I am! Praise God!" (letting-out a whoop-cry with an accompanying shudder). And that lady just turned up her nose and walked away (laughs of recognition).

Another 17-year-old woman testified:

The teacher was making fun of me being a Pentecostal in science class the other day. She said we was just speaking in nonsense. Well, I got up and told her that I was glad I was a Christian and that all this stuff they were teaching us in school was just sin and against God and that I love my Jesus. And on the bus, when they make fun of me and my friend Sue whose a Pentecostal, and we sit together, I tell 'em "I'm going to heaven. Where you going?"
And in the sermon:

If you just want to be popular, you can't serve God, cause faithful and obedient people aren't popular

Pentecostals have been subject to many accusations from non-Pentecostals: sexual deviancy (in and out of the service), charlatanry, stupidity, hysteria, and ultimately demonic and Satanic possession. These attitudes towards Pentecostals are paralleled today by popular psychological dismissals of neo- and old-line Pentecostals as having "merely" learned a way of speaking or "merely" taken up ecstatic religion as a response to social and psychological stress. The irony is that Pentecostals, themselves, use these same accusations between various sects and within sects to censure illegitimate performances of tongues. Through the gift of discernment, a Pentecostal can see whether another convert is really speaking in tongues, or merely giving vent to some psychological problem or, worse yet, possession by the devil.

Pentecostals are certainly responsible for a certain amount of ingroup-outgroup hostility beyond just the fact that they are members of a minority religion. They are characterized by most as dogmatic and arrogant, uncompromising in the assertion of their unquestionable truths. They take Jesus's injunction that he sought to bring division not peace, seriously. In fact, a whole sermon was centered around the passage Luke 13:50-53 one night:

50 I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?

51 Suppose ye that I am come here to give peace on earth? I tell you nay; but rather division:

52 For from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided; three against two, and two against three.

53 The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter; the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.
A small illustration of intra-family estrangement is drawn from a Christmas party that was held in the very small house of one of the two lay women ministers in United Pentecost. The woman was the niece of the pastor (the other woman minister was his sister), and so a number of familial relations connected her non-Pentecostal relatives to her Pentecostal relatives. At the Christmas party were her Pentecostal mother, daughters, son-in-law and daughters' friends. Also attendant were her non-Pentecostal brothers and their wives and children. Before the non-Pentecostals arrived, a number of the woman's family members commented on one of her brother's penchant for swearing and smoking, and asked that he be specifically warned about these behaviors while at their house.

After his loud arrival, he immediately identified himself as "irreverent", a man of the world rather than "of the Word". The family's reaction to him was long-suffering tolerance, but soon an opportunity arose to express their sanctity. The man's five-year-old was ill with diarrhea and quietly sitting on his father's knee when the hostess and her 65 year-old mother decided he was in need of prayer. Laying hands on the boy right there at the dinner table the two women began to pray loudly in English and in tongues, with half-hearted support of the daughters. The irreverent brother looked upon the proceedings that were transpiring on his lap with a reciprocal long-suffering tolerance. Later, he would indeed light up a cigarette and an argument would ensue trying to get him to put it out.

Pentecostals exist in a world of apocalyptic paranoia, like most fundamentalist sects. Almost all Pentecostals anticipate persecution for their beliefs, and are encouraged to "step out in faith" in order to meet it. Certainly, in Latin America, persecution has been more overt than in the United States, and stories filter back through missions and other informal communications about native and foreign persecutions. This illustrates a phenomenon described by Gerlach and Hine, where the movement participants only pay attention to the hostile feedback from the environment (ignoring the links Pentecostals have to certain Latin American dictators) in order to reinforce their sectarian isolation. For instance, one night a man who tutors in Bible study at the church "by the chart method", told me that the neo-Pentecostal movement was a part of the Catholic Church's ploy to regain world hegemony. In this scenario eventually the world would "shake-down" into the "true-believers" versus the reunified "charismatic" Catholic Church, which would actually be the Anti-Christ's (Pope's)
Kingdom.

Again, social isolation is a crucial variable for predisposition to join. The ideology generally spreads through pre-existing family and friendship networks. The more tenuous the recruits' relationship to non-Pentecostals and the stronger the relationship to Pentecostals, the more likely is conversion. On the other hand, the more lonely and isolated the individual is in general, the more susceptible to communal appeals. Perhaps this situation is clarified by Harrison's research (1978) which distinguishes friendships and competing commitments. Competing commitments such as graduate school, marriage and engagement were found to be negatively related to positive reaction to Catholic Pentecostalism, while "uncommitted", lonely students, who nonetheless had some friends who occasionally would be Pentecostals and recruit them. The theoretical problem is echoed by Kanter's (1970) discussion of isomorphism. She says that communes have to find a mode of being different and separate enough from society that they maintain a sense of identity and commitment, yet must be similar enough to their environment that they can economically and physically survive, and recruit new members. Part of this problem is solved, as Gerlach and Fine discuss, by the development of periphery and core, which allows the movement to introduce neophytes slowly to the more extreme manifestations of commitment.

Different populations will react to different aspects of Pentecostalism with greater and lesser abhorrence. In Haiti, as mentioned, the burning of voodoo objects is the significant bridge-burning act, due probably in part to the acceptance of PT by Haitian voodoo culture, making glosscalla an insufficient bridge-burning act. Some non-Pentecostal churches in America accept the legitimacy of tongues (such as Nazarene and Holiness), making the alienating factor the doctrine of "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" not the practice. In these cases, attendance of Pentecostal church, rather than the practice of tongues, is the bridge-burning act.

In certain ways, renunciation of the outside is formalized into the codes of the church.

General Rules 2 and 3 (of the Pentecostal Holiness Church) circumscribe the loyalties of church members by forbidding membership in secular societies other than labor unions. Rules 2 and 3 also forbid participation in public or private recreational activities which provide strongly
motivating non-religious goals (such as non-church picnics). Poor attendance at church is sufficient cause for dismissal from membership. These rules channel practically the entire energies, time and thoughts of members into home duties, job requirements or church activities. (Wood, 1965, p. 20)

Certainly, even my erratic attendance 3-times, rather than 4-times, a week (plus Bible study and prayer groups), became a consuming fact of life. Bromley and Shupe (1980) suggest that deprivation and ideological commitment models place inadequate emphasis on the causative function of participation in commitment. They propose, on the basis of a study of the Unification Church, that members begin participating long before they have made a deep commitment to the faith or the community, and that the commitment grows from organizational role performance. Gerlach and Hine also discuss a more process-oriented model where members learn minimum group participatory roles through observation and discussion and then participation leads to the identity-changing and bridge-burning acts which cement the commitment and increase participation.

Ceremonial Participation

Ceremonies are the bond that holds the multitudes together, and if the bond be removed, these multitudes fall into confusion.

Book of Ruths

The ritual of the service in United Pentecostal is structurally similar to most old-line Pentecostal churches. Charismatics generally segregate charismatic displays from the regular services through frequent prayer meetings. In United Pentecost, services are begun by the assistant pastor warming up the audience with professions of joy at "being in the house of the Lord", announcements, and descriptions of the event planned for the evening. A prayer call is asked for, involving brief descriptions of friends and families’ medical, or occasionally personological, afflictions. Silent requests are made through raising one's hand. This opening prayer is relatively quiet, though parishioners, esp. women, may cry "Oh, Jesus", or the equivalent. Prayer is in rapid English and tongues. Each person prays his own rapid stream of words, creating a swelling buzz in the room, overridden by the minister praying at the mike.
After opening prayers, which take place standing, parishioners in U.F. will alternately sit and stand for half an hour to an hour of song. The songs are generally well-known Appalachian, and occasionally specifically Pentecostal, gospel songs, though songs from the popular Christian music circuit are acceptable. Song books rarely leave their table in the back of the sanctuary. Everyone is encouraged to sing and perform, from the aged and infirm to the young and shy. The most frequent performers are a set of teenagers and young adults who practice or write songs together, and who listen to a great deal of popular Christian music.

Pentecostal churches are divided on the importance of song to services and on the sanctity of applause. Some churches and ministers have a "calling" to ecstatic song; others are more restrained though they acknowledge that louder churches are legitimately "in the Spirit". United Pentecost took pride in their loudness, and a story from a Southern newspaper was tacked on the bulletin-board describing a Pentecostal church whose neighbors had measured the decibel production of services, and found them to exceed jack-hammers and jets. The minister's wife, Mrs. S., was a skilled pianist, a moving gospel singer, and had an impressive memory of gospel tunes and lyrics. She would initiate half the singing, while spontaneously picking up the melody of any tune suggested or begun. She was backed by her daughter on the electric organ, nephew on a rock drum set, occasional audience tambourines and a powerful quadrophonic amplification system, controlled from a small panel behind a windowed partition in the back left corner of the sanctuary (see Fig. 2).

Some songs were slow and country-music sweet, while others were quick and involving. Songs "with Spirit", when the audience leapt to its feet to sing, clap and tambourine along, were a critical factor in attracting me to the church in the first service I attended. After this singing, Mrs. S., and the other musicians, would rise and retire to seats in the audience while the pastor, assistant pastor and lay ministers began the "serious" part of the service. There were a whole range of forms of speaking between testimony and preaching, though these are the two natural "etic" categories. Testimony is a member's presentation of how the Lord has helped him/her recently and a profession of love for Jesus. Services on Weds. and Fri. generally had a portion set aside for testimonies, and church members' performances are very significant in the communication and reification of individuals experiences and needs to the congregation. Testimonials, when long, impassioned and
supplemented by commands or pleas of the audience, cross
over into mini-sermons quite easily. Though specific times
of specific services are set aside for testimony, they are
appropriate if spontaneously given before a sermon.

Sermons in United Pentecost are only given by the
pastor half the time, while the other services are given
cover to sermons by visiting ministers or the lay ministers
of United Pentecost. Marked differences were evident in the
styles of preaching though there were only minor differences
in doctrinal emphases. Rev. S. was a skillful
dramaturgist and had the memory of a pre-literate
story-teller. Though he would usually come prepared with
notes and Biblical references, these were usually sparse and
facilitated by powerful "inspiration". His sermons had
ever-riding themes, which he would elaborate through pulling
parishioners out of their seats without warning to
illustrate Biblical or allegorical images. One sermon
illustrated the importance of flame, and another water, as
images in the Bible. Another sermon had an older man, a
young man and a young boy alone on the stage; one by one,
the pastor addressed these stage props emphasizing likely
ways that they could die, making the point of death's
inevitability and unpredictability.

A black minister from another city, and a black
minister from the church's Haitian ministry both preached
while I was there, both having distinctive ecstatic styles.
Some of the lay ministers from the church who preached,
however, were characterized by more dogmatic,
biblical-literal and less inspired or spontaneous styles.
Sermons generally lasted 45 minutes, to an hour and 15
minutes. So an uninspired minister, preaching on a
straight-forward message such as "Love Jesus because he died
for your sins", could be lethal. A number of researchers
have mentioned Pentecostals' seemingly infinite tolerance,
may enjoyment, of interminable services. (After my first
month of observation, I would take the first opportunity to
turn to my Bible as a reference and continue reading it
during the service.)

Towards the end of the sermon, Mrs. S. would be given
the "high sign" to return to the piano, playing soft
"closing" music during the last 5 minutes of the services.
Group song would usually be begun upon the conclusion of the
sermon, simultaneous with the altar call.

The altar call is the classic "call to the sinner", the
ritual climax of the evening for the saved-but-burdened and
even more so for the unsaved. Especially on Sunday night,
the night devoted most clearly to a conversion-oriented, evangelical service, altar call would be a command to leave one's seat and kneel at the altar to pray privately or to be prayed over through the laying on of hands. The potential convert, if coerced to the altar, would be approached and have hands laid on. If willing, they would be prepared for a water-baptism which the congregants generally stayed after the service to watch. If already water-baptized, lay ministers attend the individual to encourage him/her toward the baptism in tongues.

Group interaction also takes place on a less formal level in other forms of "fellowship", such as prayer groups (which I did attend), Sunday school, and extra-church activities.

Fortification and Transcendence

Gerlach and Hine (1970, p. 110) discuss the way Pentecostal groups, and social movements in general, begin the commitment process by "focusing needs through demonstration". This can be understood as focusing of the potential convert's attention on a deprivation or unsatisfactory condition in his/her life. The list of deprivations at the beginning of this chapter is a summary of such predisposing conditions. (Whether awakening an individual to a deprivation they had not previously been aware of is the "creation" of a need or not is an important question: the consumer society tries to awaken us to our need for a Cuisinart and the religious movement tries to awaken us to our alienation from God. Generally, however, the individual has exhibited or experienced some degree of alienation in some area of their lives, though the interpretation of this condition as a "religious need" may be a part of re-socialization.)

For instance, as already discussed, loneliness or distrust of relationships in a potential convert would respond to the Pentecostal community's strong internal solidarity and familial relationships. The normless, purposeless, and ethically conflicted seek absolute principles, a clarification of right-and-wrong, a supportive community for inflexible social standards, and a trustworthy institution; all of which the average Pentecostal service offers. The powerless seek efficacy, which is resolved by constant evangelizing about "the great advocate", Jesus Christ, and all of the miracles that accrue to the completely faithful. The Pentecostals appeal to the powerless through the paradoxical message of "power through
abasement to God's will", as will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 
.

Self-estrangement, in its physical form, is clearly appealed to through healing practices. Brother W., the assistant pastor, and his wife, spend 4 days a week visiting members of their church, their friends and relatives, and anyone that is willing to be prayed for, in the hospital. Brother W. confides that people are very receptive to the Lord in the hospital, and the couple have a number of impressive stories of conversions effected in hospital beds.

In a more general way, illness and healing is an over-riding theme in the church services. Many of the testimonies mention past illness cured and prayer calls are dominated by requests for healing for self and others.

The emphasis which is placed in pentecost upon divine healing is reflected in a high incidence of physical afflictions among those who are attracted to its membership. Informal conversations between members invariably have as their theme the poor health of one of the participants or of a member who by reason of it cannot be present. If a member suffers a fall, the matter is thoroughly investigated and reports are brought forward at frequent intervals during the sufferer's recovery. A more formal opportunity to publicize such information is often provided before prayer time: there are reports of headaches, bad backs, pains in the chest, congestion and all kinds of ailments and accident...

Secondarily, the burdens of familial illness add to the stress that must be cathartic. In United Pentecost, 4 families had retarded children of the 15 families in the church.

As we discussed in Chapter 2, the practices of "emotionalist" religion, especially glossolalia, are powerful cathartic devices. An individual experiencing self-estrangement can be motivated by the "witness" of the convert who no longer carries such "burdens". In a broader sense, an individual is no longer satisfied with his/her self, and is seeking a new identity, a new self-understanding. Mortification and transcendence processes involve the destruction and reconstitution of self-identity, as well as the incorporation of ideology, roles, and behaviors. One sees that one has been leading a life of error, living out in the cold, evidenced by
dissatisfaction, and one seeks a new life and value system. It is this process which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.
CHAPTER 4: LIMINAL, THINKABLE AND LEGITIMATE

"Where there is no vision, the people perish" Proverbs 29:18

The psychology of joining and becoming committed to groups has been touched on in the last chapter. This chapter will consist of a more detailed discussion of the relationship between ASCs, role transition, commitment, and power.

Social behavior is rooted in sets of concepts held by societies' members. These concepts comprise roles, ways of thinking, ideology, general paradigm's, information, myths, etc. These concepts are combined with and mediate affects: drives, conditioned behavior, emotions, etc. Central to this complex of concept and affect is the constellation, "self-concept". Self-concept is comprised of physical attributes, emotional patterns, abstract concepts, and social behaviors and roles, which our conceptualization processes correlate with one another. Self-concept and conceptual reality receive feedback from the environment and in turn feed back on behavior.

