

## Chapter 3

### Pentecostal Identity and the Charismata: Mixed Motivation and Religious Experience

[Contemporary] Pentecostals should mine their past for a vision of their future. While rejecting discrimination based on class, race, or gender, Pentecostals should reinvigorate discussions of cardinal Pentecostal doctrine and biblical authority. . . . Likewise, contemporary American Pentecostals must reconnect with the vibrant experiential nature of their faith and recover the awe and expectancy of charismata in their individual and corporate spiritual experience. It is simply impossible to be Pentecostal without the charismata, and yet classical Pentecostal denominations seem to have handed off their gift to younger movements such as the Vineyard and non-denominational charismatic churches (Patterson, 2007, p. 206).

The concern expressed by Eric Patterson in the above epigraph, found in the conclusion of his and Edmund Rybarczyk's edited volume on *The Future of Pentecostalism in the United States* (2007), serves as a fresh reminder that the AG remains at an intersection. In *Crossroads* Poloma (1989) used the sociological theory of Thomas O'Dea to explore in detail the dilemmas inherent within the denomination struggling against the routinization of charisma that some sociologists would say is an inevitable in all religious groups. Would routinization and institutionalization lead to the demise of distinct Pentecostal experiences in modern Pentecostalism? Is it possible for charismata to continue to play a defining role in the future of the denomination? Or would the AG morph into modern plain-vanilla Evangelicalism that emphasized cognitive "knowing" over the affective experiences that characterized Pentecostal "knowing?" A fresh look at O'Dea's "institutional dilemmas" provides a framework for presenting and analyzing the data from the pastoral survey.

### The Dilemma of Mixed Motivation: Assessing Identity

According to O'Dea's theory, the emergence of a stable structure in a religious community brings with it the capability of eliciting a wide range of individual motives. This transition typically marks the denouement of the charismatic leader's single-minded vision and the rise of

mixed-motivation (O’Dea and O’Dea Aviad 1983) It should be noted that the Pentecostal movement<sup>1</sup> has never had a single charismatic leader, similar to Methodism’s John Wesley, Quakerism’s George Fox, Mormonism’s Joseph Smith, or Christian Science’s Mary Baker Eddy. As a movement that has democratized charisma, the relationship between a charismatic leader and his disciples described by O’Dea has not been the prime motivating factor. Rather the “single mindedness” of the movement has been energized by a common experience of the *baptism in the Spirit*.

Although the dilemma of mixed motivation can be illustrated through the rise of an ordained clergy and the correspondent development of leadership roles, it can also be assessed through a discussion of religious identity issues found in pentecostalism’s distinctive worldview. A passage from Zechariah 4:6 that serves as a motto for the AG provides a succinct statement about Pentecostal identity: “‘Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit,’ says the Lord Almighty.” This simple profession reflects what AG theologian Frank Macchia (1999:16) describes as a “paradigm shift from an exclusive focus on holiness to an outward thrust that invoked a dynamic filling and an empowerment for global witness.”

As routinization extracts its due, however, this emphasis on “dynamic filling” and “empowerment” increasingly has shifted from personal experience and testimony to profession and expansion of doctrinal decrees and position papers. Testimonies of lived experience that empowered early believers have taken a back seat to a selective reconstruction of AG history and doctrine that often fails to capture the diversity that found expression in the larger Pentecostal movement. As Robeck (1999a; see also Hollenweger 1997) has effectively argued in his discussion of Pentecostal identity, pentecostalism has demonstrated a host of “indigenous entries” including “Oneness Pentecostalism,” “World Faith Pentecostalism,” “Feminist

Pentecostalism,” and even “Gay Pentecostalism,” all of which have been rejected by the Assemblies of God. The AG has increasingly defined itself primarily as “Evangelical Pentecostalism,” or perhaps a better description, “Evangelicalism plus tongues.” Robeck (1999:5) goes on to state:

Pentecostals have historically disagreed with one another on what constitutes a real Pentecostal, and as a result, on what constitutes genuine Pentecostalism. The fact may not be easy for some Pentecostals to accept, but it is true nonetheless. Each group seems to want to identify its own specific character as providing the best, if not *the only legitimate identity* for all real Pentecostals. Insofar as their distinctives become all that define Pentecostalism, the real character, contribution, and impact of the whole Movement may be lost.

Such diffusion has led one Pentecostal scholar to assert that such change in identity has resulted in pentecostalism’s becoming an “American Evangelical pot of goo” (Rybarczyk 2007, p 7).<sup>ii</sup>

What appears to happen, particularly in more established classical Pentecostal denominations like the AG, is that the breadth and depth of pentecostalism is eclipsed as each segment identifies with a single appendage, much like the blind men in their respective attempts to describe the proverbial elephant. The essence of pentecostalism as a “new paradigm” -- with the natural and supernatural engaged in a dialectical dance -- is compromised by accommodative forces that threaten to dilute Pentecostal identity. As Evangelicals find a prominent place in the American religious pantheon, some would put aside the “new paradigm” to embrace a modernist religious identity that downplays the controversial issues that come with “dynamic filling” and “empowerment.”

Spirit-filled Christianity, unlike Christian Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism, represents more than a cognitive or doctrinal reaction to modernity. It has proactively developed certain characteristics which taken together makes its worldview distinct from other forms of

Christianity, both of the liberal and conservative stripes. The Pentecostal worldview is experientially centered, with followers in a dynamic and personal relationship with a Deity who is both immanent and transcendent. According to Pentecostal scholar Jackie Johns (1999:75), “The Spirit-filled believer has a predisposition to see a transcendent God at work in, with, through, above and beyond all events. Therefore, all space is sacred space and all time is sacred time.” God is seen as active in all events past, present and future which work together in a kind of master plan. It is a worldview that tends to be “transrational,” professing that knowledge is “not limited to realms of reason and sensory experience” (Johns, *ibid.*) Consistent with this transrational characteristic, Pentecostal Christians also tend to be suspicious of creeds, believing that “knowing” comes from a right relationship with God rather than through reason or even through the five senses. There is a God who can and often does defy the laws of nature with the miraculous and unexplainable. Without doubt the Bible holds an important place in their worldview, but for many it is a kind of catalyst and litmus test for the authenticity of personal and corporate experience rather than a manual of rigid doctrine and practices. As Johns (1999:79) succinctly states: “In summary, a Pentecostal paradigm for knowledge and truth springs from an experiential knowledge of God which alters the believer’s approach to reading and interpreting reality.”

This “paradigm for knowledge and truth” is shared by traditional Pentecostalism as well as by more recent and divergent Pentecostal streams, in which followers reflect the early forefathers and foremothers in their reluctance to embrace particular religious labels. The new-comers as well as some once-traditional Pentecostals may self-identify as “charismatic,” “Spirit-filled” Christians, or even simply as “in the river.” As products of more recent renewals and revivals, they are often

stronger in what Grant Wacker (2001) has called *primitivism* (and sometimes, but not always, weaker on *pragmatism*).