When a member is being inducted into a collectivity, the collectivity will be most organically successful if it finds the member through instrumental, affective and moral-ideological means as Kanter points out (1970). Instrumental commitment is achieved mainly through material sacrifice and commitment, but affective and moral commitment require a redefinition of self, preferences and reality. Someone may attend church just to gain social status, or because their friends are there, but they will be more likely to attend and stay in the church if they actually have internalized the beliefs, values and self-concept of a member. Conversely, a predisposition for joining is some dissatisfaction with incoherence or dysfunction in one's self-concept/world-view, which makes one susceptible to the appeals of groups that promise to bring coherence to self, world and desires.

Fortification

One of the mechanisms of dissolution of old reality and self is the practice of confession and criticism. In United Pentecost, as in most Christian denominations, the first step in conversion is repentance of sin, a practice which has been routinized in many cases as an ongoing commitment
device (such as confession in the Catholic church). Through confessing in testimony, intense self-examination or prayer, one articulates previous thought, affect and behavior patterns that are out of line with the ideal of the group being joined.

(Mortification processes) reduce all people to a common denominator and transmit the message that the self is adequate, whole and fulfilled only when it lives up to the model offered by the community... One intended consequence of mortification process in these settings has been to strip away aspects of an individual's previous identity, to make him dependent on authority for direction, and place him in a position of uncertainty with respect to his role behavior until he learns and comes to accept the norms of the group. (Kanter, 1970, p.103)

Beyond individual repentence, group criticism and sanctions for errors remind one that one must leave behind self and behavior of "the world". After my Baptism in the Holy Ghost, Pastor S. took me aside and told me:

Christians don't have long hair. Look in the New Testament.

Another example of public sanction is the frequent, if not nightly, admonition:

Look around you tonight saints: those who are not here are grievously ill. They're slippin' under the sway of Satan.

Non-attendance was the major sin of the congregants during the time I attended, and was the main subject of public criticism.

Another means of self-mortification is spiritual differentiation, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5. Spiritual differentiation in Pentecostalism takes a great variety of forms, with different attitudes toward institutionalization of roles in different churches. In United Pentecost, the pastor and lay ministers were respected for their learning, example, and dedication, though the church gave equal recognition to lay members of the congregation who excelled. No formal distinctions were made between members on moral grounds, such as probationary or honored statuses. New members were not segregated from
older members, and, once baptized in tongues, were recognized as full equal members of the church.

The first time I attended United Pentecost, I was approached by the minister at the beginning of the first service, but I was not personally singled out to introduce myself and state my love for the Lord as I had been called upon to do at other churches. At the second or third service I was encouraged to respond to the altar call where I was attended by Chris S., who attempted to train me in tongues. Upon his discovery that I had not yet been baptized in water he stopped.

After that I was instructed in the general Pentecostal, and specifically United Pentecost, doctrines and ritual process: (a) repentance, (b) "burial" or cleansing through water-baptism, and (c) infilling of the Holy Ghost, evidenced by tongues. The repentance is described as the internal repudiation in prayer of one's previous life as a sinner. Cleansing is the act of "burying" one's "dead self" in the watery grave of the crypt in the basement, covered with astro turf and filled with water. The infilling of the Holy Ghost marks the new birth into Christian life.

After several more services, I finally consented to be baptized after the service. With great excitement, my attendents gave me several minutes at the altar to fully repent (a process which I assured them I had been working on already.) Then, I was led downstairs while the service wound down in its last minutes above. I was taken in a side room by Brother W., the assistant pastor, and Brother S., the high status layman whose son is the young evangelist. I was told to strip out of my clothes and put on a worksuit they had ready as ritual garb, with a white smock over top. As I dressed, they reminded me excitedly (charismatically) that I should fully repent all of my past sins and that I would be a new man when I rose from the tank. We prayed together with our arms on each other's shoulders. Brother W. repeatedly reminded:

This is the most important thing that will ever happen in your life. After you're baptized you'll see people differently, you'll be a new man, you'll have a glow on your face. Your desires for sinful things will fall away. You're burying your old dead self tonight and becoming a baby in Jesus, and we're your spiritual parents. You're going to have to be breast-fed at first but you'll become spiritually stronger. We'll be around to pray for you whenever you need us. We're your
family now.

Then I was led into the room with the tank, in which all the congregees, who had just gotten out of the services, had gathered. I was led into the tank by the assistant pastor who introduced me as a new brother to the congregation before I "went down". He asked me if I was ready, and I said "yes" preparing to be dunked face forward into the freezing water. With the ritual shout "In the name of Jesus", however, I was thrown back into the water and then gruffly jerked back up into the air gasping in surprise. I was already babbling somewhat, so I quickly decided to attempt to shift into tongues. I had been told that it was a frequent occurrence for the water-baptized to become ecstatic and speak in tongues while in the water.

As described earlier, my attempt was unsuccessful and eventually I was told I could stop trying. The audience was visibly unimpressed with my attempt at glossolalia. After I dried off and dressed in my clothes, the assistant pastor took me aside and reinforced all he had said earlier and warning obliquely that in my "tarrying for the Ghost" I had to set aside "self".

Eventually, I did simulate tongues and found that this event had no great impact on my social interaction in the church. Many did not become aware that I had passed this threshold until I was leaving to return to Oberlin. This was not the case with other converts. One man in particular, who had been baptized with his wife and three children all on the same evening, and whose wife had attained tongues already, tarried for several weeks while I attended, and then "fell away". Interestingly, his "falling away" was met with particular dismay by the church since he had battered his wife in the past and had a drinking problem, and sympathy for the family led to a special effort by the pastor to help the husband find "the Ghost". Why I was not as readily accepted is more fully discussed in Chapter 6.

Imminence and Communitas

There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Jesus Christ. Galatians 2:28

In Ritual Process, Victor Turner outlines two basic modes of social order, "society" and "communitas". He saw
these as being in a dynamic balance, feedback or dialectic. Society is equivalent to gesselschaft, the realm where individuals relate as members of classes, sexes, with social roles and hierarchy and very specific commitments. Communitas is:

...homogeneity, equality, anonymity, absence of property...reduction of all to the same status level, the wearing of uniform apparel...minimizations of sex distinctions...abolition of rank, humility, disregard for personal appearance, unselfishness... (Turner, 1959, p. 111)

Turner discovered communitas as a part of the ritual process in simple societies such as seasonal rituals, rites of passage and rituals of rebellion. For instance, during rites of passage, initiates are stripped of individualistic distinctions, all status distinctions, are made naked or wear uniforms (such as the jump suit), undergo trials and a ritual exorcism of their old self, and a "birthing" into new roles, back into society. Similarly, seasonal rituals or rituals of rebellion either suspend or invert traditional social roles, responsibilities and hierarchies. The women act like men, the men dress like women, the servants like chiefs, and the chiefs are reviled.

Turner postulates that as societies became larger and more complex, the balance of communitas shifted to the growth and institutionalization of charismatic sub-cults and cultures which embody various aspects of communitas. For instance, beyond the small unitary village culture which may or may not have PT, there are less simple societies which have sub-cults of PT for a limited number of the members, such as those that are afflicted by certain psychological syndromes. In societies larger still, charismatic movements can be found that represent communitative reactions and dialectics within a larger pluralistic social universe.

The psycho-symbolic corollary of communitas is "liminality" or "gapness". Whenever an experience falls outside the conceptual categories which an individual possesses, it is in communion with the ineffable void and takes on psychic, mythic and social "specialness".

The attributes of liminality or of liminal personae (threshold people) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the system of classifications that normally locates states and
positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial... Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon. (Turner, 1969, p. 95)

Communitas, then, is the social experience that groups of people in liminal states are in together. Compare to Benjamin Zablocki's (1980) definition of communion from his study of 60's communes:

Communion is experienced as a shared ASC in which the problems of autonomy and inequality are temporarily solved. There are no roles and no directed relationships. The group is experienced as more real than the individuals. (Zablocki, 1980)

Through the liminal ASC one destroys one's old self and reality, and enters into a new set of roles, reality and self-concepts. Then, within the charismatic community, routine re-unification is achieved through group ASC-induction. Group experience of ASCs or liminality create a non-conceptual experience of "we-ness." This sense of "we-ness" is separate from but connected to the membership roles that the initiate assumes which conceptually relate self to collectivity.

Identity-changing experiences

When one is socialized into a coherent set of beliefs and self-concept, little "identity-work" is necessary, besides transitional rituals. But if one is experiencing profound alienation, especially identity and values-confusion, and has to make a rapid, radical break with old identity to enter new roles, then charismatic, liminal experiences will tend to occur. Gerlach and Hine (1970) show that converts to Pentecostalism speak in tongues significantly more than the second-generation. Once the chaos of communitative experience begins to become routinized into ongoing social processes and socially structured commitment mechanisms, then the liminal experience will tend to become less common and important to the group.

Gerlach and Hine (1970) differentiate the identity-changing experience from the bridge-burning act in
their research, measuring the first with frequency of glossolalia and the second by reports of breaks with family and friends after conversion. Pentecostals who were committed through both frequent tongue-speaking and the renunciation of family and social competing commitments (as discussed in Chapter 3) participate significantly more than others. Those who are committed by one or the other of these measures with the other held constant also participate more. When the sample was divided into 4 groups of High-Low experience, High-Low bridge-burning act, those who were high in both participated significantly more than the other three groups.

Gerlach and Hine go on to emphasize that the tongue-speaking experience, and its identity-changing and participation-increasing effects are due to "cognitive restructuring". Citing Frank (1961) and Sargent (1957) they suggest that experiences such as revivalistic conversions, snake handling, and glossolalia can produce an effect similar to that of electro-shock: temporary cortical inhibition that breaks up previous mental and emotional patterns and frees the individual to develop new ones.

The fact that some tongue speakers exhibit little ASC should be kept in mind. Nonetheless, it can be suggested that a degree of cognitive cessation and space for redefinition is present in the average ecstatic performance.

Zablocki sees the communion experience as an occasion for the redefinition of self. The suspension of ordinary definitions of self and society allow for the "interiorization of the collectivity" (Laing, 1965, p. 85)

The group, considered first of all from the point of view of the experience of its members, is not a social object out there in space. It is quite extraordinary, being formed by each person's synthesis of the multiplicity of syntheses... A group whose unification is achieved through the reciprocal interiorization by each other... (is called) a nexus... The nexus exists insofar as each person incarnates the nexus. (Laing, 1965, p. 85)

"We-ness", gained through the communion experience of ritual ASC, becomes a part of the self-concept, "me-ness".
The group-identification gained through this cognitive restructuring leads to greater commitment and participation than would result through instrumental or affective involvement alone.

Swanson (1980) devised measures of openness to absorbing experiences, such as absorption into entertainment, or reflection. These measures have been related to hypnotizability (Tellegen, Al-Issa). Swanson predicted that these intense experiences involved the re-ordering of cognition, and thus that there would be a relationship between frequent experience of these types of states, hypnotizability and openness to charismatic authority. He tested this idea by investigating subjects' family decision-making methods. He found a relationship between "intense-experiences" and having been raised in a family with authoritarian or consensus decision-making emphases, and inversely related to "federal" decision-making (that tolerated family-members' right not to go along with group decisions.) Again, this suggests that not only do ASCs facilitate identity-change and preference-reordering, but that a mind that is accustomed to having to reorder personal preferences for group needs is more open to ASCs.

Transcendence

This incorporation of group-identity, and reformulation of self, is related to greater conviction in the belief-system of the group, which the convert has been exposed to prior to his/her identity changing experience. The initial experience of ecstatic liminality, and its ritual re-experience, imbues these new beliefs and roles with sanctity. Peacock (1975) defines "symbolic forms" in much the way I understand this process:

(Symbolic forms are ) sensory forms or actions whose primary and immediate function, in a given context, is to express a configuration of consciousness...a full description of the symbolic experience must confront the sense of participation in the ineffable. (Peacock, 1975, p.2)

when associated with the liminal void, which is by its very nature beyond questioning or definition, a symbol becomes empowered with this same indivisibility. This unquestionability becomes the basis of the new moral system, setting it beyond the doubts and conflicts that used to trouble the convert.
In the first part of Piaget's first moral stage, which we shall call the absolutist stage, the child believes that some authority originated the rules of marbles, and that no one ever played the same before the authority played it. Moreover, the authority confers on the rules a sacred, unchangeable character: they are absolute and cannot be altered. (Ginsburg and Oppen)

Gerlach and Hine discuss the dogmatism with which the new Pentecostal holds his/her beliefs. They postulate that while Pentecostals are undeniably living within a "closed cognitive organization of beliefs" that they do not have a general "dogmatic" or "authoritarian" personality type. Rather, they suggest, the dogmatism of the Pentecostal is limited to specific decision-making processes, functional in their movement membership. A study by Susan Gilmore, testing a congregation of Pentecostals, shows that there is indeed a range within the congregation, from members with average dogmatism to very dogmatic individuals (the comparison group being a college student sample, thus making the less dogmatic end of the Pentecostal church even less dogmatic since college-students are demonstrably less dogmatic than the general public). On the other hand, most researchers find Pentecostals in general very dogmatic and other studies show that dogmatism is related statistically to other negative personality traits (lack of sociability, capacity for status, self-acceptance, etc.) One might suggest that for the Pentecostal, the involvement of the movement in daily life makes Gerlach and Hine's distinctions between dogmatic "movement-relevant decision-making" and dogmatic/authoritarian personality faint.

The central belief system of the Pentecostal convert, like all sub-societies and belief-systems, is characterized by "jargon": Gerlach and Hine explain that the meaningless cliche to the outsider has taken on enormous importance to the convert after it has bonded to an ineffable experience. After my "Baptism in the Holy Ghost" I was told:

The Bible will open up to you now. If you ever had a problem reading the Bible, it will be full of meaning now.

Indeed, as I did read the Bible, a Pentecostal coloration invaded the New Testament. The term "Holy Ghost" began to stick out like I had learned a new word and was finding it
everywhere. These "party-line" phrases, and other central concepts again illustrate the phenomenon of bonding of the ineffable experience to the conceptual system, creating meaning and purpose. Communication between the initiates, then, becomes the reinvoking of unspeakable experiences through ritual phrases and acts, which all initiates have bonded to these specific experiences.

Gerlach and Hine point out another aspect of social movement ideology, ironically complementary to dogmatism: ambiguity. Key concepts infused with ineffable meaning are impossible for outsiders to understand, and give rise to widely divergent applications within the movement, though these different applications are connected and held together somewhat by the central symbolic forms.

Research and theory reflect some of the complexity of the relationship between ambiguity and cognitive flexibility on the one hand, and dogmatism and cognitive closure on the other. Wuthnow (1974) proposes that mystics are intrinsically more open-minded, less-dogmatic. Hood (1980) makes an effort to test this proposition among Southern Christian students. Finding that students measured as dogmatic did evaluate mystical experiences as positive more often, Hood then sought to control for the social legitimacy factor and differential reporting due to social acquiescence. That is, social acquiescence is related to dogmatism, and Christian society tends to evaluate religious experiences positively, therefore the dogmatism-mysticism relationship may be spurious when the acquiescence-mystic experience relationship is controlled for. This was in fact the case: though there were significant differences in the population between the high and low dogmatic groups, with highly dogmatic groups rating religious and mystical experience as more valuable, once dogmatism was controlled for social acquiescence, all the directions of the correlations reversed. This tends to suggest that ASCs and liminality by themselves tend to be related to open-mindedness, but to the extent that the experiences reinforce closed-cognitive ideologies, this over-rides the open-mindedness.
Figure 4: Relationships between social acquiescence, dogmatism, and mystical experience

Uncontrolled

Social Acquiescence

\[ \rightarrow \]

Mystical Experience

\[ \leftarrow \]

Dogmatism

Controlled

Social Acquiescence

\[ \rightarrow \]

Mystical Experience

\[ \leftarrow \]

Dogmatism

Hood proposes that dogmatic individuals are actually threatened by intense experiences.

...dogmatism is conceived to be the totality of defensive mechanisms for anxiety elicited in novel or threatening situations (Vacchiano, Strauss, and Hochman, 1969). Assuming this to be true, it is reasonable to predict that the close-mindedness of the dogmatic person also applies to the emotional, experiential level; hence, some dogmatic persons would be less likely to positively evaluate intense experiences... because they are likely to threaten the person’s general defensive posture toward the world.

A related psychological concept is hypnotizability. Many researchers seem to suggest obliquely that group prayer sessions are an induction of group suggestibility or hypnosis. Again, in suggestibility/hypnotizability theory there is a conceptual discontinuity between dogmatism and cognitive ambiguity:

Hadley Cantril, in his study of social movements (1941), has defined the conditions of suggestibility as either (1) lack of adequate mental context, or frame of reference within which to interpret experience, or (2) a fixed mental context which, in its simplest form, is conditioned response. (Hine, 1969, p. 219)

The open-mindedness of the liminal ASC turns into the dogmatism of the closed symbol system. The child trained to have an easily dominated preference set will seek a charismatic leader, external frame of reference, and ASC
induction as solutions to lack of self-world-view coherence.

Rituals of Rebellion and the Passive Perceptual Set

One of the classic explanations for ecstatic religion of the poor is that it is a symbolic rejection of the rich and a catharsis of social stresses. In J. W. Lewis's Ecstatic Religion he links spirit possession to deprivation, in which "women and other depressed categories" attempt to exert mystical pressures upon superiors in circumstances of deprivation and frustration, when few other sanctions are available to them. (Lewis). The ways in which the Pentecostal movement expresses class-conflict and women's sex-power will be discussed at greater length in Chapters 5 and 6, but two points should be made here: a) oppressed categories and class societies are prone to PT and b) PT, in this case glossolalia, has liminal, ritual of rebellion aspects.

Greenbaum (1973) statistically correlated 15 variables (generally, economy, political structure, class structure, settlement pattern, marriage and kinship, and population) to the incidence of PT in Sub-Saharan African societies (N=114). Two variables were significant; slavery, and class-stratification. Bourquignon, through holographic statistical research, relates the practice of PT to women, agricultural (versus hunter-gatherer) production, and higher levels of stratification. She shows that women take the occasion of charismatic identity to express their suppressed power, and that PT is found in agricultural groups because they demand greater conformity. Drawing on the Barry, Child and Bacon study that relates individualistic independence to hunter-gatherer culture, Bourquignon proposes that those who have been socialized into social passivity, such as women, oppressed classes, and the subordinated individual in conformist agricultural community, will be more susceptible to passive interpretations of ASCs. Similarly, Spiro argues that specific patterns of parent-child interaction predispose individuals toward experience of congruent religious experiences.

The child's earliest experiences with others develop a set of hypotheses concerning the social world, the kind of acts that are instrumental, the methods by which interpersonal relationships are acquired and maintained, and so on; images of powerful people and the ways they act. This forms the basis of the individual projective system, or their construct of reality and self, especially
social reality. When this perceptual set gained in childhood social relations is consistent with the cognitive structures of the religious tradition, the former system projected into the latter provides the experiential basis for conviction that taught religious beliefs are true. In short, these taught beliefs provide substantive content for, and are cognitively assimilated by, these perceptual sets. For the actor, then, religious beliefs are true, not only because they are transmitted with the authority of tradition, but because he has personally experienced their truth. (Spiro, 1959, p.72)

The possession experience is a passive one, and socialization into malleable, passive personality is congruous with a passive interpretation of an ASC.

The theory of ritual of rebellion parallels the idea that glossolalia is a learned social mechanism for inducing a completely ineffable ASC. Similarly, the ritual of rebellion is a routinized, periodic "crisis" of social order which expresses a) the void, by making all equal in the one-ness experience, and b) class conflict, and other forms of stress, by temporarily inverting the social order, rising up the lowly and casting down the mighty.

Conditioning

Glossolalia may occur outside of social learning, but generally it either becomes rule-governed or begins as a learned experience. The experience of the ASC, on the other hand, is related to a temporary and partial suspension of normal cognitive processes, which leads to changes in behavior (greater fluency, "involvement", automatic behavior, etc.) and ideological commitment. In particular, the functioning of ASCs within the context of social learning can generally be shown to reinforce the ideological beliefs, and their behavioral correlates leading up to ecstatic experience such as singing, fellowshipping, and "turning one's mind to the Lord". This conditioning has two aspects; ordinary operant conditioning as a result of catharsis, and the repression into the "subconscious" of the reinforced patterns.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the glossolalic experience cathart stress, as does ecstatic religion in general. This catharsis is positively evaluated by participants, though as a temporary and partial cessation of cognition, is also
somewhat indescribable as either good or bad. Through classical conditioning, the behaviors prior to and associated with this pleasurable experience also evoke, through association, pleasurable responses. The minister will merely shudder in joy and the audience will respond with sympathetic "hyper-arousal".

Said one obese young mother who was separated from her alcoholic husband:
These experiences come back when you talk about them and make you feel good. That's one nice thing about them. In meetings when the preacher has the goods (is preaching from God) the spirit of the people there unite with the preacher's spirit and all with God. That is a time when there is a special atmosphere. (Wood, 1965, p.23)

In a more extended sense, joining and participating in the movement alleviates alienations and deprivations, operantly reinforcing participation behavior.

Cut of the dialogue between Freudian theory of the subconscious and Skinnerian psychology, Dollard and Miller (1950) propose a model that equates repression with a learned cognitive response to stress. Similar to cognitive dissonance theory, Dollard and Miller show through case histories that symptoms of fundamental conflicts are reinforced when they temporarily interrupt the cognitive process causing the distress. For instance, Patient A began to obsessively count her heart-beats, and revealed under therapy that these attentional changes had been reinforced by reduction in anxiety associated with sexual thoughts. That is, she would think a sexual thought, feel anxiety, begin counting heart-beats, the thoughts and anxiety would dissipate, and the behavior would be reinforced. The reduction of anxiety that comes from not thinking about one's situation reinforces "not thinking".

Ultimately, for the neurotic, this way of dealing with stress is dysfunctional. Neurosis can be said to be "short-term gain for long-term pain". In the long-term, the ability to become aware of and articulate the processes which condition our internal and external behavior are (assumed to be) necessary for "full human potential". If glossolalia suspends thought patterns which are unpleasant, and replaces them with pleasant thoughts, this practice will be reinforced. This practice will periodically suppress the rational articulation of the stresses. Further, the bonding of the experience of thought-cessation to the beliefs, behaviors and institutions of the context of the experience
will tend to place them in a similar unquestionable place in consciousness, though not "unconscious".

Freud sought to free patients from neurotic patterns by freeing them from repression of awareness, and forcing them to articulate their thought processes. He did believe however that society and its individuals needed some repression. In the same way, we can ask what aspects of dogmatic certainty, reflecting repressed awareness of the conditioning process, are functional and necessary, and what parts neurotic and dysfunctional.

Roy Rappaport’s (1974) article on sanctity and adaptation suggests a number of concepts for approaching this question. Sanctified symbols to Rappaport are essentially the same as the above liminal, "unquestionable concept”.

... sanctity is the quality of unquestionable truthfulness imputed by the faithful to unverifiable propositions, as such it is not ultimately a property of objects, or putative objects, but of discourse about them.

Rappaport sees these sanctified concepts becoming more solid and more constant in social systems, as each generation establishes the concept in the socialization mechanisms, weaving them into the earliest and most basic ways an individual thinks. Evolutionarily, natural selection has eliminated cultures with maladaptive sanctification processes (either too questionable, lacking consensus or order; or too rigid to adapt; or sanctifying inappropriate aspects of conceptual reality.)

If a cognitive symbol system is conceived of as having hierarchical levels of order, with abstract concepts at the highest and direct technical ideas at the lowest, the higher levels will be more likely to be sanctified than the lower. On the one hand, the higher levels are more arbitrary than concepts related to, say, agricultural techniques, which are subject to direct and decisive feedback. The greater the arbitrariness of the social system concept, the more the need to cement and mystify it with sanctity. On the other hand, higher level concepts directly regulating vital social processes, such as the incest taboo, will tend to become sanctified and constant, while lower-order variation, i.e. flexibility, will tend to be selected for. The basic sanctified concepts are reinterpreted to apply to the new material adaptive reality.
Gerlach and Hine (1970, p. 165) reflect this idea in their concept of "split-level" movement ideology, which they find in Pentecostalism and elsewhere. The condition of commitment into the practice of some form of glossolalia and the use of abstract concepts such as "Spirit-filled" characterizes all Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal groups, while each group has adapted to specific class, ethnic, cultural and political climates. The Pentecostal, and other, movements gain strength through the resultant density of reticulate connections between Pentecostal sub-systems and yet the maintenance of great genetic diversity and flexibility. Organizations with greater centralization, as Gerlach and Hine point out, confront the problem of giving lower-order systems enough flexibility to adapt. On the other hand, each Pentecostal subsystem, congregation or sect, therefore, must spend a great deal more energy defining how the general principles apply to their lives.

In a broader formulation, the Rappaportian symbolic sanctity is equivalent to the political sociologists "legitimacy". Legitimacy is the result of participants' continuing to achieve that which the system promises to provide. In another sense, legitimacy is the manipulation of desires and reality of members of society.

Kanter (1970) discusses the institutionalization of awe as the experience of great power and meaning residing in the community.

She relates this concept to Weber's "charisma". For Kanter, "awe" can be aroused and attached to persons and/or the system through ideological and structural means. If the ideologies of the communities she studied invested members or leaders with wisdom, creativity, or special powers, groups were more likely to survive. Similarly, communities were more successful if their social order and purposes were connected directly to transcendent "heavenly" or "natural" order. One aspect of this is the tying of the community and its actors to historic or mythic figures, who confer approval on the community.

Structurally, awe may be institutionalized by mystifying the decision-making processes. For instance, physical separation of leaders from members, secret decision-making processes, special leadership prerogatives and an irrational basis for decision-making tend to mystify power. Willemen adds the instructive insight that leadership
hierarchy in Pentecostal communities is inversely proportionate to the degree to which leaders claim divine inspiration for decisions. The less awe is created by hierarchy, the more leaders will rely on divine authority.

Power and Reality

"A" may exercise power over "B" by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get others to have the desires you want them to have—this is, secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires. (Lukes, 1974, p.23)

Different actors in the charismatic process have different amounts of power. Obviously, the charismatic leader has central authority, and one gains authority by joining the community in the first place. The power and charismatic commitment of members depend upon one another in non-coercive systems. In a Weberian formula, the charismatic leader has authority on the basis of non-institutional characteristics, such as the ability to invoke commitment/cognitive-restructuring/ASCs in followers. Also depth of commitment and inspirational "visions", give the charismatic leaders charisma. Reciprocally, commitment to the collectivity and its world-view, the interiorizing of the "nexus", is an internalization of the legitimacy of the power relationships which are central to the system. It is difficult to be a Catholic who rejects the legitimacy of the rapacity and its priests. On the other hand, such limited commitment is possible and may develop into reform or schismatic movements which delegitimize the existent power structure, and legitimate new orders. This happens repeatedly within Pentecostalism as charismatic individuals or groups accuse their churches of "churchiness" or excessive hierarchy, or doctrinal errors, to legitimate the schismatic leader's authority.

The power of the charismatic authority resides in the ability to mediate the void and the symbolic world, destroying the old selves and world-view of the follower and creating new "sanctified" selves and symbols. Such "reality-brokers" must convince clients of the legitimacy of their function, that they possess a valued resource, the ability to create meaning and coherence in the world, heal the sick, and transmit sanctity into one's life. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the pastor and significant lay
actors take on this power of symbol and reality manipulation, gaining and maintaining their power through it. In Chapter 6, the macro-sociological view reveals that these producers of reality and knowledge have always existed, selling their wares in the "noetic" (knowledge) economy. Generally, they have been subordinate to other classes of actors who controlled material power, such as material production or the means of coercion. Today, however, the class of symbol-specialists, word-merchants, and experience-manipulators has expanded and become an autonomous and internally stratified class. Thus, there are two levels of noetic power: the face-to-face congregational level addressed in Chapter 5 and the macrosociological/class level addressed in Chapter 6.
CHAPTER 5: POWER IN COMMUNITY

Problematics

Based on discussion to this point, the first problematic to address is a possible distinction between aspects of awe and sanctity that are intrinsic to social functioning and those which are articulated by arbitrary power relationships in society, and therefore are variable. For instance, it can be posited that as long as random cultural change is being filtered through the natural selection process, sanctified symbols will be created as befits the health of the system as a whole, and will legitimate power relationships which are to some degree functional. But when powerful subsets of cultural actors within the system determine sanctification, and control the noetic economy, then adaptiveness is reduced.

The eco-technological situation of a culture is the most fundamental constraint on cultural evolution. If a culture cannot feed itself and reproduce, it will be selected out. But within this first-order parameter of constraints there are an infinite number of evolutionary possibilities. These possibilities will have greater or lesser probability based on previous cultural history, demographics, the mode of production, genetics, etc. Different possibilities will give different amounts of power to different actors, who in turn feedback onto the system to influence its evolution.

To distinguish functional from dysfunctional, a basic distinction could be made between sanctity which protects and maintains specific cultural patterns related to our eco-technological adaptation, such as incest taboo, sanctity of nature, sanctity of labor and the unthinkability of autocide. But the more that powerful sub-units within a system come to have control over the noetic economy and the creation of sanctity, either through coercion, or the differential encouragement of noetic-sanctity producers, then systems will be skewed away from general adaptiveness.

Whether sanctity, awe, or unthinkability are "necessary" in culture at all is the second general problematic for this and future research. The appropriateness of sanctity cannot be analyzed unless there are actors for whom nothing is sacred, who can clinically weigh the functionality of all elements equally. Most social scientists seem to imply that if "the masses" were
liberated from their cultural conditioning, their idiosyncratic beliefs and behaviors, that culture would be impossible. Mass society theory sees the state of the destruction of social belief as a pathological one, normless, purposeless, lacking social consensus or cooperation. Plato seems to have faced this question in his proposition of the Noble Lie which would be the basis of the legitimacy of the Republic; through the creation of a myth, the Republic's ruling class would be assured the cooperation of the ruled. The Marxian proposition is that the human race will someday collectively throw off its false consciousness, its alienated and alienating beliefs, and establish a rational, scientific society which gives power to all equally. Cooperation would be assured by our interdependence rather than through legitimating mythos that have been created by the ruling class and legitimate the ruling class.

At the community level, commitment to beliefs and world-views overcomes psychological distress that result from normlessness, isolation, etc. In the Pentecostal church, these belief systems, and commitment to a belief in charismatic powers, legitimates hierarchical power relations. To the extent that glossolalia, as an aspect of commitment processes, is catharting stress and relieving alienation, it can be said to be functional; but to the extent that it is catharting the stresses of oppression, acting to repress the coming-to-consciousness of inter-personal power, and committing participants to destructive social relations, then glossolalia's effects cannot be said to be functional.