The primary distinction we have observed between the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal streams in North America is in different overt expressions of a common core Pentecostal spirituality (Albrecht 1999). At the risk of oversimplification, those who self-identify as “charismatic” or “third wave” are more likely to accept a *range* of paranormal experiences (including prophecy, miracles, healing, and physical manifestations of an altered state of consciousness) as signs of Spirit baptism while most Pentecostals, including the AG, tend to place a doctrinal emphasis specifically on the gift of tongues. Furthermore, established classical Pentecostal denominations tend to have well-developed bureaucratic structures while thriving neo-Pentecostal organizations tend to be non-denominational with members focusing on relational ties expressed in loosely-knit networks.<sup>iii</sup>

What can be said about the larger Pentecostal movement, regardless of the stream, is that it is more about a distinct spirituality than about religion (Albrecht 1999; Land 1993). Members share a common transcendent worldview rather than particular doctrines, defined ritual practices, or denominational involvement. This worldview is a curious blend of premodern miracles, modern technology, and postmodern mysticism in which the natural blends with the supernatural. Signs and wonders analogous to those described in pre-modern biblical accounts are expected as normal occurrences in the lives of believers (Poloma 2001). Johns (1999) asserts that what underlies Pentecostal identity is a Pentecostal epistemology “congruous with the ancient Jewish approach to knowledge” – one that represents an alternative to modern ways of knowing:

Pentecostals have an alternative epistemology because they have an alternative world-view. At the heart of the Pentecostal world-view is transforming experience with God. God is known through relational encounter which finds its penultimate expression in being filled with the Holy

Spirit. This experience becomes the normative epistemological framework and thus shifts the structures by which the individual interprets the world (Johns 1999:74-75).

Pentecostal identity is the core of our assessment of mixed-motivation, an issue that impacts each of the other dilemmas.

The survey findings on the Pentecostal identity of AG pastors enhance this brief description of Pentecostal identity and the importance of its worldview in maintaining the dialectical tension between charisma and organization that has been at the heart of Pentecostalism's success. The survey responses allow identity issues to be empirically explored to reveal core tenets as well as attendant ambiguities. What does it mean to be Pentecostal (specifically AG) in the twenty-first century? Is there congruence between the reported identity self-perceptions of pastors and of the congregations they represent? Is there a goodness of fit between these perceptions of identity and the denominational work performed by national and regional administrative offices? We can use these and other related questions to tap the perceptions of core identity and the ambiguities that exist around it, including the importance of being a member of the AG and pentecostal. We also explore the social distance between AG adherents and the larger Pentecostal movement, non-Pentecostal Christians, and non-Christians.

### Pentecostal Core Identity

AG scholar Everett Wilson (1999) asked: "What makes a Pentecostal?" Difficulties of providing a simple description are deeply embedded in Pentecostal history. Wilson (1999:88-89) concludes that the social identity of Pentecostal is rooted in a worldview based on the "mystical, the 'supernatural' and the allegedly miraculous," which tended to stigmatize and marginalize early Pentecostals. For Wilson, being labeled a Pentecostal was the result of more than a

confessional act -- it signaled a worldview that separated these believers from other Christians.

As Wilson comments:

Like the proverbial duck, if the person looked like one, walked like one and talked like one -- especially if one were supportive of the beliefs and practices that Pentecostals advanced -- friends and neighbours could assume that he or she in fact belonged. At least the often-sung refrain, "I'm so glad I can say I am one of them" apparently gained favour not just to establish identity or to convince believers that they were with the right crowd, but because adherents gave assent to the Pentecostal way of looking at reality, something about which they may have felt deeply even when their convictions were not overtly displayed (Wilson 1999:88-89).

Although professing to be a Pentecostal certainly does not tell the whole story of AG identity, it is a good place to begin a discussion of single-mindedness. Are pastors still singing "I am one of them," as the denomination has taken a more accepted place in the religious mosaic? For the vast majority of pastors, the answer appears to be "yes." Self-identity can be gleaned from a survey question which instructed respondents to "indicate how important it is to identify with each of these groups" — Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, Revival/Renewal, Charismatic Movement/Third Wave and Evangelicalism (see table 1 in Appendix B).

As can be seen in table 1, pastors were most likely to report their primary self-identity as being Pentecostal (55% claimed it was "extremely important, with another 33% saying it was "very important"). Nearly identical figures were reported for a personal identification with being a part of "Renewal/Revival," implying a conscious decision to support a revitalization of Pentecostal identity through fresh religious experiences. Figures for reporting self-identification with the Assemblies of God were only slightly less than being Pentecostal and in Renewal/Revival. Forty-nine percent (49%) reported self-identification with the AG as "extremely important" and another 36% said it was "very important." The vast majority of the pastors reported having a religious identity that can be described as Pentecostal and being a member of the Assemblies of God. These same pastors also identify very strongly with the need

to be involved in revival/renewal, suggesting that Pentecostalism is largely regarded as a dynamic process rather than a staid structure. These labels of self-identity, however, need to be further explored. Probing into the nature of Pentecostal identity reveals some of the ambiguities that beset the denomination.

### Ambiguity Around the Core Identity

Despite the strong approval of retaining and reviving Pentecostal identity, an old dilemma lurks beneath the “single mindedness” reflected in the pastors’ responses. The AG historically has found itself in the paradoxical position of promoting a distinct Pentecostal perspective while seeking a rapport with Fundamentalism and later with a more moderate Evangelicalism, sectors of which have been very critical of Pentecostalism (Menzies 2005). Within two years after its initial gathering in 1914, the AG’s message and mission, as Edith Blumhofer noted (1993:135) “would be held within the boundaries drawn by traditional evangelical doctrines.” Its attempt to become “fundamentalism with a difference” (fundamentalism plus Spirit baptism) was not always well received, and Pentecostals, including the AG, became the target of a resolution of the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association in 1928 that went on record as “unreservedly opposed to Modern Pentecostalism.” It was not until the development of the more moderate National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in the early 1940s that the AG found acceptance in this newly-formed transdenominational conservative network. However support for the NAE by AG constituents was far from universal. Blumhofer reports the critical response of one influential AG pastor to AG membership in the NAE:

This association is not Pentecostal and many of their speakers who are listed for a convention...not only do not favor Pentecost, but speak against it. This [cooperating with the NAE] is what I call putting the grave clothes again on Lazarus, while the Scripture says: “Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you

and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty (Blumhofer 1993:187).

The old controversy appears to be far from resolved, and it is here that ambiguity surfaces. Clergy remain divided about the threat that Evangelicalism presents to a Pentecostal worldview that provides the AG with its distinct identity. A clear majority (60%) of pastors agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, “Too many AG churches have stressed a general evangelical identity at the expense of their Pentecostal heritage.” AG congregations that clearly downplay their ties to the denomination often select a name for their congregation that gives the impression of its being an independent evangelical church. Ritual in such congregations often follows an evangelical format in which Pentecostal practices are discouraged -- or at least their public display is not encouraged.

However, as can be seen in table 1 over two-thirds of the pastors responding to the survey self-identified as being Evangelical, a nomenclature that is somewhat less important for most respondents than Pentecostal, AG, and Revival/Renewal identities. The Evangelical label is clearly more important, however, than is self-identity with cousins in the charismatic/third wave (neo-Pentecostal) sector of the larger Pentecostal movement.<sup>iv</sup> Despite the Pentecostal worldview of charismatic/third wave churches, only 28 percent of the pastors reported that self-identity with these newer streams of pentecostalism was “extremely important” or “very important.”<sup>v</sup> While self-identifying as Pentecostal and Evangelical is thus central to the identity of a clear majority of AG pastors, only a minority self-identify with newer streams pentecostalism where revitalization and renewal is accompanied by a range of “signs and wonders” that are strikingly similar to those reported in the history of traditional Pentecostalism (Wacker, 2001).

Further ambiguity may be observed in the response to the question about belief in a dispensationalist interpretation of the Scriptures—a fundamentalist “fundamental” of longstanding tension within the AG. What is known as a *dispensationalism* has been used to disparage Pentecostalism as at best delusional and at worst, heretical. As Blumhofer has noted of dispensationalists:

Dispensationalists generally held that miracles had ceased with the Apostles; Pentecostalism thus could not be authentic, for its premise that New Testament gifts would mark the end-times church was false. Rejecting the latter-rain views by which Pentecostals legitimated their place in church history, dispensationalists effectively eliminated the biblical basis for Pentecostal theology (Blumhofer 1993:107).

Despite the fact that dispensationalism been used to condemn Pentecostalism by fundamentalists and some evangelicals, 58 percent of the pastors strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, “I believe in a dispensationalist interpretation of Scripture” (see table 5).

Ideological ties with fundamentalism go back to the earliest days of the AG. As Blumhofer (1993:159) has observed, “The causes espoused by fundamentalists seemed to coincide in meaningful ways with Assemblies of God denominational interests and to offer as well an opportunity for declaring Pentecostal sympathies with doctrinal “fundamentals.” It was not long before ‘right belief replaced right experience,’ causing even further erosion of AG distinctiveness.” The danger that fundamentalism (and its softer evangelical expressions) poses for Pentecostal identity has been noted by Cox (1995), Hollenweger (1997), and Spittler (1997), among other scholars. Although the AG can be placed securely within the walls of larger Evangelicalism, there is evidence that such positioning threatens to fragment its identity and, as O’Dea’s dilemma of mixed motivation suggests, leaves the denomination with dissonant agendas that may not be easy to resolve.

As reflected in table 1, dissonance between what AG ministers say and what they do to live out the Pentecostal paradigm can be seen in the groups with which they and their congregations are willing to cooperate in promoting issues of common concern. Although over a quarter of the ministers surveyed professed to want strong ties with the charismatic/third wave movement in other sectors of Christianity, a decisive majority would prefer to keep their ties limited to other Pentecostals and Evangelicals. When pastors were asked to indicate the “extent you would like to see the AG cooperate with different religious groups,” they were most likely (65%) to choose full cooperation with other Pentecostals.

Clearly there is widespread support for a Pentecostal identity among AG pastors, an identity that is Pentecostal and Evangelical but not necessarily pentecostal., usually failing to embrace charismatics and newer revival streams of the larger movement. The marriage of Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism has generates some ambiguity in identity, especially when considered in light of Fundamentalist opposition and Evangelical indifference to a distinctive supernatural worldview. Yet despite initial opposition, the partnership between these seemingly strange bedfellows appears to have survived concerns of a generation past. Part of the explanation for the success of blending a modernist Evangelical with a pre-post modern Pentecostal worldview may come from an increasing acceptance of a modified version of pentecostalism by the larger Christian church. A popular cessationist teaching that the supernatural gifts were meant only to jumpstart early Christianity (and then ceased) seems perhaps to be losing ground in many Evangelical circles. The Evangelical perspective rooted in a modernist worldview seems to have been found wanting in a post-modern culture that is hungry for a vital spirituality that counters the inadequacies of materialism and rationalism. Some scholars have gone so far as to contend that much of the old argument about the

availability of “signs and wonders” for contemporary Christianity appears to be about semantics and doctrinal statements rather than popular belief. As Jon Ruthven has noted in his review of Wayne Grudem’s edited work, *Are Miraculous Gifts for Today?* (1996):

One is left with the feeling that the whole debate could be resolved by a simple change in labels (not “prophecy,” or “a word of knowledge,” but “leadings”; not “*gifts* of healing,” but “healings”). Here the issue is not so much what God actually *does* today, so long as one avoids identifying these events as “miracles” accrediting new doctrine (Grudem 1999:156).

The acceptance of a modified Pentecostal identity shared with Evangelicals notwithstanding, the marriage of the two distinctive worldviews is at the expense of the distinct identity that has characterized pentecostalism. An important and relevant issue underlying the controversy which comes to the surface in Grudem’s collection concerns *how frequently and how intensely* these events should be expected. It may be that a version of the early Pentecostal worldview is widely accepted by both Pentecostals and non-Pentecostal Christians, but it is a domesticated version that has diluted the original paradigm. As we shall see shortly, the twin issue of frequency and intensity is not only relevant for dialogue between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals but also points to an identity crisis within the AG.

An analysis of how a converging of seemingly distinctive identities translates into theology and religious cooperation reveals some AG fragmentation. Pentecostal support for Fundamentalist theology and for Evangelical alliances (after the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943) has sowed seeds of ambiguity that continue to this day, preventing established Pentecostal denominations like the AG from being on the cutting edge of the larger Pentecostal movement that includes charismatics, independent neo-pentecostals, and contemporary revivalists.

## The Symbolic Dilemma: Assessing the Prevalence of Pentecostal Experience

The worldview of the early Pentecostals not only accorded ideological legitimacy to the paranormal experiences reported in biblical times but restored them to a normative position in the twentieth century western world. Although glossolalia or speaking in tongues became the pivotal experiential doctrine in the AG, accounts of divine healing, prophetic words, miraculous myths, and demonic exorcisms were also part and parcel for the Pentecostal package. More controversial were the strange physical manifestations that generated the pejorative label “holy rollers” ascribed by outsiders to Pentecostal believers who sometimes fell in a faint to the floor, jumped pews, violently jerked and shook, laughed, barked or rolled in the aisles under the alleged influence of the Spirit. Despite the denials of many contemporary Pentecostals about their occurrence in early Pentecostalism, these same controversial manifestations erupted again during the New Order of the Latter Rain movement of the 1940s, developed to a degree in the “second wave” as Pentecost came to mainline denominations during the 1970s, and intensified during the contemporary “Third Wave” revivals that continue as we write (c.f. Wacker 2001; Taves 2000).

A dilemma facing Pentecostal believers from the earliest days of Azusa Street was how to allow the Spirit free movement while controlling excesses judged to be fanatic. This challenge was met by sorting out the more controversial physical responses (often difficult to justify from biblical texts) from less controversial experiences (more readily defined as “biblical”) that frequently have accompanied the perceived presence of the Holy Spirit. In the Assemblies of God doctrinal statements about glossolalia and healing became two of the sixteen “Fundamental Truths,” while many other alleged expressions of the Spirit’s presence were eventually labeled “fanaticism” and “heresy.” Despite the solid ideological support for revival expressed in pastoral

responses to the Pentecostal identity issues already discussed, much ambiguity continues around the embodiment of this ideology. What is perceived to be “fanatical” and “heretical” has fluctuated in AG history, thus contributing to a mixed message about the current streams of revival, including the Pensacola Outpouring of the 1990s and the Lakeland Outpouring in 2008. This ambivalence about once commonly experienced revival phenomena can be gleaned in reviewing the survey data through the lens of the symbolic dilemma.

At the heart of the symbolic dilemma is ritual -- “the cultic re-presentation of the religious experience [that] is central to the life of the religious group” (O’Dea and Aviad 1983:58). In Pentecostalism, however, the goal was never to simply remember the past but rather to provide a forum for on-going religious experiences. The report card on this dilemma is mixed, as noted in this concluding paragraph of the chapter in *Crossroads* titled “Maintaining a Pentecostal Worldview through Ritual”:

The symbolic dilemma is deemed one of the most important in maintaining charisma, yet it is, paradoxically perhaps the most difficult to keep alive. In an attempt to minimize the dangers of both disorder and inauthenticity, some pastors are placing less emphasis on experiences in their services. Opting for set programs, well-timed services, and a high level of professionalism, these pastors are often openly critical of “emotionalism” in services. The dilemma is further jeopardized by the fact that some very successful Assemblies of God congregations have exchanged charisma for institutional techniques to promote church growth (Poloma 1989:206).