Charismatic Leaders

The Pentecostal minister is a representative of liminality-communitas. S/he must establish a structure and a community out of chaos on the basis of divine authority and charismatic community. Within the average Pentecostal community the Pastor is the first among equals; all are saints. But s/he must establish authority, structure, continuity, and eventually, hierarchy, for the church to expand and remain successful. Wilson discusses this role ambiguity:

The minister is himself restricted by the tradition of the free Spirit, insofar as this exists in his congregation, since inspirationalism, as in many earlier sects, contains values fundamentally opposed to any sort
of institutionalized ministry, or, if accepting a ministry at all does so only at the Spirit's behest and in accordance with the gifts bestowed by the Spirit... Thus the minister is responsible for infusing into his following a distinctive tenet of Pentecostalism and of encouraging Pentecostal phenomena—glossolalia being the most common—and is warned against checking spontaneous expression; yet he also has to keep order, guide Pentecostal demonstration, and prevent expression which might challenge his own leadership or bring his spirit election into doubt. (Wilson, 1959, p. 251-252)

The revival is the classic scene of liminal-communitas, where groups are inspired into glossolalic hyper-arousal by charismatic preachers easily and en masse. These revivals are ways of institutionalizing rebellion in a sense, since they have a limited, ritualistic nature, and the good Pentecostal church members who attend will go to get "fired up" and then return to the church with renewed patience for ongoing structured worship. Wilson points out that when the Elim Pentecostal church in Britain is attempting to start a church through a revival, it sends established ministers on revivalistic tours, then follows them with ministers who can begin the routinization process. The revivalist's role is to mortify, to shake things up, to tear down the old selves and let the spirit burn free; the minister's role is to try to make this a "permanent revolution".

Within the church, the pastor must provide periods for free expression, a structured chaos within a general set of understood and shared normative patterns. On the other hand, the congregation places its own limits on the minister's power. For instance, in United Pentecost, Pastor S. continually threatened to extend the service into the morning hours, "like they did in the old days". Services never continued past 2 and a half to 3 hours, however, as the Pastor never really got enough encouragement from the audience nor was he "bold in the spirit" enough to try to hold an old-time all-night service.

There seem to be three places charisma can reside in the religious community; the "church" as a structure and a tradition, the community of believers and in the individual charismatic leader. Pentecostals, like most sectarians, minimize formal hierarchical authority in favor of anti-clerical egalitarian charisma of "the elect", and prophetic, healing and wisdom charisma found in particular
exemplary members of the community. Some churches have institutionalized these charismatic roles such that there is an office for Prophet, Minister, and levels of sainthood within the congregation. Even within these churches however, one must still have a calling to the role and some demonstrated charismatic talents. Authority does not just come from one's role.

...authority always attaches to the individual rather than the office, and it adheres only to the extent and as long as he provides evidence of being a recipient of an extra-ordinary share of extra-ordinary power. (Willems, p. 255)

One basic charismatic skill that gives a minister charismatic authority is the ability to induce the glossolalia experience, and the related experience of communion. If the minister "has the goods", he can usually "stir up the embers". If a minister can induce these experiences, then he has a much stronger influence over behavior, belief, self-concept, and reality-definition. If the minister can convince the parishioner to believe, to internalize the offered ideology, and if the minister’s role is legitimated by the ideology, then the minister has legitimate, in addition to charismatic, authority. For instance, as Wilson points out, the minister may be able to inspire the identity-changing experience, resulting in conversion to Pentecostalism, but Pentecostalism as an ideology delegitimates clergy. Consequently, authority stays tied to those with charismatic skills, rather than shifting into the bureaucracy.

This contradiction of power is solved to a degree by divine authority. Gerlach and Hine point out the paradox of power in Pentecostalism, in which the "self" accomplishes nothing, God through his servant accomplishes all. The less the congregation provides authority through structural roles, the more the minister must call upon this concept of indwelling wisdom and claim divine inspiration and authority. For instance, in United Pentecost, when Pastor S. was going through a crisis of authority related to scandal, the assistant pastor repeatedly emphasized that the minister is the voice of God; ignoring him is ignoring God.

Though the minister was figuratively said to be speaking in the voice of God, this was never made doctrinally explicit; the minister never claimed that because he felt inspired
that it really was God speaking.

An aspect of power that has been recognized repeatedly as central in Pentecostalism is the ability to discern spirits. This power allows the minister to legitimate or delegitimize the performances of parishioners and of rival charismatic authorities. In Pentecostal ideology, this "gift" is accessible to everyone, but in practice, just certain individuals usually exercise it. In some churches, a balance of power exists in which the pastor leads the services and preaches, but laypeople or assistant ministers have the ability to discern spirits. This existed to some extent in United Pentecost with the foremost layman and the lay ministers attending and legitimating glossolalic initiates, while the Pastor attends other business.

The same can be said about the "gift" of prophecy, either through interpretation of tongues or direct visionary prophecy. The more widespread these abilities are in congregations, the more schismogenetic and anarchic they will be. Most schisms are sparked by charismatic lay people or rival ministers prophecying a new doctrine or code, or discerning that the minister is not speaking "from God".

The minister's power is limited to situations and decisions which are defined as sacred. To extend their legitimate range of power, charismatic ministers must go beyond compartmentalized Sunday morning religion, confined to meta-ethical concerns, and redefine everyday life as sacred. For instance, if one's whole life is an occasion to witness for God, then there are no situations which are profane and in which profane authority is applicable. This tension is clearly evident in healing, with most Pentecostal healers accepting a legitimate role for scientific healing and medical doctors. Nonetheless, they assert that no healing takes place without God and attempt as far as possible to treat disease with prayer.

In United Pentecost, as elsewhere, church members were constantly laying on hands to heal. Mrs. W., the acrid wife of the assistant minister, was recognized (and self-anointed) as an extra-ordinarily efficacious healer. She tells stories of the healings she has effected, increasing her legitimacy as a lay minister. Similarly, one morning in Sunday school class, the young woman who was teaching the class was attempting to "set herself as an example" by describing the numerous occasions on which she had bruised, burned and abrased herself accidently and made the symptoms go away through immediately beginning to pray.
An interesting way in which Sister W. and others achieved power was through usurping other people's healings, claiming the healings were the result of their intervention. For instance, Pastor S. will address someone in the audience:

George has been deathly ill these last few weeks and has just had a miraculous recovery. His doctors believe it was the result of their medicines and surgery, but I want you all to know I have been praying for George every night for the last week, and the day before he was cured I got a clear vision that he would be back in church by the end of the week. How many here tonight believe the Lord answers our prayers?

Sometimes people testify and take credit for their own miraculous healing, beating out someone else who may have prayed for them.

Group Hierarchy

Reflective of the composition of the church, half of the official hierarchy of United Pentecost was related to the Pastor, and through him to his mother who founded the original church.

Figure 6: United Pentecost Hierarchy
Speaking in tongues is not the basis for hierarchy in the church. Rather, speaking in tongues is a prerequisite for full membership. Within United Pentecost, the lay (mostly male) ministers rarely spoke in dramatic tongues comparable to the lay women in the audience. Rather, hierarchy seems to be more interdependent with participation, claims to prophetic or healing facility, and formal lay ministerial status. Many of the Pentecostal preachers who have "made it" in the Christian media or revival circuit have had claims to being healers. To the degree that the lay ministers have gained status for merely having gotten a ministerial certificate, being in the formal role of "the called," but not exhibiting extraordinary dedication, charisma or powers, I believe U.P. has begun the routinization process away from charisma to bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is still comparatively minor, as one only takes a short exam to win one's licence from the United Pentecost denomination.

Most of the highly committed men are ministers, and their wives are central as the women's wing of the church. The most highly committed man in the congregation, who is not a lay minister, is Chris S.'s father who "witnesses mightily." Though the direct relatives of the Pastor seem to have an advantage of seniority in the church, Chris, his father, mother and sister, appear to be central to the status hierarchy within the church. The mother coordinates activities for the church, the daughter teaches Sunday school, they all come to church 4 times a week and the church greatly enjoys hearing Chris, his sister and best friend sing.

Brother S. is an example of the role of testimony in individuals establishing their roles and status in the church. Kroll-Smith (1980) examined a non-Pentecostal Holiness church, in which the pentecostal doctrine of a tripartite set of spiritual stages is adhered to: Saved, Sanctified and Filled with the Holy Ghost. (As Warburton 1965) points out, Holiness churches schismed from Pentecostal churches over the necessity of glossolalia as the mark of salvation. This makes the Holiness church much more tolerant in certain respects, since the manifestation of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost can be any number of phenomena.

The call, the commitment, and the encounter are all transformative experiences which occur in a personal and private context. They are not institutionalized in passage rites. (Kroll-Smith, 1980, p.25)
In this context, testimony becomes much more important as a way of objectifying the progression of the church members within the hierarchy of statuses. Testimony represents a commitment and a self-investment through the assumption of responsibility for ritual performance. Testimony indicates the degree of technical, ideological competence; the testifier shows what they know, and whether they can and do apply it. Testimony indicates the facility with which the testifier can slip into charismatic consciousness; whether they have internalized "the Spirit", not just "the Word".

In the Holiness church Kroll-Smith examined she perceived three basic categories of status among the women, each with distinctive testimonial styles: a sister, a junior-mother, and a senior-mother. The sister, or beginning Holiness convert, will typically testify in a spoken tone, with a number of stock phrases, a polemical ideological message, and restricted emotionality and behavioral arousal. The senior-mother on the other hand, rarely testifies...without moving close or into "shouting" or spirit possession. Her eyes will tear, her head roll back, and she will begin to intone key holiness words and phrases such as "Jesus", "Hallelujah", and "Thank you Jesus". She employs three oral channels in delivering her testimony: spoken word, song and chant. These channels are stratified as to their ritual importance in the church, spoken word having the lowest, followed by song, with chant representing the most sacred form of ritual speech. (Kroll-Smith, 1980, p. 20)

The "saints" (senior-mothers) develop their own styles of testimony, draw widely from allegory and parable, and speak more of their direct experience of the holy than of the worldly problems and trials that the novitiate sisters testify about. The sisters still tend to take responsibility for the good they do, which they attribute to God's aid; the saints attribute all to God.

As a senior mother put it: "(The Sisters) have one foot in this world and the other in the next". The Pastor: "They are still fighting this world. There's too much of the I and the me in 'em yet and not enough of the Him. It takes time, you've got to grow in the spirit." (Kroll-Smith, 1980, p. 22)
The junior-mothers represent the median range of the continuum, either still too concerned with the world, but highly emotional in style, or other-worldly in content but inhibited in emotiveness. Through spontaneous responses the audience gives positive or negative reinforcement to the performances, telling the doctrinally or behaviorally off-base that they must conform more closely to group standards, reinforcing the performance of the sister and junior-mothers who are trying, and becoming sympathetically aroused with the senior-mother.

According to a sister, "you know you're walking the right path when everyone joins in your testimony." (Kroll-Smith, 1980, p. 24)

In United Pentecost, there were a number of audience response patterns which tended to indicate exemplary testimony, and which generally placed the testifiers in their informal status. When Brother S. spoke, for instance, he would hold his hands shaking in the air, half-shouting, half-crying, with periodic shivers through his body. He spoke with a great deal of parable and Biblical reference, indicating a serious study of the Gospel. Similarly, his son, in his attempt to emulate his father's charisma, took every opportunity, such as before he sang, or when he was moderating, to give a loud, rapid testimony. Though his style was staccato and hesitant, and though he too frequently mentioned himself in his testimony, the sincerity of his efforts were recognized by the congregation who shouted "Yes", or "Tell it" or "Praise the Lord" in encouragement. Thus, though the Pentecostal church has a carefully delineated identity-creating ritual, like Holiness, the testimony ritual is a way for participants to practice group norms, develop social identities and statuses and in turn, create identity.

Unfortunately, because of the unknowns surrounding my conversion, the immediate distrust of the educated and the obvious differences in my level of commitment, my Baptism in the Holy Ghost did not ensure my acceptance into the church, or even recognition as a member. Recognizing this to be the case, I attempted to establish an identity for myself through testimony and confronted the difficulty of the novitiate; how to get sincerely ecstatic. I experienced a double handicap in that I was socialized to a "left-brain" form of communication, more intellectual and less empathic, and didn't believe in the doctrines or apply them in my life. Consequently my testimonies got very muted, hesitant responses as compared to the rest.
Below me, at the bottom of the church hierarchy (beyond in some cases human compassion from the parishioners) were the 6 retarded and emotionally disturbed members. Slightly above these were the quiet and marginal members who hadn’t made full commitments to the church. An example of these was a man who attended somewhat erratically with his emotionally disturbed wife who rarely spoke or moved during services, but just sat wrapped in worn fake leopard coat. This man confided in me that God had given him a vision that he was to start his own church, and he was holding all night prayer sessions with small groups in the church towards this goal. This, predictably, did not endear him to the central status hierarchy of the church.

Women

Both women ministers in U.P. were related to the Pastor. Also, both women seemed to be undeniably the brightest in the church, though they had an advantage of being in positions of power, and so may have appeared more able than they would have otherwise. Nonetheless, it is clearly a patriarchal situation when the church members are 70% female and the hierarchy is 80% male.

Sex role norms are quite conventional in the church with tahoes against women wearing pants to church, earrings or makeup. Women’s obedience has however been a sensitive issue in the Pentecostal church, with different churches being more or less open to women preaching and holding positions of power. In United Pentecost, Pastor S. was continually jeking about his wife’s organ playing:

Play that tune (Mrs. S.: I can’t remember it). Play it, now, I know you know it. (Mrs. S.: No, I don’t remember it). Wife, obey your husband... Do you see this, this disobedient wife... How many here tonight think the man rules the wife?

Similarly, my Sunday School teacher told of wanting to quit a factory job at which she was being harassed

...but I couldn’t quit till my husband gave me permission and he wouldn’t... For the husband rules the woman like we are all ruled by God.

Women in general are over-represented in the Pentecostal movement and in the practice of PT around the world. Hood
and Hall (1980) find that women use receptive language to describe both erotic and mystical experiences, and Bourguignon, discovering that women are the overwhelming majority of PT practitioners cross-culturally, remarks that their passive social condition makes them more likely to adopt a passive interpretation of an ASC, and use passive sexual images to describe them. For instance, "mounting" as a horse and as in sex is commonly used as an image, as is pregnancy. In Burma (Spiro), the nats are said to have sexual desire for the woman or man, who must "marry" the spirit in possession to appease their psycho-neurotic symptoms.

But the other aspect of PT that Bourguignon's work points out is that women in simple societies use the possession cult as a therapeutic community and as a means of gaining power. Through possession, and its counterpart abilities in the Pentecostal community such as having a "calling" to preach, the ability to prophecy, or simply the necessity of spending all of their time in religious activities, women establish spheres that are independent of patriarchal home and society, in which they can gain power and prestige, and express their desires.

...Some women feel that it is better to be a man than a woman, and they resolve this frustrating reality by, temporarily at least, denying it. In fantasy, they become not only men but male beings who are more powerful and authoritative than ordinary men...Women not only deny this reality in their private fantasy worlds, but act out this fantasy in such a way as to get their husbands and others in the community to participate in this denial. (Bourguignon, ditto, p. 9)

In one of the first churches I attended a large Appalachian woman rose to give her testimony to 15 other women and two men, saying

I want you all to pray for Bessie 'cause she called me the other night and she's just in a terrible state. You know how her husband Joe he comes home and he's drunk (begins to sob)... and he's so mean... (crying)... and he hits her. I want you all to pray for Bessie 'cause she calls me and she's just so blue and so sad. He won't let her come to church and he hits her when she mentions it. So I just want you all to pray for her.
Bess's friend is telling Bess's community to provide aid to Bess, and apply whatever pressures it can to Joe to stop his abuse. Obviously, the community's and the Pastor's ability to control or reinforce Joe's behavior will be marginal till he is a member of the church. Joe recognizes the support function of the church in conflict with his power over his wife in his refusal to allow her to go.

In United Pentecost, a family that converted and was baptized all in the same night, were seen as a special concern by Pastor S., who remarked repeatedly at the energy present when the mother first spoke in tongues. Unfortunately, the father never successfully spoke in tongues and fell back out of the church. Since this man was known by the community to have beat his wife and to have had a drinking problem, a special effort was made to bring him back in the church and support the wife in her conversion. The wife invited the assistant pastor and some of the other men over to talk to her husband but he met them at the door and threatened violence if they entered. Subsequently, he threatened his wife with a knife if she continued to go to church four times a week with the children.

Men in United Pentecost are not feminist or even aware of sexism. But to the degree that their church is founded on abstinence from drink, responsible and loving family relations, strong norms against violence, etc. women gain a number of advantages from having their husbands convert. In Latin America, one of the most remarked on changes is the abrupt adoption of strict monogamy among Pentecostal converts.

Women's testimonies frequently revolved around marital conflicts. One woman testified that she had been having troubles with her husband related to his crisis of faith, but that recently he had recommitted himself to Pentecostalism.

I got home from work the other day, and usually I have to just start to work on the house, but my husband had already mopped the floor and swept the rugs. I tell you I praise Jesus for that (laughs from the women in the audience). Boy, I was getting to the point where I had to hide my gun so that I didn't shoot him when we fought and now he's just a dear.

A church that is 70% women has a powerful "women's community" aspect. Women find power and support within the
church, subordinating their family oppression to the greater equality of the church. Divorce is allowed and the Pastor's niece, who was a lay minister, had been divorced by her husband so that he could "drink and sleep around". She confided that she wasn't looking for another, as did a widow of 10 years.

I can get up when I want, and go to bed when I want and I don't have to answer to anybody. I loved my husband, God bless his soul, but I like being an old widow.

Finally, the church provides roles for strong women, within a flexible structure, to achieve power and status. One of the main ways is through having "a calling" such as a woman in United Pentecost who was dying from cancer and promised God that she would devote her life to a mission if she was healed. She did recover, and found that she was called to the back-villages of Haiti, where she has been leading a number of churches for the last ten years, with economic support from U.S.

Glossolalia is powerfully cathartic, as already discussed. Women, as an oppressed category, experience certain overt biological stresses and more subtle psychological stresses. Presumably, this is one factor in their disproportionate practice of tongues, and their disproportionate ecstaticism in religion in general. While this "ritual of rebellion" and cathartic aspect of tongues may be therapeutic for the participants, it serves to reinforce the very norms and institutions which maintain them in their stressed condition.

Power and Ritual Reunification

The commitment of the parishioners to the church reinforces the power and status of the internal hierarchy of the church. Commitment to the church on the part of women represents to some extent their ability to use to the church to gain power, to cathart emotional stress that is partly related to powerlessness, and to find emotional support among other women. Commitment is facilitated by glossolalia, especially group glossolalia. Therefore, we can predict that charismatic communities will seek group glossolalia in situations of normative and behavioral dissensus, as well as when there are crises of authority. Stated differently, alienation from a social order involves the delegitimation of the authority structures within that
social order, and charismatic attempts at re-commitment, or
reunification, tend to give legitimacy back to and are
encouraged by, either the pre-existing hierarchy or a rival
hierarchy.

While I was in U.P. there was a crisis of authority
that was centered around the Pastor. He began to mention
threats to his authority at sermons, and began emphasizing
obedience to the minister who is the inspiration of the Holy
Spirit, while inveighing against false prophets who are
preaching for self-aggrandizement.

You may not want to hear what I'm preaching
tonight, but its the word of God and I'm gonna
preach it anyway...
There are things going on in this church and
God has given me a vision of how they should be...
I know some people think I'm hard to get
along with, but that is just the way I am...
That young man (Chris, the new hesitant
minister) should be up on stage with the other
ministers...Do you hear me... obey your
minister...
Pray for me and my family: we need your
prayers. We have problems like anybody else...

Pastor S. appeared to be upset about the number of
people coming to church, the number staying home or going to
other Pentecostal churches, and began attempting to revive
his charismatic authority in order to revive the church.
The major reasons for congregational alienation from him is
his authoritarian, insensitive style, ordering people to
sing, stand, enact parts of his Biblical parables, etc.
Parishioners seem to feel more warmth for the assistant
pastor who is "Mr. Love" in comparison, though they are
always respectful of Stump's authority. This stylistic
problem was repeatedly mentioned by the Pastor and the
assistant pastor, who attempted to defend his senior.

The point which turned the church from a down-trend
towards an up-trend and began to change the tenor of the
Pastor's behavior as well as congregational attendance,
occurred on a Friday evening service. After the opening
commens and prayers, we started singing and Pastor S.
commanded the congregation to start marching the perimeters
of the church, around the pews. At first, everyone marched
around, till the Pastor made it clear that he just wanted
the lay ministers to march. The lay ministers then marched
while the congregation sang. This reminded me of
shamanistic ritual purification, a concept which is present in the church. At other services the Pastor preached on the importance of chasing the evil spirits out of the church with song before one begins to worship.

The Pastor's niece, a very dramatic tongue-talker, began to go into her version of PT, with her eyes closed, arms outstretched, jaw and chins quivering violently, and keeping a high wail. (This form is used by several of the women in the church; a high moan, closed eyes, and a stumbling, drunken step.)

The Pastor called all the ministers up to the front of the altar and told them that he had had a strong vision for several days that he had to perform this service in a certain way for the health of the church. He had the ministers get on their knees and begin praying, except for his niece who was still stumbling around in her trance, moaning and crying. This scene had clear ritual of rebellion over tones in that the ministers' lack of efficacious evangelizing and "ministering" was being pointed to as partly responsible for the decline of the church, like a tribal chief being blamed for crop failure. The ministers were to pray for those not there that night. Pastor S. said:

Mothers, fathers, think of your children and how your example will determine whether they go to heaven or burn forever in hell. Wives, think of your sick husbunds, who might die tomorrow and never be by your side in heaven.

Gradually, he began to call everyone up to the altar behind the ministers. When the whole present congregation had been called up one-by-one, by name or gesture, then he began directing us to sing certain songs, and pray over one another.

His theme was that we had "flat-tire" religion, that the air had gone out but that we still had the tire (routinization). We needed to have "the victory" at the service, a victory over Satan. As he called the members forward to the altar, in more or less the status hierarchy that existed informally, he mentioned things that specific individuals should pray for; one woman her husband, another her health problems. Some of the children stayed in the pews in embarrassment or boredom. Finally, the Pastor coerced them to the altar as well. At one point, he had everyone take a same-sex brother or sister and hug them
tightly while praying for one another.

Needless to say, the evening's break from tradition and the Pastor's hell-fire intensity began to effect the level of arcusal of the audience and the amount of tongue-talking. Pastor S. later admitted, and during the service it became evident, that while the structure of the service looked like spontaneous inspiration from the Pastor, that he had consciously modeled the night after the repentence-baptism-infilling of the Holy Ghost cycle. The first third was devoted to inspiring repentance, and some stayed at the altar all night seeking complete repentence. The middle portion was the baptism, in this case a specific set of prayers oriented toward specific problems. The last portion was the infilling, where a much higher percent of the church experienced tongues than usual, and the rest were highly emotional. The Pastor's non-stop monologue through the loudspeakers, with musical accompaniment, hammered through the barriers of habit that had built up around church attendance.

One woman, 200-lbs, 5'3" and about 25-years-old, went into her characteristic trance behavior which consisted of throwing her arms back and forth at her sides and jumping up and down from one foot to the other, her face bunched into a pink mask of intensity.

Another woman, another grand-niece of the Pastor, went into a "keening-trance", with eyes-closed, and backward stumble. Yet another was prayed over for forty minutes or so, and finally, as hands were laid on her head, fell to the ground and began speaking in tongues on her back. She was covered by some others with a coat, more for propriety's sake than concern for her health.

Pastor S.'s own son was the main focus of attention at one corner of the stage where a number of the elders and younger people were praying over him. After an hour or so, he finally got tongues (apparently for the first time at the age of 16) and prayed there for the next hour and a half in tongues, through the rest of the service, till at some point he fell on his back, and continued praying there.

At least half the participants spoke in tongues that night, and about half the women did so dramatically, if not in trance. The service lasted for 2 hours and 45 minutes, but the Pastor kept suggesting that it should go on all night, 'like the old days'. Some of the members obviously had attended such marathon worship sessions, and while I was in the church there were two all-night prayer sessions.
The older men in the church, though usually much more physical and affectionate with one another than my stereotype of the average working-class group of men, were very physical and uninhibited about hugging one another at this service, as were the younger adolescents. Small groups sat and prayed with their arms around one another for forty minutes at a time. One young woman was the central figure among a group of children aged 10 to 20 sitting around a younger boy who was visibly alienated from the services in the past. Though the boy was speaking in tongues as far as I could tell, his red-faced, teary-eyed attendant and her assistants laid on hands for more than half an hour.

At one point in the service Sister W., the feisty lay minister, grabbed the mike and announced that there was someone present who had a lump in their breast, and that she had had a vision to remove it. Finally, the woman in the church who spoke with the thickest Appalachian accent came forward and had hands laid on to cure her lump. Later she would rise to wander in the aisle with a quiet, rapid stream of prayer and tongues, while her left arm and hand shook violently as if independent of her body.

Most of the men do not evidence this kind of trance behavior, and at this service, though the men were extraordinarily aroused, their heights of ecstasy were evidenced by shudders (as of "feeling Him in me") and shouts. They all cry rather freely.

Pastor S. confronted the problem of the decay of his authority by confronting the problem of the decay of organic "we-feeling" and commitment to the faith among his parishioners. His own power was dependent on the amount of psychological investment the members had in the collectivity which was his power base. He blamed his own style, his ministers' lack of effort, and the back-sliding of the parishioners, and set about revitalizing the church. This recommitment takes place through the group experience of the Holy Spirit.

The group, as a collectivity and as individuals who interiorize the collectivity as part of their self-concept, can be rejuvenated by taking it through the ritual process; symbolic death (the breakdown of ordinary ritual, the impassioned denunciation of the churches' backsliding ways, etc.), the group experience of the liminal, hyper-aroused, ineffable Holy Ghost, and rebirth through the successful acknowledgement by every member present that they had won "the victory", and they were leaving the church a different
person than they entered.

I don't want anyone to leave tonight who doesn't have the victory. If you still are burdened by the slightest thing, if you haven't repented the slightest sin, if you don't love Jesus with all your heart, then don't go back to your seats. No one will leave tonight without the victory.

The test of "the victory" was catharsis, "if you feel better". The rebirth back into our seats, back into the traditional closing music and reminders of what we should interiorize from the evening, closed the event.

In the following weeks, the parishioners would mention this service as exemplary, and as a personal and group turning point.
CHAPTER SIX: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

Finally, it will be noted that the realms of epigenesis (embryology) and of evolution are, at a deeper level, typified in the twin paradigms of the second law of thermodynamics: (1) that the random workings of probability will always eat up order, pattern, and negative entropy but that (2) for the creation of new order, the workings of the random, the plethora of uncommitted alternatives (entropy) is necessary. It is out of the random that organisms collect new mutations, and it is there that stochastic learning gathers its solutions... By return to the unlearned and mass-produced egg, the ongoing species again and again clears its memory banks to be ready for the new. (Bateson, 1979, p.53)

Social theory recognizes a number of dialectical or cyclic tendencies in society which are generally rooted in the fundamental dialectic of structure and change. Communitas is both a remedy for stressful structure, the result of decayed or destroyed structure, and the seed-bed for structural change or mutations. Charismatic rebels establish structures which become new structures, which in turn are rebeled against by new charismatists. The waves of democracy eternally break against the shores of inevitable oligarchization. A subordinate class struggles for hegemony and gains it, only to be challenged by a new rising class. Cognitive structures break-down, or are suspended, while "one-ness" or hallucinatory ASCs are experienced; then from the gestalt of the ASC comes new beliefs, concepts and world-views. Explaining ASCs in relation to social structure, it is important to see the connections between these different cyclic phenomena.

Second, it is important to see the rise of glossolalia-centered religion not only in its intra-psychic and small-group context but also in its macro-sociological context. ASCs and glossolalia play roles in the maintenance of the status quo, and in facilitating change. In order to address these broad concerns Pentecostalism will be considered from two general perspectives: a) as an expression of anomic populations seeking to recreate and resanctify world-views, and b) as an expression of class consciousness, -power, and -cooptation.
Anomie

In Wallace's theory of mazeway revitalization, cultures tend to have a certain homeostatic stability. Internal and external forces however can interfere with the adaptiveness of the culture creating a decay of norms, purpose and role-patterned behavior. The mazeway integrates its members at a number of levels. Consequently, the decay manifests at a number of levels: intrapsychic, with ideological, motivational, and behavioral systems having different degrees of coherence, with different degrees of stress; interpersonal, with break-downs in family and community relations; general social dissensus, as in political polarization; and structural-functional breakdown, where the continuity of production, reproduction and social peace is broken.

Wallace proposes that charismatic leaders arise in these situations, typically having had visions in ASCs that provide new mazeways, new patterns of thought and behavior, which channel the accumulating stresses. The mazeway is communicated to the susceptible, anomie population through a social movement and, typically, a social movement organization. LaBarre (1970) describes this process as the development of "crisis cults", which he saw arising in response to acculturative stress. The movement then organizes to perpetuate itself, and begins to make necessary accommodations to society. Eventually, the charismatic movement has served its cultural purpose, and becomes institutionalized as a new homeostasis.

An obvious problem with this model is the transferability of the idea of a cultural static state from simple societies to the advanced industrial societies that Pentecostalism developed in. Nonetheless, if society is seen as a multi-layered organism, with many interacting, but culturally distinct sub-units, then Pentecostalism can be seen as a movement that grew from and responded to specific historical dislocations of specific populations, both in its early flowering and in its neo-Pentecostal form. A multi-layered view recognizes that different parts of the social system may become desacralized at different times for different sets of members. For instance, while many see the 20th century as one of advancing secularization, it nonetheless has seen the growth of a number of conservative churches, such as Pentecostalism. As described in Chapter 3, those who have been socialized into religious
"problem-solving" will tend to seek religious solutions to anomie, while for others, liberal secularism or political movements may satisfy.

Extending the organic metaphor, it can be suggested that sectarian movements are like mutated species seeking to survive in a niche. Certain periods are characterized by a proliferation of mutations as the population becomes more susceptible, but most die early on, and others grow slowly or not at all, never reaching a stage of institutionalization with subsequent fission. Only the successful few are evolutionary successes, reaching the latter stages of the Wallace revitalization, and sect-church, models. Stark and Bainbridge (1981) point out that of the 417 American-born sects they could discover, only eight have reached a degree of accommodation with society equal to "moderate tension", and few sects have grown after being founded.