#### Core Ritual Expressions within the AG

Debates within the Assemblies of God about choirs and choir robes, printed bulletins, and ritualized services have over the years been increasingly resolved in favor of order and predictability. Pragmatic decisions to accommodate multiple services, to make services more inviting for non-pentecostals, and to deal with time-conscious Americans have produced a ritual in many churches that is indistinguishable from non-Pentecostal evangelical services.

Mechanisms used to maintain order are the same ones that stifle the free flow of Pentecostal

experiences. Earlier years of distinctive Pentecostal ritual when congregants commonly “tarried,” waiting for the Holy Spirit to move in the gathering sometimes with unpredictable results, are the makings of AG history (see Wacker 2001). Some recall this history with fondness and longing; others are more cautious about feared abuses found in unregulated meetings. The result is for the Pentecostal spirit to be unevenly distributed, a story that can be developed from statistics on the personal religious experiences of pastors as well as from pastoral reports about congregational services.

As can be seen in table 2, the most frequently practiced Pentecostal expression reported by pastors is speaking in tongues. All ministers must sign a document annually when their credentials are renewed certifying to the fact they accept the doctrine of tongues as the “initial physical evidence” of Spirit baptism. Although the doctrine repeatedly has been challenged by those outside the denomination as well as by some within, it appears to have strong support among pastors. Eighty-five percent (85%) of the pastors agreed with the statement: “A person who has never spoken in tongues cannot claim to be Spirit baptized” (table 5). However, there appears to have been a significant increase in the number of pastors who do not agree with the AG position on tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism over the past two decades. The 15% figure indicating disagreement reported in table 5 is up from a 2% figure in the 1980s survey. Although increasing numbers of AG congregants do not speak in tongues and a significant percent of pastors disagree with the doctrinal statement, the experience of glossolalia and professing the creed of “initial evidence” continues to be a prerequisite for receiving and retaining AG ordination papers.<sup>vi</sup>

The overwhelming majority of pastors in this survey (82%) did report praying in tongues weekly or more, with no pastor reporting not having prayed in tongues this past year. Tongues

(at least on occasion) is a nearly universal part of the prayer lives of AG pastors. Pastors are somewhat less likely, however, to use this gift in a church service. Eighteen percent (18%) reported that they never gave an utterance in tongues or an interpretation of a glossolalic word in a church service during the past year, with another 36 percent indicating that they did so only a few times. Forty-seven percent (47%) gave expression to glossolalia in a congregational setting more regularly, reportedly giving an “utterance” or an “interpretation” once a month or more. The fact that pastors *pray* in tongues in private ritual but are less likely to use the *gift of tongues* in a corporate setting suggests a dissonance in this expression of Pentecostal identity. Despite a more vocal yet clear minority who expressed reservations about the *doctrine* of tongues, it appears that the *use* of glossolalia is nearly universal for pastors in private prayer. Less than half the pastors surveyed, however, regularly practice its corporate form of expression as “tongues and interpretations,” in which one person speaks out in tongues and the congregation waits for a prophetic interpretation of the message to be given in the vernacular by one or two others.

Glossolalia, though central to AG doctrinal identity, as is only one of many paranormal expressions found in early Pentecostalism and in contemporary neo-Pentecostal revivals. Experiences of other gifts and manifestations common at Azusa Street, during the early history of the AG, and during subsequent renewals, outpourings, and revivals, are now seemingly few and far between in the AG? This narrowing range of Pentecostal experiences held true for the pastors’ accounts of their personal experiences (table 2) as well as for their reports of corporate experiences within their congregational services (table 3).

Only a minority of pastors regularly experienced prophecy, healing, deliverance or other phenomena believed by many to be signs of the activity and presence of the Holy Spirit. For example, 34 percent claimed to have given a prophecy once a month or more. Forty six percent

(46%) reported being a prayer facilitator for a physical healing and 41 percent for a mental and emotional healing. Only 13 percent, however, claimed regular involvement in deliverance from demonic oppression as a result of prayer. Put another way, 66 percent responded that they never or rarely gave a prophecy, 55 percent never or rarely witnessed a physical healing through their prayer, 60 percent were never or rarely a witness to emotional or mental healing, and 88 percent never witnessed deliverance from demons (see Table 2). Other physical manifestations common to contemporary revival meetings outside the AG were similarly less likely to be part of experiences reported by AG pastors: 94 percent were never or rarely slain in the spirit; 83 percent had never or rarely experienced holy laughter; and 76 percent had never or rarely experienced the bodily manifestation of shaking or jerking, all of which were commonly experienced during the recent revivals.

A similar pattern was found pastoral reports of corporate ritual experiences among congregants (table 3). Tongues and interpretation was reported as a regular experience for only 43 percent of the congregations. While only two percent of the pastors reported that tongues and interpretation (which are dictated by Pentecostal protocol) were never a part of their public ritual, for the remaining majority it was an infrequent occurrence. Only one-third of the respondents reported regular experiences of prophecy, a gift that serves a function similar to that of tongues and interpretations. Both are regarded as inspired words or messages from God delivered to the congregation, with prophecy being a simple message without the glossolalic prelude.

Although prayer for healing was a regular feature for 90 percent of congregational services, less than half of the congregations (41%) provided regular opportunity for sharing healing testimonies. It appears that healing prayer has become a nearly universal ritual in AG churches but that fewer churches include opportunities for testimonials commonly used to encourage and

build faith for miraculous healing<sup>vii</sup>. The fact that testimonies about healings received were far less likely to be reported than regular prayer for healing may point to underlying ambiguity about healing ritual as well as glossolalia. The frequencies found in tables 2 and 3 reporting pastoral involvement in the expression of charisma during worship services and the pastoral reports of congregational use of gifts during worship demonstrate how ongoing charismatic practices vary widely within the AG.

### Ambiguity and the Ritual Dilemma

The history of AG, as we have already seen, is one of a revitalization movement that emphasizes an experiential baptism distinct from baptism with water. In the words of David du Plessis, an AG minister dubbed “Mr. Pentecost” by neo-pentecostals for his influence in the charismatic movement of the 1960s and 1970s, “God has no grandchildren.” Because the identity of Pentecostals is rooted in paranormal religious experiences, their children cannot rely on their parents’ experiences to claim Spirit baptism. Many adherents, however, appear to be lapsing into a cultural Pentecostalism that increasingly assumes an Evangelical identity at the expense of Pentecostal experience. This shift may be demonstrated by the changes in Pentecostal ritual over the decades, particularly the decrease in revival meetings where signs and wonders draw both the faithful and potential converts to be refreshed by Pentecostal experiences.

In a recent discussion of the history of Pentecostalism, scholar Everett Wilson (1999:92) emphasized the important role revival plays in the spread of this global movement:

Whatever success the historian has in identifying the succession of Pentecostal outpourings in the early century, the issue is not ‘who begat whom’, but who or what brought to life and enthusiasm those many different specimens of Pentecostalism in diverse settings and sequences. A pedigree can show the relationship of each ascending generation to its predecessor, but each new generation still has to be born in reproductive passion. Revivals last not because the movement had an impressive

beginning, but rather because periodic renewal keeps the enthusiasm vibrant despite energy-sapping generational, organizational and circumstantial changes.

Revivals, once common in the AG, have gradually taken a back seat to “seeker-sensitive” churches and well-promoted programs in many sectors of the denomination. They were first banished from Sunday morning time-slots and relegated to Sunday evening church gatherings and summer camps, and they increasingly have been replaced by other rituals in many AG churches, lingering only as rumors from a seemingly distant historical past as fewer pastors and their congregants experience the range of charisma found in early Pentecostalism. When new outpourings of charismata come along, the AG has been reluctant to recognize them as authentic moves of God.

Blumhofer’s (1989:58) observations about the consonant notes found in the New Order (Latter Rain) revival of the 1940s and early Pentecostalism provide some insight for understanding the ambivalence of the AG toward the fresh outpouring of charisma:

Some first-generation Pentecostals had begun within a decade to bemoan their movement’s waning power and had pointed to a future, more copious showers of the latter rain. Consequently, there was even precedent for the eschatological innovation by the New Order [i.e. Latter Rain] advocates. Daniel Kerr, for example, noting a declining focus on healing as early as 1914, had heralded a coming dispensation in which healing would have the prominence accorded to tongues at the turn of the century. As Pentecostal groups had organized and charismatic fervor had waned in some places--or was largely confined to revival campaigns and campmeetings--voices had been raised asserting that the turn-of-the-century Apostolic Faith Movement had seen only the beginning of a revival where more copious latter rains were yet to come.

While Blumhofer goes on to describe the AG rationale for rejecting the Latter Rain (sometimes called the New Order Movement), particularly its rejection of religious organizations and its indictment of old Pentecostal practices), the fact remains that the AG has been at times ambivalent and at times hostile to Pentecostal experiences that were introduced in other streams of the movement. The Latter Rain of the 1940s, the subsequent healing revival of the 1950s, and

the charismatic movement of the 1960s and 1970s all, for the most part, occurred outside the Assemblies of God. They had a positive effect on AG growth during this period largely through pastors who risked the criticism of their peers and sometimes censure from leadership for their support of these newer movements

As can be seen in table 4, most pastors do seem to be aware that the Pentecostal worldview is in continual need of revitalization. A vast majority (84%) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “The AG must actively seek to revitalize its early Pentecostal roots.” Very few (5%) agreed that in order to reach the unchurched “the AG must downplay the public use of the gifts of the Spirit” which are believed to accompany baptism with the Holy Spirit. The overwhelming majority of pastors verbally support AG identity as a Pentecostal denomination in which paranormal gifts are openly displayed, even if these manifestations should cause some discomfort for first-time visitors. Moreover, 85 percent of the respondents reported that their congregations are of “one mind” regarding “expressive worship practices” which have at times caused divisions and disagreements in the past.

Yet despite the verbal acquiescence, there appears to be an unresolved paradox between the widely acclaimed support for revival with openness to the paranormal gifts and the absence or near-absence of Pentecostal vitality in at least half of the AG churches. With the possible exception of tongues and interpretations (experienced regularly in 43 percent of the congregations included in this study), other gifts and manifestations commonly witnessed in large sectors of pentecostalism do not appear to be a regular part of AG ritual. The discrepancy between sentiments and behavior – between what people say and what they do – has been long observed by social psychologists (c.f. Deutscher, Pestello, and Pestello 1993; Deutscher 1973)

and can be once again seen in the responses to questions about the Pensacola Outpouring and other renewal tributaries (see table 4).

As we have seen, 86 percent of pastors identify with Pentecostal *renewal* or *revival* (R/R), reporting that being involved in R/R is extremely important or very important to them. Nearly all (98%) were aware of the R/R movement found at the Pensacola Outpouring and at other congregations in North America through reading articles in AG literature (100%) or in other Christian magazines (86%) and by talking with AG leaders/pastors (72%), with church members (70%), or with other persons who have visited popular R/R sites (86%). The overwhelming majority of the pastors appeared to be aware of contemporary revivals and seem to have a single mind about the importance of reviving authentic Pentecostal spirituality. This does not necessarily mean, however, that AG pastors are of one mind about the Pensacola Outpouring and the revivals of the 1990s. Pastors were evenly divided on the issue as to whether “America is in the midst of a revival similar to the one that gave birth to Pentecostalism.” Despite the fact that the national leaders of the AG have given cautious approval and support to the revival at Brownsville Assembly of God (BOAG) in Pensacola, the average pastor appears to be reluctant to embrace it.<sup>viii</sup>

While nearly all the pastors surveyed support revival in principle and nearly all had heard about the Pensacola Outpouring and the larger revival movement, far fewer had experienced this latest outpouring of charisma for themselves. It is noteworthy that despite their verbal assent to the importance of revival, approximately two-thirds *have not* personally checked out the nightly meetings at the BOAG in Pensacola or any of the other AG and non-AG renewal sites which dot the nation. The vast majority has not invited revival speakers to their churches (67%) nor have they attended an Awake America Crusade sponsored by BAOG in various cities throughout the

U.S. (80%). Given this lack of first-hand contact, it is not surprising that only 30 percent of the pastors report their churches “to be actively engaged in the Renewal/Revival.”

#### Summary: The Ritual Dilemma

It is clear that most pastors perceive a decline in Pentecostal practices within the denomination: 70 percent either strongly agree or agree “the gifts of the Holy Spirit are losing their prominence in AG churches as a whole.” They report concern about the loss of Pentecostal power, an embracing of a renewal/revival identity, and being informed about the various renewal sites, but surprisingly most have made little effort to check out the rumors of revival for themselves.<sup>ix</sup> Being of one-mind around the core value of revival has apparently not translated into an acceptance of revival in contemporary dress. Present-day pastors, much like their predecessors, have been reluctant to accept charisma as it has taken flesh in periodic revivals of the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup>. At least among some pastors, revitalization in traditional Pentecostalism is being relegated to doctrine rather than personal experience. Revivals are often acknowledged to be “messy” –even by their supporters. It seems that established Pentecostal denominations like the AG may well prefer the safety of doctrine to the unpredictability of religious experience.

## Chapter 9:

### Covenants, Contracts and Godly Love With Matthew Lee

There it was, then, in pairs: The primitive and the pragmatic. . . . We might think of the two impulses as alternating voices in dialogue, or as contrasting threads in a tapestry, or as complementary plots to the story. . . . The list of possible metaphors does not end here, but by now the point should be clear. No effort to describe the world of early Pentecostalism can be complete without accounting for the impulses and the way they worked together to secure the movement's survival. (Grant Wacker 2001, p.14).

Grant Wacker (2001, p. 15) has identified a process that has gone on throughout the history of Christendom where groups “have found ways to weave heavenly aspirations with everyday realities.” It is this interchange between primitive experiences and pragmatic practices that serves as a foundation for Wacker’s historical discussion of Pentecostalism. While taking for granted the primitive or charismatic features inherent in this religious movement, Wacker’s analysis focuses on pragmatic practices rather than on charismatic experiences, leading him to wonder whether the tale of early Pentecostals was one in which “heaven had invaded earth or earth had invaded heaven” (p. 15).

*Crossroads* had a similar focus on pragmatism with its assessment of the institutional dilemmas that seemingly sound the death knell for mystical charisma. While this book began by revisiting the *Crossroads*’ thesis, it goes further in presenting a detailed examination of the revitalizing effects of religious experiences through a dynamic process we have called Godly Love. *Godly Love* -- “the dynamic interaction between divine and human love that enlivens and expands benevolence” – is the engine drives the revitalization process.