The population that Holiness grew among were the rural poor and urban working-class who became increasingly alienated from mainstream Gospels of Wealth, or their intellectual Social Gospel critics among seminarians (Anderson, 1960, p. 31). The Holiness-oriented poor asserted pietistic values and emotional worship as "true religion", a religion responsive to their felt needs for catharsis, and their rural revivalistic traditions. Agricultural industrialization, the opening of world agricultural markets and the concentration of land and agricultural capital that began in the late 19th century made these atomized ex-farmers, or impoverished farmers, even more susceptible to emotionalist, totalistic, alienation-reducing religion, as their communities and lifestyles were destroyed, and they mixed with waves of immigrants in the cities. These newly atomized, urbanized groups tended to identify "modernism" as the enemy, as well as its collaborator, the "worldly churches".

The church that most Pentecostal can trace their movement back to was the Azusa St. Mission in L.A. founded in 1906-7 by black evangelist, William Seymour.

The L.A. which Seymour entered was a bustling city, then in a boom that would taper off in the years following the Panic of 1907 only to be resumed by 1910. The fastest growing city from 1880 to 1910, L.A. had doubled its population in the 1890's and more than tripled it in the next decade...

Most of the native white majority were recent
migrants from the Midwest... The high rate of mobility, both into and within the city, exacerbated the psychological effects of urban life: loneliness, ennui, alienation, and despair... (giving rise to) attempts to recreate the familiar rural relationships of the past...

By 1906, there were over a hundred churches preaching the "full gospel" (Holiness) in Los Angeles. (Anderson, p. 62)

After Seymour began preaching that one had to speak in tongues to be saved, he immediately came into conflict with the Holiness circles that he was drawing his converts from. The doctrine began to spread rapidly through Holiness periodicals, and the network of evangelists who were constantly traveling across America. As evangelists, lay people and some ministers began to convert to "Oneness", and whole congregations began to split over the issue, Holiness denominations either converted en toto to the doctrine, such as Assemblies of God, or issued formal denunciations and expulsions. The main theological issue was whether to accept the amorphous emotional experience of Holiness as the Baptism in the Holy Ghost. As Dr. A.B. Simpson, leader of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a large Holiness sect explained:

We believe the scriptural teaching to be that the gift of tongues is one of the gifts of the spirit, and that it may be present in the normal Christian assembly as a sovereign bestowal of the Holy Spirit upon such as He wills. We do not believe that there is any scriptural evidence for the teaching that speaking in tongues is the sign of having been filled with the Holy Ghost, nor do we believe that it is the plan of God that all Christians should possess the gift of tongues... The attitude toward the gift of tongues held by the pastor and people should be "seek not, forbid not". (Kelsey, p. 75)

Anderson however sees this split as one of the institutionalized Holiness sects, with increasingly "middle-class" tendencies, vs. the poorer, more atomized, and more in need of ecstatic renewal, Pentecostal-oriented.

The Pentecostals, while by no means rejecting the more solid middle-class values, placed premium upon ecstasy, and thereby directed less of their
energies into the development of those characteristics more useful for rising into the middle-class. Moreover, ecstatic experience, by providing a release for hostilities and anxieties, reduced the dynamic tensions between reality and aspiration that underlies upward mobility. The effect of overemphasis on ecstatic religious experience was to decrease both the desire and the ability to rise into the middle-class. In a rough sort of way then, the split in the Holiness movement occasioned by the Pentecostal revival was between those who aspired to rise from lower-class status and those who sought reconciliation to it, between a prospective bourgeoisie and a despairing proletariat. (Anderson, p. 152)

Thus, powerlessness and poverty interacts with social change to produce susceptible populations. The social changes of this period among the middle and upper classes stimulated movements such as Progressivism, the suffrage movement, scientism, while among the poor much of the necessary mazeway resynthesis was achieved by movements like Holiness. But the greater comparable anomic deprivation of the poor, as a result of their inability to control their environment and defend their community from rapid changes wrought by monopoly capital and the market system, led them to a more total movement, a movement that demanded a radical bridge-burning act and a cathartic, identity-changing ecstatic experience.

Millenarianism

Millenarianism is a latent culture-gene that tends to express itself in times of culture stress. The idea that a primordial perfect society existed, which the current condition is a degeneration of, but which will soon be reestablished after a period of cataclysmic struggle, appears in virtually every culture at the village level and above. Millenarianism can be militant or other-worldly.

Pentecostalism was a mixture of other-worldly millenarianism and ecstatic worship. While other sects of the anomic poor in 19th and 20th century America, such as Jehovah's Witness and Seventh Day Adventist, emphasized millenarianism, the key to Pentecostalism's schismatic proliferation, and growth was the institutionalization of an extreme psycho-physiological state which was cathartic, and facilitated conversion and commitment. Both Pentecostalism
and Holiness were institutionalized millenarian ecstaticism, and both were characterized by claims to divine insight and authority, intense commitment and dogmatism, and anarchistic anti-church beliefs, which can be attributed to the emotionalism of worship, and which in turn, gave rise to constant schismings. Observers (Warburton, 1965) note that Pentecostalism has given rise to an even higher rate of schismogenesis than Holiness, which suggests that the institutionalizing of tongues (since this is the only major variable that changes between the two doctrines), as an extreme version of ecstaticism, is a further causative factor in sectarian fission.

Oneness

The major doctrinal schism within the Pentecostal fold occurred in 1913 when a number of traveling evangelists began to preach that God was the Holy Spirit, and that Jesus was a human form filled with God/ Holy Ghost. Though the doctrinal difference was minor, the controversy was inflamed by the preachers' insistence that all Pentecostals had to be re-baptized "in the name of Jesus" rather than "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost".

These "unitarians" spread rapidly through the Pentecostal churches, and by the end of the decade, 25% of all Pentecostalists had become unitarian, with resulting splits in denominations and the institution of doctrinal codification in some of the trinitarian churches (codification that had previously been opposed by most Pentecostalists). The unitarian movement was limited largely to the Midwest, in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Michigan especially. These "Oneness" Pentecostals were more urban, and 2 to 3 times as black as those who stayed trinitarian. The wings of the movement that tended to be susceptible were also those that had been most congregational, anarchistic or loosely federated.

The denomination that United Pentecost belongs to is Oneness, but the church was founded as Trinitarian before the schism. Sister S., the Pastor's mother and founder of the first Pentecostal church in Columbus, left an autobiographical note with her daughter before her death:

Employment was scarce in Columbus, in the year 1906, so Mr. Stump and I decided to go to the Hog Creek Marsh to raise onions for the summer. While on this journey, my little daughter was exposed to whooping cough and in a few days she died with
double pneumonia. This tragedy broke my heart as I was only 18 years old and she was our first child.

Conviction took hold of my heart and one evening while sitting on our front porch I heard an aged sister praying so my husband and I went over. In a prayer meeting I fell upon my knees and cried to God for mercy. God saved my soul and as I arose I went from one to the other weeping and crying.

Following this Mrs. S. opened prayer meetings in Columbus in her aunt's house, then in a converted barber's shop. She became Pentecostal soon after her conversion, as the movement rapidly spread across the country in 1907, 1908, and 1909, and converted to Oneness shortly after this movement was founded in 1914, 1915, 1916. She rebaptized all her parishioners "in the name of Jesus". She received a message from God to minister to the "Africans" and began to convert blacks, Italian immigrants, who also lived downtown near the prison beside which the church was located, also began to convert (in fact, one denomination of Pentecostalism in the States is made up solely of ex-Catholic Italian-Americans). Finally, in 1925, the congregation built its own church building:

Today we have a lovely building, but it took labor and suffering. While the foundation was being laid, I was doing 13 washings a week, five ironings and baking doughnuts three times a week.

Pastor S. frequently remarks on the great religiosity of the Depression years saying at one sermon:

I hope the Depression comes tomorrow. Back then, people would pray all night. They would speak in tongues for hours. They weren't caught up in worldly things; they loved God because that was all they had. Miracles fell mightily in those days; there were healings in every service.

Stark and Bainbridge (1980) show that growth of sectarian movements in general peaked in the 1930's, while the '60's were a period of growth for "cult" (non-traditional) religions.
Figure 7: When American Sects and Cults Formed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Sects</th>
<th>Cults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899 and before</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 to 1929</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930 to 1949</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950 to 1959</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960 to 1969</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 to 1977</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Stark and Bainbridge, 1980, p.134)

The growth of cults in the 60's can be attributed to the dominant secularization trends in America, which have removed some of the inhibitions on joining openly non-Christian sects.

Power and Class

The appeal of the emotional religion and the asceticism for the disenfranchised is this: It denies the existence of this world with its woes. It denies the values in terms of which they are underprivileged and sets up in their stead a putative society in the kingdom of God, where, because of their special endowment (which we call emotionalism) they are the elite. It is the society of the saved. Millenarianism is of the essence, for it is thus that the putative society is created; asceticism is the denial of the world in which they have been denied; emotional participation is public acclamation of their personal acceptance into the world of superreality. (Goldschmidt, 1944, p.135)

Sect theory (much of it based on study of Pentecostalism and Holiness) has largely focused on economic deprivation as a causative factor in the origins of sects (Niebuhr). The sect is seen to be a sublimation of class protest. Supposedly the sect's demands on the convert then prepare him for material success in society and undercut the
socio-economic base of the sectarian tendency, allowing the sect to drift towards churchiness. Once these bourgeoisieified churches are established, new schisms break off to form new sects of the poor.

This schema is especially useful as a model for analyzing the Holiness, Pentecostal, and Oneness Pentecostal movements, though a different model must be elaborated to explain the growth of the upper-middle class Pentecostal movement.

Greenbaum's (1973a) holographic study correlates slavery and class stratification in African societies (N=114) to the presence of PT. Part of her explanation for this relationship is the use of possession roles to gain social status. Though Pentecostalism in the United States gave its adherents no social status in the general society, and was in fact a negative status, it did symbolically elevate them to a religious elite role, and provide a community within which ambitious poor could gain power and status.

As a classical proletariat, atomized, impoverished, newly urban, the Pentecostals have exhibited many "proletarian" tendencies in religious form. The Pentecostals grew and became institutionalized in the U.S. when left-wing movements were growing among these same groups in Europe and around the world, and was struggling to be born in the U.S. Niebuhr (1929) suggests that no significant sectarian movement has swept European lower classes since the rise of Methodism and attributes this to the rise of working-class political movements. Glock and Stark (1965, p.185-226) impressively show a negative correlation between many aspects of religiosity, and radical political commitment among lower classes in countries with socialist and communist parties. This tends to support the notion that the "religious" or "other-worldly" problem-solving orientation among the poor is in tension against the "political" mind-set, which will tend to be radical, class-based and anti-clerical. Among poor who maintain religious commitments and problem-solving orientations, reactions to the social world will tend to range from apolitical to reactionary. Harrison finds a negative reaction to Catholic Pentecostalism among Catholic students in the early 70's who had "participated in demonstrations" or done "social service work". Harrison attributes this finding to the over-all observation that Catholic Pentecostals are reacting against social gospel and liberalization tendencies within Catholicism.
On the other hand, the schismatic tendencies of Pentecostalism can be seen as expression of class tendencies and means for gaining autonomy. In effect, by institutionalizing a doctrine of charismatic totalism with the "gifts of the spirit" democratically open to any convert, Pentecostal churches ensured schism and decentralization. In the 1900's, the elites within the bureaucracies, seminaries and elite lay circles of American Protestantism were increasingly integrated into the ruling-class system of consciousness-production. These poetic-sanctity-legitimacy producers manufactured cultural goods for the consumption of the "aspiring" masses: the Gospel of Wealth, anti-communism, anti-labor unionism, white man's burden, etc. These poetic producers had a left wing, the Social Gospel, but these reformers were as distant from the rural and working-poor as the mainstream churches (Anderson).

The Pentecostalists, and before them, the Holiness worshippers, were anti-intellectual and structurally anarcho-communalist. These tendencies can be seen as a class response to bourgeois hegemony over the clergy. Anderson suggests that the Pentecostal churches can be seen as an explosion of insurgent religious small entrepreneurs, growing in an age of increasing cooperation and ecumenism in mainstream American religion, a cartelization of religious institutions.

This is not to say that there was a conscious cooptation of ministers and churches by the wealthy, but rather that A) the capitalist interests, with the help of a responsive state, discouraged avenues of social change that could have channeled and refocused the stresses of the Pentecostal-prone populations, such as the union movement and socialist parties. B) Following Marx's and Mannheim's logic, ruling classes will tend to adopt, quite sincerely, ideologies which do not criticize, but rationalize their power, or simply ignores and mystifies power relations altogether. Privileged classes' patronage of tame, status-quo religion was not, then, so much a plot but a sympathy for its world-view. Similarly, many of the Reaginite business elite who pour funds into conservative evangelical organizations, and profess evangelical Christianity, are undoubtedly subjectively "good Christians", doing what they perceive as right.

C) Occasionally, elites do recognize religious influences on subordinate populations, and consciously plan to support specific groups and act against others. These actions are usually taken at a vague, instinctive level, and
are rarely coordinated by the National Association of Manufacturers. In an evolutionary way, the power structure responds at every level to insurgent trends of thought and organization to reinforce trends that reinforce the power structure. Thus, a conspiracy theory is not being elaborated but rather a complex set of systemic relations which can be even more effective in some ways than a centralized conspiracy.

Pentecostalism, then, like Holiness, can be seen in its origins as having “ritual of rebelling” and class-conflict tendencies, but in their result they tend to be coopted into the status quo in some manner as they begin the process of oligarchization and routinization of charisma.

Race and Class

One of the most important manifestations of Pentecostalism’s revolutionary tendencies was its early multi-racial composition. Tinney (1982) points out that Pentecostalism, in fact, was almost an outgrowth of black religion, and certainly before that, Africanist and slave religious emotionalism. Originally, the movement ignored race, and churches were persecuted for their racial and ethnic integration. Communitas or “Brotherhood in the Spirit” was a concrete reality. But as the churches and doctrines began to form and solidify, and Pentecostals moved beyond constant revivalism to routinization, a differentiation began to take place, segregating black and white. Even today, however, Pentecostal sects exist which are militantly integrative (Elinson, 1965).

Among blacks, the congregational independency tendency was especially strong (Anderson, p. 125) resulting in the numbers of black Pentecostals being undercounted in the census (which only recognized denominations). Stark and Finbridge (1981, p. 135) show that though there are an equivalent percent of black sects in American history to black population (10%) blacks have tended to belong to more deviant “high tension” sects. But rather than become “other-worldly”, these black “anarcho-congregationalist” Pentecostals have found links between ecstaticism, millenarianism and anti-racism.

White groups were anti-union; but not these black churches. White organizations for the most part acquiesced to militarism; but black groups remain opposed to bearing arms. White pentecostals were sometimes persecuted for “strange doctrine”; but
the founding bishop of Church of God in Christ was jailed for political sedition. Whites bought into fundamentalism and exclusivism; but black Pentecostals saw no threat in the "social gospel" of the 40's, nor in the protests of the 60's. Black Pentecostals were active in demonstrations from Chicago to New York to Memphis, and even in Utah. Martin Luther King's sanitation worker's strike operated out of the of the temple of the Church of God in Christ; and the presiding bishop was labeled by Memphis historian David Tucker as the most active in civil rights of any Pastor in that city. (Tinney, p. 30)

In United Pentecost, racism was not present; black ministers were brought in to preach and the Haitian family was well treated. In fact, the Pastor repeatedly sermonized against racism, especially on nights when the Polynesian member would attend or when the Haitian family spoke or sang.