In our analyses of the pastoral survey data (framed by O’Dea’s theory of routinization of charisma) and congregational survey results (framed by the interactive theory of Godly Love), we have sought to describe the two partners of the dialectical dance between primitivism and

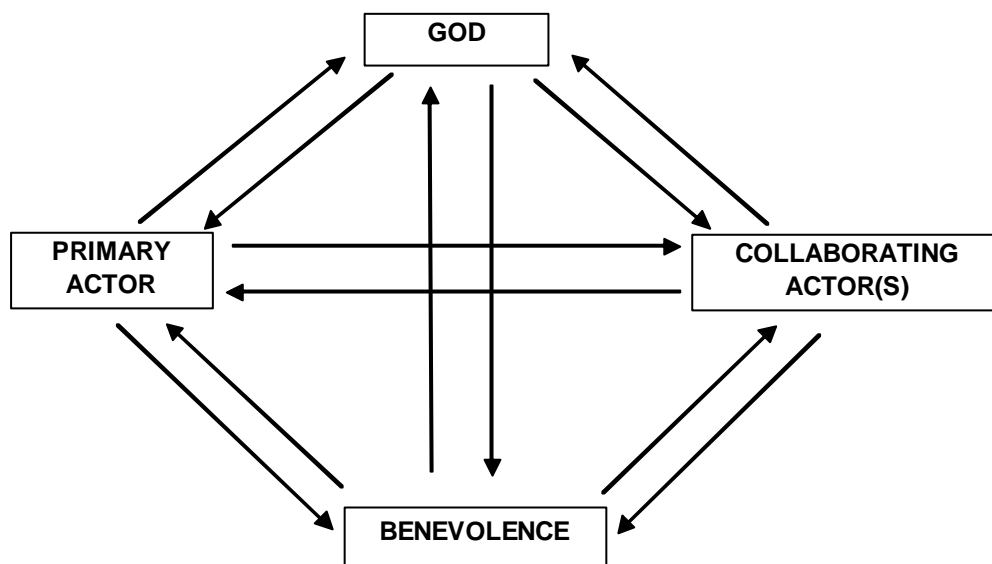
pragmatism. Experiences of the divine have provided narrative and statistical accounts to show how “heaven has invaded earth” through spiritually empowered benevolence while our description of the organizational work in the AG suggests that even if Pentecostals have not “invaded heaven,” they have created a bit of heaven here below. The key to understanding revitalization in the AG lies in the tension between the primitive and the pragmatic forces found in its judicatory and in its congregations. In this our final chapter we assess the *pragmatic forces* in terms of *contract*, a system of lived out legal agreements that is basic to modern organization as found in the AG judicatory while *primal forces* are discussed in terms of *covenant*, relationships that are rooted in promises and interpersonal relationships commonly believed to be divinely empowered that are the lifeblood of congregations. We use these concepts as sociological “ideal types” – as heuristic devices to describe a world that does not exist in its pure form but that serve to compare and contrast the rich diversity that is found in the Assemblies of God. Thus contractual judicatories also contain elements of congregational covenantal relationships and covenantal congregations contain varying degrees of contractual leadership. For the most part, however, covenants are expressed within the congregation where the divine promise of a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit is lived out through Godly Love that facilitates ongoing revitalization within church communities.

### The Diamond Model of Godly Love

In order visualize the process of Godly Love, we present Figure 1, a basic diamond-shaped figure with labels of interaction components and arrows designating relationships (see also Lee and Poloma 2009). At the top is a box labeled “God,” the non-empirical divine actor who has customarily been discounted in social scientific analysis. The boxes featured in the middle section of the figure to the left and right respectively are labeled “primary actor” and

“collaborating actor(s)” to designate human interaction. As we have demonstrated in our statistical analysis of the survey data, prophecy has proven to be an important catalyst in accounting for different forms of “benevolence” (the box at the bottom of Figure 1). Of our three spirituality measures (glossolalia, a sense of divine presence and prophecy) prophecy provides the best illustration of the interaction represented in the top half of the diamond-shaped model.

Figure 1



Prophecy begins with the primary actor who believes God has spoken (usually as a sense or an urge) a personal word that requires an active response. As our results demonstrate, the prophetic response often involves the bottom section of the diamond model, as the primary actor may be called to serve others in a beneficial way. Prophecy might be as simple as having a divine “sense” to make a phone call to a friend in need, to write out a check for a special offering, or (as we saw in the story of April in chapters 5 and 6) to begin to pray for divine healing for others. Prophecy by definition involves hearing from God and human collaborating

actors, those to whom the action or word is directed as well as those who affirm the often wordless but powerful sense or urge to act. To return to April's account, the presiding minister sensed that God was speaking to April as he singled her out with his prophetic word that confirmed April's perceived divine call to ministry and resulted in her prayer ministry to others. Through this outreach in the congregation, April would tell us in her interview, "many healings were taking place."

April's account is most probably much more intense than the divine encounters congregants had in mind when they reported in the survey that they "heard a divine call to perform some specific action" at least daily (6%) or that they "received a revelation directly from God" at least daily (8%). These measures, two of the four that made up the prophecy scale, suggest that the lines designating interpersonal relationships in Figure 1 may be strong or weak, broken or even non-existent. April's story would be one of strong unbroken lines between God and the primary collaborator (April), between God and the secondary collaborator (in this case the revival minister), and between April and the minister. The interaction line from April to the recipient(s) of her prayer for healing (benevolence) would also vary in strength and intensity.

Guided by this model of Godly Love we have described how experiences of divine love are significant catalysts of human benevolence within covenantal relationships as found in AG congregations. In so doing we have presented different measures of *union love* with the divine (glossolalia, prophecy, and sensing the divine presence) together with measures of benevolent *care-love* (including compassion, healing, evangelistic outreach, pro-poor attitudes, ecumenism, social theologies and political behaviors). Experiences of the divine consistently proved to be significant predictors of increased benevolence that have revitalized the AG, particularly AG congregations. For example, compassionate outreach, evangelism, and healing all promote

congregational growth and vitality by exposing new congregants to narratives or first-hand encounters with the fruits of supernatural empowerment and reminding existing church members of the practical effects of God's loving presence.

This basic diamond model can be adapted to describe Godly Love in the judicatory where interdicts are defined and upheld largely through contractual relations. The "love energy" generated by covenantal interactions by congregants, however, is different from that driving judicatory contractual action. Based on our empirical findings, we thus contend that among members of congregations care-love is likely to be the primary face of love while in religious organizations love is most likely to be expressed in terms of appreciation love.

#### Godly Love and the Judicatory: A Contractual Model

Guarding the vision or mission of the denomination through defining and enforcing interdictive cultural norms and creating supportive judicatory structures is perhaps best served by appreciation love rather than interpersonal care-love. Judicatories – even Pentecostal judicatories – commonly function much like secular organizations where pragmatic rational action is normative. This point can be illustrated by a conversation Margaret Poloma had with Dr. Richard Dobbins, the founder of Emerge Ministries (an AG affiliated counseling center) when she was collecting data for *Crossroads*. Poloma commented how most counselors at Emerge seemed to be using secular techniques (albeit with biblical injunctions and a prayer at the end of the session that sounded much like a concluding summary statement given by a secular counselor) and, like their secular counterparts, counselors were discouraged from using distinctly Pentecostal healing techniques like prophecy and in-depth prayer with clients. (The comment was intended to raise the issue of how Emerge Ministries' secularly-grounded counseling fit with its Pentecostal origins and identity.) Dobbins quickly and succinctly replied,

“Emerge is *not* a church; it is a counseling center.” The same response could hold for other AG institutions, including its presbytery, universities, publishing house, missionary organizations, and other operations of benevolence. An AG judicatory is not a church; it is a bureaucratic organization (with both the strengths and weaknesses of bureaucracies) that regulates and serves a large denomination. It is more comfortable being solidly grounded in pragmatism than soaring in a world of primal spiritual possibilities.