The only black Pentecostal church I attended was going through a profound crisis because of the illness of their Pastor, but the sermon which was given does indicate some of the heightened politicization of black Pentecostals. The lay minister preached a fiery message which began and ended as an allegory on liberation, freedom from bondage. He drew an allegory between Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream, Moses leading the Jews out of Egypt, the bondage of Christians in Russia, and the bondage we are all under to sin, desire and Satan. The Lord and our acceptance of him is the act of redemption. Towards the end of the long and rambling service he stressed an apocalyptic note several times that worldly laws were not important compared to God's laws, that it doesn't make any difference who we put in the White House, the judgement of the Earth as prophesied in revelations must roll right along as planned and was predetermined. He was very specific about Ronald Reagan being ineffectual, and mentioned a number of specific economic problems that were in the news: inflation, unemployment, etc.

By contrast, the predominantly white U.P. hardly ever discussed politics or expressed a progressive critique of society, even to then negate it with other-worldly millenarianism. The one exception was a woman lay minister who had worked at a drug crisis center till the Reagan cuts. This woman ran the food pantry in the church, and encouraged the church’s participation in the food pantry network in
Columbus. Every member was enjoined to bring in at least one can of a particular good every month. The poor could take 3 days worth of food a month, including church members in need. This laid-off social worker joked with me one day about the lack of compassion of the Reagan administration and told me how she had testified for a local anti-utility fight.

Even this latent radicalism is consistent with the generally reactionary apoliticism of the white Pentecostalists. Most white Pentecostal churches entered WWI with firm convictions against the legitimacy of conscription, and immediately began to capitulate to charges of disloyalty by allowing medical service or ignoring members who were forced to fight out of "conscience". Most churches began to stress "obedience to Caesar" during these years, an injunction that has always meant hostility to progressive movements, but never quite reactionary political mobilization.

Though some Pentecostal congregations did begin to segregate, and during the height of Klan mobilization, have links with the Klan, Pentecostals have tended to be much more sectarian and much less racist than their peers. It seems that the gemeinschaftlich aspects of human relatedness must be satisfied by the integration of self into a higher collectivity, as discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, and there is a degree of tension between religio-ideological collectivity, racial group identity and class consciousness. Though collective identities may overlap, such in religio-racial (Klan, Zionism) or racial-class (Nazi) identities, Pentecostalism seems to have traded racism and class-consciousness for sectarian intolerance.

The most startling example of this while I was in U.P. was the anti-Catholic sermon given the morning I achieved "tongues": a Sunday morning sermon. According to Pastor S., the Pope is the symbolic equivalent, or prophetical fulfillment, of a story in the book of Genesis about Nimrod, a great conqueror and pagan. This great king declared himself a supreme God of Earth and had truck with devils. He had his people worship him and the devils.

Catholicism is Devil worship. Nimrod promised that if people worshipped him that they would become invincible like Gods. Even though Jesus commands in the New Testament to "Call no man father", priests are called "father". Priests, according to Pastor S.'s 30-year study of Catholic doctrine, are considered gods by Catholics. Simaramis was Nimrod's widow, and after her husband's death disappointed
so many of his followers, she got herself pregnant and declared it a virgin birth. The people wanted to worship the son but Simaramis demanded they worship her as "Queen of Heaven". The story of Simaramis represents the evils of Marianism.

Nimrod built Babylon, the remains of which still exist according to the Pastor, for he has visited the holy land. On the walls of Babylon were inscribed pictures of a woman with a babe in her arms, as a sign of worship of Simaramis. Nimrod's crown was transferred down through the ages from newly proclaimed God-man to God-man, a crown with the inscription Pontius Maximus "Supreme Father" (obvious sacrilege to God/Jesus). In the Roman era the crown was transferred to one who knew he didn't deserve it and a Christian was crowned with it, that is, the first Pope. Peter was not the first Pope (as the Catholics claim) but rather part of the Pentecostal Apostolic line.

(This fits with the Pentecostal view of history which begins with Biblical literalism and ends with apocalyptic Book of Revelations expected any day now, and in between is a story of the disappearance and reappearance of tongues. The Pentecostals believe that the "full gospel" disappeared slowly from the death of Christ till the incorporation of the Church in the 4th or 5th century, only to begin to reappear with the Protestant Reformation and be completely reestablished with the "fall of tongues" in 1900.)

According to Pastor S., bones from babies were found under a monastery that was torn down in the South end of Columbus, which he obliquely cites as further proof that Catholics worship devils. The icons in the Church are idols. Books on witchcraft must be burned and he has burned a number of them; they burn kind of funny, with blue flames that jump out at you. Baptism in the Greek means to "plunge beneath" "to be buried". Catholics' sprinkling-baptisms don't work and are like burying a body with a handful of dirt. The body will stink. Incorrect baptismal procedures are part of the cause of the stinking sinfulness of the so-called Christian world. The Old Testament speaks of the "Great Whore". Though it is unpleasant to talk about, we must face the fact that a whore is a woman who will receive anyone (who is Catholic). The Catholic Church is a Great Whore. Amen. Speak It Brother! Hallelujah!

The Ideal Worker

(Possession) consists in a person's seeing himself as not having had a role in formulating the
purposes he implements when in a trance and in his not having accepted those purposes before he implements them. He finds, instead, that he is pursuing purposes that originated apart from his desires or choices. It is a likely consequence of our growing up in groups like the family or the state: groups that are not voluntary associations; groups on which we depend for our nurture as persons: groups whose purposes most of us come to serve as agents. (Swanson, 1978, p. 255)

Weber's thesis on the Protestant Ethic and the rise of capitalism can be applied in a general way to Pentecostalism. Pentecostalism does encourage lay asceticism in certain types of consumption, encouraging saving. Especially in Latin America and Caribbean countries undergoing industrialization, researchers point to the powerful impact that Pentecostalism has had on allowing converts to make sharp breaks with peasant lifestyles that had interfered with their integration into the changing economy. According to Gerlach and Hine (1969) Pentecostalism encourages economic growth for converts in Latin America:

Chilean Pentecostalists are the workers most sought after by management because they are rated as the best working men in the country. (Gerlach and Hine, 1969, p. 34)

It seems, however, that Weber's thesis was that Protestant ethic and Lutheranism in specific, prepared adherents for success in a free market, entrepreneurial system. Pentecostal congregations, unfortunately, did not exist in an free market of entrepreneurial success for all, but an increasingly concentrated market, known to some as monopoly capital. Their asceticism did not bring a rise in social status. Rather they have been an example of the neo-Marxist understanding of Weber's thesis: religious thought and culture will tend to arise in an interdependency with certain material needs and interests, usually a shifting combination of ideological streams from the hegemonic ruling class, or rising ruling classes, and the ideological expression of the class interests of the disenfranchised. These religious traditions will create the context for and in turn be reinforced by congruent class-power relationships.

The Pentecostal church reinforces obedience on the job,
in the family, and to the state, at the same time that it poses commitments that transcend these institutions. Rather than critiquing and changing these institutions on the basis of this transcendent (communitatic) perspective, the Pentecostals tend to assert that service to these institutions is an opportunity to serve God.

At work, one must be obedient to the authority of the authorities and use the occasion to witness.

I used to work at that factory before my husband gave me permission to quit, and the guys used to whistle at me as I walked by, and make catcalls. I never said anything and just thought of Jesus. Then, one day, a man came up to me, and really surprised me. he said: "I really admire what a strong Christian you are to ignore those guys". This made it all worthwhile, 'cause now I know that there are people watching me all the time trying to find fault and then they'll blame it on Jesus.

Another U.P. er, a young man, told a funny story one night of witnessing to his workmates about his headache:

Well, I told the guys at work "I'm gonna cure this headache". So I laid my own hands on my head and shouted "Satan, I cast you out". It didn't go away immediately but eventually it began to get better. I pretended like it had gone away though, and just started singing a song of praise and just worked harder.

Pentecostals are lower-class, and the lower-classes have repeatedly been shown to have more authoritarian family decision-making, which in turn leads to a tendency to be oriented towards authoritarian organizations rather than democratic (Almond and Verba, 1960; Lipset, 1960). Echoing Swanson (1977), the demand that authoritarian family decision-making, authoritarian work-places, and authoritarian societies make on cognition, makes individuals more open to both possession and charismatic influence.

Though employers rarely consciously employ the "opium of the masses", Pope (p. 117-167) found that employers in North Carolina mill towns in the late '30's had been consciously subsidizing churches in their area with the stated belief that the churches provided better workers. While the bulk of land and direct financial contributions
from the mill owners had been going to conservative evangelical churches like the Baptists, at the time of the study the mills were beginning to support the Holiness churches also, recognizing that these sects were not disruptive of work-discipline.

Marion Dearman (1974) in her study of Pentecostal values, confirms Johnson's (1960) earlier assertion that pentecostal and Holiness sects socialize members into fidelity to the values of conservative American society, and that the rapid and radical conversion experience was critical in instilling ascetic, model citizen behavior. According to both these studies and a number of others (Anderson, 1980) the Pentecostal attitude that work is an opportunity for witnessing, antipathy towards progressive politics, and strict personal lifestyle, fits them into industrial discipline smoothly. Pentecostals are not Weberian entrepreneurs, in that they don't have a strong ethic against consumption in general and are socialized into an "adaptive" passivity towards society congruent with their lack of social mobility. The exception to this image is their ruthless religious entrepreneurism, and the attendent internal social status gained. For instance, the husband of my Sunday school teacher had started his own missionary school, without any formal education. In a broader sense, all the schismatic preachers and traveling evangelists are entrepreneurs on the noetic market.

The self-control enjoined by Pentecostalism is balanced against the cathartic abandon of the glossicalic service. The control over one's own life in a paradoxical way is given up to God, at the same time that one must stride out "Foul in the Spirit". Getting a better job or just being employed is repeatedly attributed to miracles or spiritual grace.

The job backgrounds of the members of United Pentecost were diverse though almost universally low-status; an ex-civil servant, a retired waitress, a maintenance man, a clerk in the courthouse, a computer programmer, a factory worker, a medical technician, a social work secretary, a dozen housewives of all ages, several recently unemployed factory-type workers, a traveling salesman, a number of widows, and many others in poor working-class jobs. The only education beyond H.S. represented in the church (beyond myself) was the limited technical training of the court clerk, the computer programmer, and medical technician.

Old-line Pentecostals tend to be anti-intellectual and
distrust educated people, such as myself (which happened to be warranted distrust). After I had spoken in church at a testimony period, a H.S. senior turned to her friend and said

I hate people that educated...I sound like a hillbilly from West Virginia.

Another young man told me that everytime he drives past the campus he feels the urge to just jump out and start witnessing to all the blatant sinners. This distaste for education may not have been critical handicap in the 19th century free market, but rejecting education and embracing anti-intellectual, ecstatic-ascetic religion today merely makes one the ideal worker.

New Class and the Neo-Pentecostals

The existential origins of my New Class analysis lies in the great, and well-founded, distrust the Pentecostals had for me as the only college-educated person in their midst. On top of this, my guilt at deceiving them, and realization that I had in a way treated my subjects like animals at the zoo, drove home the most profound difference between us: education and the culture of education.

Marion Dearman quotes one of her Pentecostal informants:

I believe that the colleges have always been—at least in this century—the seedbeds of atheism and, if a man does not have respect for God, he is going to have very little respect for man. And they, the colleges themselves, in eroding this Biblical basis for morality and decency have actually produced this situation where that young people don't even have any respect for even the authority of the college or the teacher. And, I think the only reason we haven't seen more of this earlier is the fact that up until recent years the vast majority of the youth of America never attended college. But now, of course, a larger proportion are attending every year, and so what's coming out is a larger proportion of unbelievers; if they start and they have any kind of Christian principles or morals which are decent and upright it seems like when they leave the college, most of that has been taken away... I would say the professors are, by far, the biggest influence in
When I was in Columbus I attended a demonstration downtown against Reagan. On my corner were animal rights, anti-nukes, Central American supporters, marijuana legalizers, communists, anti-utility people; on the other corner were 200 unionists. This brought home to me powerfully the divergent tendencies of the New Class and the working class, and our common interests against the ruling class. In Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism I see a complex story of working class friction against the New Class, as well as working class and New Class members in the Pentecostal movement having fallen under the hegemony of ruling class interests.

The New Class has been discussed and analyzed in so many ways that it could comprise half the population or 2 percent, it could be just writers and college professors, or just corporate executives. In general, the New Class as I will be discussing it is composed of those who make their living from the creation, manipulation, communication or storage of knowledge and symbols, and who sell skills gained through education more than labor, without owning significant amounts of capital. This sector of our economy and workforce has expanded dramatically since WWII. Columbus, especially, has seen the growth of this class being the home of Ohio State University (56,000 students and faculty of 5,000) and the State Capitol.
More directly, the Hilltop area, in which United Pentecost was located, was slowly being revitalized (gentrified) by these waves of educated young couples.

The Pentecostalists seem to understand instinctively that "the educated" New Class are the main carriers of secular humanism (that accursed ideology that they identify as the root of the social ills), and that this rising class is in control of a number of sectors of society, such as the public and higher education system and are firmly rooted in the regulatory and social service bureaucracies. The New Class is not uniformly liberal, but its members are more feminist, less racist, believe in greater civil liberties for deviants, and less religious. The rise of the New Class has sparked a number of ideological trends in response to a general questioning and de-mystification of the sanctified concepts of society (Bruce-Briggs, 1979).

One portion of the New Class finds sucrease from alienation and meaninglessness in the paradoxical ideology of open-minded liberalism. In fact, what is popularly known as liberalism is the establishment of a different sets of normative and behavioral parameters not, as it claims, the elimination of such. Another New Class ideology has been
meritocracy and technocracy. Technocratic meritocracy is, in effect, the ideological rationale for the rule of the New Class, and thus, various elements of the New Class attempt to define the technocratic skills necessary for social decision-making in such a way as to give their sector of the New Class more power.

A significant portion of the New Class however has been socialized into the religious "problem-solving" orientation, and is repelled by secular, liberal society and its religious twin, the modernist, de-mythologized church. These New Class members have found the "anxiety of modern man" acute and have sought answers to the problem posed by the knowledge explosion and desanctified social existence in a return to various forms of romanticism and religiosity. Thus, for the last twenty years, while society has appeared to get more secular and liberal, conservative churches have been growing and attracting increasing numbers of New Class members (Kelley). Like their rural poor forebears, the alienated, religious-­oriented New Class is looking toward radical religious commitment as an answer to normlessness, the erosion of family and community, the loss of sanctified symbols and purpose, but have not experienced the traditional sectarian deprivations, powerlessness or economic deprivation.

The Neo-Pentecostal charismatic renewal has been primarily a movement among the New Class, and can be attributed primarily to these normative and social isolation deprivations (Campbell, 1978; Bradfield, 1979).

Although it attracts lower-class and economically marginal individuals, Catholic Pentecostalism does not appeal primarily to those suffering from either absolute or relative economic deprivation. Rather, its members are predominantly middle-class in terms of education and occupation, its national leaders all university-educated (often beyond BA) and its style of worship is marked by self-conscious avoidance of the religious emotionalism and fundamentalism characteristic of some lower-class sects. Nearly half (47%) of the non-student laypeople in the prayer groups surveyed were college graduates and 56% had occupations classified by the census as professional, technical or kindred. Another 11% had white-collar jobs... (Harrison, 1974)

The Catholic Pentecostal movement started at Duguesne
and Notre Dame among students in 1967, while other campuses were being ripped apart by another rise of the New Class, the student movement.