Unlike most leaders of secular organizations, however, AG judicatory leaders are not strangers to Pentecostal experience of the divine. It is important to remember that people commonly participate in both covenantal and contractual relations and AG leaders are no exception. They are also involved in churches, their families, and friendship networks where divine-human interactions may be a vital part of their personal social covenantal interactions. Care-love may also be found in small groups within the administrative organizations. The judicatory itself, however, is driven by a more abstract appreciation love reflected in denominational vision and values than the interpersonal love relationships characterized by union and care love. In terms of concrete behavior, this means that judicatory decision making is likely to be preceded by logical and rational debate rather than charismatic ritual or even prayer. To return to our diamond image, the interaction line from actor to God may be weak or nonexistent in a business meeting or committee vote. This is not to suggest that interactions with God are always absent—judicatory leaders may pray about an issue prior to making a decision—just that they do not occur in certain contexts.

The seeds for recognizing this distinction between appreciation love and the care-love of were sown in Poloma’s first visit to the headquarters of the Assemblies of God in Springfield, Missouri where she explored researching the AG in the early 1980s. As I (Poloma) approached

Dr. Thomas Zimmerman, then General Superintendent of the AG, to request his endorsement of my proposed research, I was taken aback by our introductory exchange. To make my position and needs clear at the onset, I presented myself with dual-citizenship -- as a Spirit-baptized practicing Roman Catholic who worshipped regularly with an AG congregation. Zimmerman's immediate response surprised me, "I owe you an apology for what I have said about Catholics. God has forgiven me; I didn't know any better." It didn't seem appropriate at the time to follow up on this seemingly strange comment as we quickly moved on to talk about the proposal and our understanding of what was to be expected of each party. It wasn't until the next day that I had a serendipitous encounter with a local university professor who was a good friend of the local Catholic bishop of Springfield, Missouri. Bishop Bernard Law, later elevated to a cardinal in the Catholic Church, would make national news headlines years later as he sought to protect the Church against critics of its handling of the pedophile scandal. I asked the professor about the unlikely relationship between Zimmerman and Law, two ecclesial leaders whose denominations were often at odds both globally and nationally. My new professor friend replied, "Zimmerman and Law are much more alike than you might imagine. They both love their institutions." It was not clear that this kind of "love" was something the professor himself valued, but it was apparent that it had the power to make good friends out of potential enemies. That someone could have a powerful and intense love for institutions, culture, religious doctrine and other seeming abstractions and that this love operates much like interpersonal love is something I would observe from time to time. The observation took theoretical form as I would later read Rolf Johnson's (2002) discussion of appreciation love as a face of love. Similarly, Philip Rieff's (2007) work is filled with appreciation love for interdicts, which helped us to see the connections between appreciation love and the AG judicatory.

Although networks of care-love can and probably do co-exist as secondary forces within formal organizations, the primary object of love for the judicatory rests on an appreciation of the denomination -- its principles and values, its well-run organization and structure, and ultimately of its size and its influence. In this book we have revisited the routinization of charisma thesis in which Pentecostalism originated in a charismatic moment where revival participants experienced a heightened union love with the divine and care-love relationships with each other that defied social norms of the day. Most Pentecostal historians would agree that for at least a short time the revival experiences would level the playing field between blacks and whites, men and women, rich and poor, and young and old. The effects of the charismatic moment, however, would soon loose ground to institutionalization and its attendant dilemmas with a re-entrenchment of the cultural stratification system of segregated congregations and curtailing of women in leadership. Pentecostalism has not completely lost its identity but its tendency to self-identify with Evangelicalism has certainly blurred it.

Narrated through socio-historical accounts and statistical findings collected from a random sample of AG pastors, we reported how the AG continues to reflect the tension between charisma and its routinization first reported in *Crossroads*. Pastors by and large are committed to being both Pentecostal and Evangelical in their support of the AG while holding neo-pentecostals and other faiths at bay. They provided satisfactory evaluations of the core parts of their judicatory system while expressing some reservations about what we judged to be less essential beliefs and practices. Judging from the reluctance of many to explore the revivals of the 1990s, they seemed to use their appreciation love of the AG to balance the potentially unstable situations that have historically accompanied revivals. The potential downside to this orientation is that the revitalizing forces that accompany revivals are inhibited. Although we

have argued that religious experiences have been central to the revitalization of the AG, especially through Godly Love interactions, judicatory leaders and pastors have attempted to close some of the avenues by which congregants might obtain more of these experiences.

There is evidence that it is not unusual for leaders to hold fast to an appreciation love for their institutions (with particular culture, visions and values) that is distinct from and sometimes at odds with relational care-love. Appreciation love appears to be the rudder of much organized benevolence; it is the “love energy” provided by vision that often generates and energizes contractual benevolence. Appreciation love, for example, played a key role in the assessment that Poloma and Hood (2008) made of Blood and Fire, the now defunct ministry in Atlanta that sought to create a “church of the poor,” in the study that gave birth to the concept of Godly Love. Relationships were tattered by schisms within the ministry as its leader’s love for his ever-evolving visions came to take priority over benevolent service. Our statistical pastoral portrait of the AG relates a much more up-beat story about appreciation love at work. Pastors, for the most part, gave high marks to the national AG judicatory’s values and venues and even higher marks to their district’s leadership and service. Despite minority reports and dissonance around core issues, pastors seemed satisfied with AG leadership and organization. The mixed report card provided by the survey findings did suggest, however, that some “ambiguities around the core” may be symptomatic of an increasing erosion of charismatic fervor that is at the heart of Pentecostal identity.

The ambiguities are further marked by the ongoing fear of newly developing revivals and by resistance to changes in regulatory rules and practices that Philip Rieff (2007) has called *interdicts*. As measured by a scale we called *traditional values*, strong interdicts (contrary to Rieff’s thesis) are of questionable value for supporting charisma or to facilitating benevolence in

the AG. To the contrary, we found holding strongly to traditional Pentecostal values may be negatively related to some attitudes (e.g. support for the poor; for ecumenism) that are consistent with care-love. Moreover, established organizations often uphold stability and the interdicts that support it long after the interdicts have lost their utility as a cultural glue to hold the community together. Holding fast to tradition is generally preferred by organizational leaders compared to a less predictable charisma that often comes as a dramatic wind with its potential to revolutionize or at least to change old interdicts. It was troubling, for example, for many Pentecostals of the early 1960s to see charismatics in mainline denominations -- who often smoked, enjoyed alcohol and an occasional trip to a casino, went to movies and its women wearing jewelry and make up -- having spiritual experiences similar to their own, including glossolalia. With most Pentecostals no longer being a “peculiar people” adhering to these external “holiness” standards, there remains a fear of the slippery slope that could wear away the few distinctives that remain.

There is a suspicion on the part of many Pentecostals of those who would move the AG further away from a legal judicatory and away from the status quo of traditional and evangelical church models toward the uncertainty of new post-modern networks reflected in the charismatic and alternate churches profiles. This tension is reflected in the divided response in the pastoral survey, where over half (54%) of the pastors agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the AG needs to “focus more on being a religious network and less on being a denomination” and nearly half not in agreement. The desire for more of a relational network and less of a rigid institutional structure can also be observed in pastoral support for local district meetings while being somewhat distant and noncommittal about the meetings of the General Assembly, which many reported they preferred not to attend.

Judging from some reports from the August 2009 General Council, however, the Assemblies of God may be in the midst of charting a new course that includes a re-evaluation of some interdicts, a process that began with the 2007 election of General Superintendent Dr. George O. Wood. We became aware of what we would describe as a move away from the contractual relations and the sometimes harsh interdicts that once dominated the judicatory in Springfield when visiting the Assemblies of God Theological School and Headquarters in January, 2009. We took note of the unsolicited but positive comments proffered by university and seminary faculty and students, administrators, and pastors about the national judicatory under the leadership of Superintendent Wood and his new team. The sense that a new day had dawned not only for Springfield but for the national denomination appeared ratified by the enthusiastic support Wood and his leadership team received during the 2009 General Council. It is too early to determine, however, what this shift may mean for Pentecostal interdicts and charisma in the AG.