It is ironic, considering the anti-clerical roots of Holiness and Pentecost, that many of the converts to and enthusiasts of Neo-Pentecostal charismatic renewal would be clergy. Clergy are, historically, the proto-New Class. In turn, Neo-Pentecostalism has been much less anti-clerical than its predecessor. Gerlach and Hine (1969, p.25) show that education can be correlated to tendency to stay in one's church as a "charismatic renewalist".

Though charismatics have deemphasized the centrality of tongues as compared with classical Pentecostalism (tending toward a Holiness "seek not, forbid not" position) and are seen as less emotional, nonetheless, compared to their peers, they are as divergent from their peers as the earlier Pentecostals were from theirs. Among the secularizing, modernizing tendencies in most churches of the educated classes, the renewal of Bible study, ecstasism, evangelism, and especially the anti-intellectual practices of speaking in "babble" and laying on of hands is a sharp break.

Neo-Pentecostals appear ecumenical compared to old Pentecostals, but sectarian compared to most mainstream churches. Within Neo-Pentecostalism, divergent sectarian and church-oriented tendencies can be detected, such as between the Lutheran and Episcopal churches, who have had schismatic confrontations with their charismatics, vs. the open, tolerant and eventually supportive Catholic approach to charismatic renewal. (Harrison and Maniha, Poloma).

The suspicion with which many older Pentecostal churches greeted the charismatic movement can be attributed to class differences. For instance, in the fifties, an important Assembly of God minister, David Duplessis, began to preach to ecumenical gatherings about "the gifts of the spirit", and began converting members of other churches, gaining a reputation as one of the leaders of the Charismatic movement. His church was so upset at his ecumenism that they defrocked him for twenty years.

...Pentecostal informants obviously took pride in their social anonymity, their poverty and lack of education. The few better educated members were invariably suspected of using their educational achievements as a jumping board to attain leadership positions in the sect, and to introduce
undesirable changes. In several cases actual attempts of this sort met with unanimous opposition of the congregation. Quite in line with this value orientation is the rather undisguised contempt that the Chilean Pentecostals—and to a larger extent their Brazilian brethren—expressed toward formal theological training of their pastors. We were told that such training, and particularly a professional degree from a divinity school, would only create social distance between clergy and laity and destroy the kind of egalitarianism on which the Pentecostals seem to thrive. (Willems, 1967, p. 253)

One aspect of Neo-Pentecostalism that particularly bothers the old-timers and was mentioned at U.P. whenever I brought up the charismatic movement, was the charismatic laxness about liquor and cigarettes. In general, however, the neo-Pentecostals are just as conservative in social values as the old Pentecostals have become, and have in fact been marginally mobilized by the New Right as a power base.

New Right

Pentecostal anti-intellectualism and schismogenetics can be seen as a progressive class-based rejection of intellectuals, clergy and the atomizing influences of capitalism. The old-Pentecostal friction with Neo-Pentecostals is obviously classist on the part of Neo-Pentecostals' attempt to distance themselves from working-class "emotionalism", and in the working-class rejection of ecumenism, lax middle-class morality, and education altogether.

Another level of class conflict today is between the older sectors of the business class which are interlocked in various ways with religious institutions in support of ideologies of Christian Capitalism, in which camp both Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals fall, and the liberal, humanistic New Class. Peter Berger, sociologist-theologian, extends this thesis in the essay "Class Struggle in American Religion" (1961) to say that the major conflicts that are taking place today between representatives of the New Class liberalism, such as the National Council of Churches, and the representatives of the business class consensus.

While Pentecostalism began with muted progressive tendencies, it was quickly neutralized and coopted by the
social structure. Similarly, the Neo-Pentecostal movement has tended to resanctify the status quo and its religious traditions. In contrast, the secularizing and social gospel trends, represented eloquently by the National Council of Churches, have become more critical and progressive.

The most striking example of the growing hegemony of business interests over Pentecostalism, old and new, is the phenomena called the New Right. The top three Christian broadcasters, Oral Roberts, Jim Bakke (PTL Club), Pat Robertson (700 Club), are all Pentecostals, and all are critical articulators and popularizers of the New Right agenda.

Pat Robertson, founder of the $20 million Christian Broadcasting Network, hosts the 700 Club, a 90-minute talk show aired on 130 TV stations and 3,500 cable outlets. CBN is the largest supplier of 24-hour cable programming in the world (Huntington and Kaplan, p.73). Robertson is a member of the high-level New Right "Religious Roundtable", and is an activist with the Moral Majority. He advocates positions such as the abolition of public education, a balanced federal budget, support for Taiwan against recognition of China, increased military spending, etc.

Jim Bakke, an Assembly of God (Pentecostal) preacher, and co-sponsor with Robertson of the Washington for Jesus rally that drew more than half a million people in 1980, is the host of PTL (People That Love) Club. His show is seen in 1.3 million households according to Nielson ratings and is shown in 27 countries, including Africa and Latin America.

Surpassing both of these talk-show hosts is the infamous Pentecostal faith-healer turned Methodist, Oral Roberts. While Roberts keeps a greater distance from the business-militarist-social conservative political network, he is the most lucrative evangelist in the country. In 1979, he surpassed all other American evangelists (Robertson, Bakke, Falwell, Graham, Hubbard, Swaggert) to gross $60 million in broadcasting revenues. He reaches 2.3 million households a week and his TV specials have reached 50 million people (Huntington and Kaplan).

Sitting on the board of Roberts' Evangelical Association is the man attributed as the most important evangelist in neo-Pentecostalism, Demos Shakarian, founder and president of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI). Shakarian was raised in the Armenian Pentecostal church and organized revivals for the
classical Pentecostal churches in the 30's and 40's. In 1951 he began to sponsor breakfasts for businessmen where he could preach the "full gospel". For the first few years after the FGBMFI's founding in 1953, businessmen who converted were encouraged to join local traditional charismatic churches. But in 1956, 5 Lutheran ministers were Baptized, beginning FGBMFI's role as a Pentecostal mission to non-Pentecostal Christians.

FGBMFI co-sponsored the Washington for Jesus rally also, and is close to ambassadors, military and congressional leaders, and have ties to the Reagan administration (Huntington and Kaplan, p.72). It has 1300 chapters world-wide and a lay membership of 25,000, primarily among businessmen. Christian Voice, with a circulation of 800,000, is its journal, and its TV show, "Good News" is shown on 150 stations, in 16 languages throughout Asia and S. America.

While, in general, white Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals are politically inactive, they universally endorse conservative social ethics (anti-abortion, women's rights, etc.) and their televangelist-capitalist ideologists are interlocked with the most conservative business, military and political leaders in the country, in opposition to the dominant liberal, secular trends encouraged by the emergent New Class.
A SHORT, PERFUNCTORY CONCLUSION

Altered states of consciousness are defined by the deautomatization and dehabituation of cognitive processes. Glossolalia is defined as a learned behavior which can become associated with, or trigger, a hyperarousal ASC. The hyperarousal ASC in turn deautomates speech production, facilitating fluent, involved glossolalia.

Individuals are predisposed to join and remain in Pentecostal, glossoholic churches by various deprivations; normative, self-estrangement (organismic or psychological), powerlessness, and social isolation. While glossolalia cathart stress, and facilitates commitment processes in alleviating many of these deprivations, glossoholics are not, in general, mentally ill.

Complementary to the more material commitment processes, glossolalia bonds liminality to symbols, creating sanctity, legitimacy, and adaptive ambiguity. By psycho-symbolically mystifying, and placing beyond analysis, the roots of individual and group stress, the practice of glossolalia can be said to be neurotic. On the other hand, the practice expresses muted awareness of oppression as in women's use of the PT cult, or in this case, the Pentecostal church.

Pentecostalism, as the institutionalization of glossolalia, grew out of the cultural anomic of the atomization of rural life, and class-responses to middle-class clerics, bourgeois society and religion. Cultural decay deautomates cognitive processes, increasing susceptibility to ASCs, and especially to charismatic leaders and movements which involve ASCs. Charismatic movements use ASCs to renew "mazeways", and charismatic leaders either use personal experience of ASC or ability to induce ASCs as a basis for status and legitimacy.

In this sense, ASCs are related to change and innovation, yet at the same time this evolution is constrained within the eco-technological adaption and the power relationships of the culture. These constraints can shape ritual ASCs into cyclic phenomena which serve an overall homeostatic, system-reinforcing effect; in the short term, ritual of rebellion, and in the long term, Pentecostalism's transition from muted class struggle to reactionary cooption to the status-quo.
At every step and level of analysis, change is filtered through structure, dissolving and recreating structure. The chaos of the ASC balances the habits of the individual psyche; the chaos of the group experiencing collective behavior or communitas balances against their traditions, history and power relationships; the chaos of anomie, power struggle, and collective rejection of the status quo balances against integrating world-views, and systems of production, reproduction and coercion. Is it possible to see an evolving, psycho-social continuity from our demon-possessed ancestors (and our demon-possessed contemporaries) and Pentecostalists, to the modern, urban rationalists who never experience ritual religious ASCs? Are modern urban populations in the main secularized, with phenomena like the Pentecostal church merely temporary anachronisms on the march into the rationalist future? Or, quite the opposite, isn't the modern religious institution and its myriad social functions being superceded by a rapid specialization of activities geared to every subculture and personality?

Taking a cue from Swanson's "absorptive personality" scale which asks how involved one becomes when viewing television, movies, acting, reading, etc., it can be suggested that modern industrial entertainment is deeply integrated into systems of reproduction of knowledge and desire, manipulating emotion, symbols, and reality in ways directly comparable to religion. As Chapter Six points out, modern televangelism is a strikingly powerful hybrid of technology, dramaturgy, and religious charisma.

If soap operas are the opiate of the modern industrial housewife, for much of youth culture and other subcultures, opium is the religion of the masses. Parallels between the model of ASC use and social structure spring immediately to mind: the relationship between the nascent women's movement (e.g., WCTU), gangster profiteers, and corrupt political forces in Prohibition; the uncontrolled spread of amphetamine abuse in reindustrializing, post-WWII Japan; the British imperialist campaign to maintain opium trade in the Opium Wars; the campaigns against psychedelics and marijuana in the 60's and the socio-political culture they represented; the use of liquor in the pacification of the AmerIndian and the subsequent spread of the peyote cult; laws regulating the chewing of narcotic roots in communist Yemen; the institution of the coffee break in the workplace; the Burmese Communist Party's heroin trafficking to support guerrilla war; the CIA's involvement in and protection of heroin trafficking in Vietnam; the Boston Tea Party; and the
World Bank's encouragement of production of sugar, coffee, and tea in the neo-colonies.

Like "entertainment ASCs", the use of drugs in many ways overlaps and is indissolubly linked to ritual religious culture. In some religious groups drugs are ingested ritually, while in most religious cultures drugs are proscribed. Similarly, what distinctions can we make between the urban Pentecostalist, and the urban worker who rejects his family's Pentecostalist adaptation, and instead goes to the disco four times a week, ingests powerful stimulants, depressants, and psychedelics, and dances for hours to powerful repetitive music in an atmosphere of generalized sexual arousal?

According to Marx, social scientists today live under the ideological hegemony of capitalism which has certain effects on the basic categories we use to analyze phenomena. For instance, the illusion of discontinuity between politics and religion is powerfully reinforced by the liberal, laissez-faire capitalist tradition, which creates a "political" realm separate from the "civic" realm, the realm of private property and the individual's religion. Modern social science is faced with the task of freeing itself from false or culture-bound divisions in social life and experience. What is demanded today is the creation of a synthetic "social science of everyday life", which starts with the individual's subjective experience and connects this seamlessly to analyses of "sociology", "anthropology", "political science", "psychology" and the rest. This paper is an attempt to bring such a "social science of everyday life" into focus.
BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE


Allanó, Alexander, "Possession in a Revivalistic Negro Church", JSSR, April 1962, 1(2):204


............... "A sociological view of the secularization of theology", JSSR (Spring, 1967) 6:3-16


Possession. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1976


"Possession Belief and Possession Trance in Haitian Folk Healing"ditto

"Belief and Experience in Folk Religion: Why do Women Join Possession Trance Cults?" ditto, 1981

"Multiple Personality, Possession trance and the Psychic Unity of Mankind", in Die Wilde Seale. Hans Peter Duerr, ed. 1982, Frankfurt: Syndicat


Bromley, David and Anson Shupe "'Just a Few Years Seem Like a Lifetime': a Role Theory Approach to Participation in religious Movements" Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change. Vol. 2, p. 159-185


Cohn, Werner. "A movie of experimentally produced glossolalia" JSSR, 1968, 7:278


............... "Cartography of Inner Space", in Ronald K. Siegel and Louis West (eds.), Hallucinations: Behavior, Experience and Theory NY: Wiley, 1975

Garrison, V. "Marginal Religion" in Zanetsky and Leone, eds., Pragmatic Religions. (Princeton)

Gerlach, Luther F. and Virginia Bine. "Five factors crucial to the growth and spread of a modern religious movement", JSSR


Gilmore, Susan K. "Personality Diff. between High and Low Dogmatism Groups of Pent. Believers", JSSR 8 (1968) 161-4


Glock, Charles Y. and Stark Religion and Society in Tension


"Phonetic analyses of glossolalia in four cultural settings", 1969, 8 (Fall): 227-239

"Altered mental state vs. style of discourse: reply to Samarin", JSSR, 1972, 11(3): 297


"Sources of Recruitment to Catholic Pentecostalism" JSSR, 1974(13):49

and John Manjoha. "Dynamics of Dissenting Movements within Established Organizations: Two Cases and a Theoretical Interpretation", in JSSR, 91978, 17(3): 207-224


"Crises in the Definition of Reality". *Sociology*, 1981, 15, 2, May, 211-224


Kiev, Ari. *Transcultural Psychiatry*.

Kildahl *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*. (Hoddes and Stoughton, 1972)


"Speaking in tongues: Infantile babble or song of the self", Pastoral Psychology, Sept, 1964b: 16-24

Lefever, Harry "The Religion of the Poor", JSSR 1977, 16(3): 225


Lewis, E.W. Ecstatic Religion.

"Spirit possession and deprivation cults" Man, 1: 307-325

Lovekin and Malcny "Religious Glossolalia", JSSR, xvi (4) (Dec. 1977) 383


"Commitment and Community", JSSR, 19, 2, (June, 1979), 146

McGuire, Meredith "Testimony as a Commitment Mechanism in Catholic Pentecostal Prayer Groups", JSSR, 1977, 16(2): 165

Merves, Esther. "A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis of the
Columbus Metropolitan Area", (Unpublished, OSU Soc. Dept. paper, 1982)


Niebuhr, H. Richard. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. 1929, NY:Henry Holt


Oates, Wayne E. "A socio-psychological study of glossolalia", in Glossolalia, Frank Staff, et al. (eds.) 1967,


Plog, Stanley. "UCIAC conducts research on glossolalia", Trinity, 3:38-39

Poloma, Margaret M. The Charismatic Movement. Twayne: Boston, 1982


Richardson, J.T. "Psychological Interpretation of Glossolalia" in JSSR, xii (2), 199-207


Sadler, A.W. "Glossolalia and Possession: an Appeal to the Episcopal Study Commission", JSSR, Fall 1964, 4(1):84


Scheff, T.J. Catharsis in Healing, Ritual and Drama. 1979, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press


Social Compass, 1978, 25, 1


................. Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. 1970,


Weigert, Andrew, William D'Antonio, and Arthur Rubel. "Protestants and Assimilation among Mexican-Americans: an exploratory study of minister's reports", JSSR,

Willems, Emilio. "Validation of Authority in Pentecostal Sect in Chile and Brazil", JSSR. 6,2 (Fall, 1967):253


Field Theory