Although all judicatory leaders presumably have accounts to share about their Spirit baptism and call to ministry that have more or less empowered their service as pastors and then judicatory leaders, it is difficult to separate such divine empowerment from rational and pragmatic decision making. Increasingly pragmatism emerges as the dominant motivator within the judicatory context while primitive experiences are relegated to the private devotional world. One need only recall a rationale for initiating ordination of ministers in early Pentecostalism (where priesthood was eschewed and the prophethood of all believers proclaimed); namely, to meet a pragmatic need for railroad discounts given to clergy. The tension between primitivism and pragmatism has been long standing. It can be illustrated further with the account of the

founding of Youth With a Mission, one of but many stories in which primitive prophets lost out to pragmatic priests within religious organizations.<sup>x</sup>

### Youth With a Mission: Primitivism and Pragmatism in Conflict

In 1956, Loren Cunningham, then an Assemblies of God minister, believed he heard a call from God to tap into the enthusiasm of young people in worldwide evangelism.<sup>xi</sup> He recounts the details of this call and his perception of divine guidance in his appropriately titled autobiographical account, *Is that Really You, God?* Cunningham's narration serves as a succinct illustration of the difference between covenantal and contractual relations and the tension that often exists between them. Cunningham writes:

The secretary ushered me into the superintendent's office. "Hello, Brother Zimmerman. . ." *Brother* was a special term of respect in our denomination meant to underline the fact we were brothers and sisters in God's family. Brother Zimmerman shook my hand cordially then sat down and looked at me across the desk. Indeed he had heard about the Bahamian experiment. But if I were expecting a quick endorsement and a blank check to work interdenominationally and still maintain my standing as a minister with my church, I was mistaken. The problem, I gathered as we sat talking quietly, was that new works like ours needed to be brought under the organizational umbrella—not outside and autonomous. There was a place for me in the Assemblies, but of course I would have to be a full team player. In the end I was offered a job. A good one, too, there at headquarters complete with a fine salary, a staff, a budget. "You can continue with your vision, Loren, but you'd be taking out a more manageable number—say ten or twenty young people a year."

My heart dropped to my knees as the very gracious offer came out—it sounded so reasonable, so secure. Only it was far from what I believed God had told me to do; send out waves of young people from all denominations into evangelism. I tried to explain what I had felt God was saying to me about what was about to happen. It was much, much bigger than twenty a year, and larger than any one denomination. "Sir," I said, "there's another generation coming. It's different from anything we've ever seen . . ."

I floundered, for I could hear how foolish it sounded. Brother Zimmerman assured me he had worked with young people for decades and knew them well. As he tried to explain his reservations about my plans, I could truly see his dilemma. If I had his responsibility of leading a large movement, I would need submitted people – ready to play by the rules for the good of the whole. But here I was hearing a different drummer, out of step. That's more or less what Brother Zimmerman said, too. He was sorry, but I would have to leave the team—resign—if I couldn't play by the rules (Cunningham with Rogers, 1984:66).

Loren Cunningham would leave the AG to establish Youth With a Mission (YWAM), a well-known and respected international organization that embraces volunteers of all ages. YWAM leaders describe its organization as a “family of ministries,” rather than a “structured, hierarchical entity.” Its 1000 plus centers are largely autonomous and operate indigenously with international oversight consisting of approximately 45 leaders from around the world. Although Cunningham’s independent ministry is well regarded by AG ministers and congregations, it is significant for our discussion of the contractual model of Godly Love that YWAM was unable to find a home in the AG.

In sum, divine-human love energy can and probably does infiltrate religious contractual models through a leader’s private devotional life but it is difficult (and perhaps unwise from a management perspective) to integrate experience of the divine into the contractual relations themselves. General Councils are not times of revival; board meetings are not spent praying for supernatural discernment; leaders are not elected for their piety. Experimental Spirit-led ventures like YWAM, like revivals more generally, are difficult to integrate into bureaucratic structures. Furthermore, as we have argued, different objects of love provide the primary energy for covenants and contracts. While in its ideal typical form Godly Love is covenantal, covenants are often nestled within larger contractual organizations. Most of the day to day activities of judicatory organizations involve pragmatic and well-defined interaction familiar to social scientists and represented by the bottom half of Figure 1. “Love energy” produced by union love and care-love that dominates the top half of the model does operate on some level in judicatory activities, albeit most commonly indirectly through private devotion rather than directly through collective spiritual discernment.

## Congregational Godly Love: A Covenantal Model

Although some may contend that churches commonly deviate from being “family” and bear more resemblance to corporations than to communities, there is little question that the vast majority of AG adherents *expect* family-like relationships to prevail in their churches. Of a list of eleven expectations included in the congregational survey, providing a “family-like atmosphere for members” was ranked first in importance by respondents. Over half (59%) of the respondents reported that being part of a family-like congregation was “extremely important” and an additional one-third (36%) said it was “very important,” leaving only five percent claiming they had no opinion or were indifferent to the issue. Another related question asking about the importance of the church’s “providing service to members” also showed that respondents had high expectations, with 85 percent reporting caring for members to be either “extremely important” or “very important.” In time of illness, over half (54%) reported that their congregations would help them “a great deal” (another 32% expected “some” help); and if they had personal problems, 62 percent believed that they would expect to receive a “great deal” of comfort (another 28%, said “some”) from their church. Few expected to receive little or no help or comfort in their hour of need. Although only the most traditional AG congregations continue to use the “brother”/“sister” nomenclature that was once a common address for fellow congregants, expectations remain that congregational interaction be more familial than the contractual relations that are widespread in modern society.

It is within this covenant of believers that congregants live out their Pentecostal identity that commonly includes alternate spiritual ways of viewing reality. It is here that many experience Spirit baptism, see miracles, learn to pray in tongues, give and receive prophecies,

and pray for healing. It is within highly affective revival services that many Pentecostals first felt the ecstatic and palpable presence of God. Although some of our qualitative interviews with AG adherents have provided examples where the church family may have been spiritually dysfunctional, there are even more examples in which the congregation has played a significant role in developing and affirming the powerful love relationship between the respondent and God. Union love, as we have examined it experientially within the model of Godly Love, is a significant factor in enhancing benevolence, especially evangelism, healing, and compassion.

Union love also appears to play a significant role in enhancing interpersonal relations that in turn impacts benevolence. As can be seen in Table 1 (Appendix C) those who have frequent experiences of personal “inner healing” are also considerably more likely to experience prophecy and a sense of divine presence. They were also more likely to score higher on evangelism, compassion, healing and ecumenism. Inner healing, as we have seen earlier, involves more than the personal psyche. It extends to “healing” relationships with others, being especially intertwined with forgiveness. As discussed in earlier chapters, God is perceived as a significant other who empowers believers to work together in extending this love to others.

It is important to emphasize that we are not asserting that all congregations mirror the heuristic model of Godly Love found in Figure 1. The model is used as a point of departure for comparison and analysis rather than as a trusted reflection of reality. Based on our four-fold typology of churches (traditional, evangelical AG, charismatic and alternative) that reflect the diversity found in the AG, for example, we expect relational ties represented in the model to be of different intensities and frequencies for different congregations. We hypothesize that the basic model of Godly Love found in Figure 1 would best fit traditional AG and revivalist congregations where both union love and care-love are strengthened through revival rituals and

experiences. With interdicts that reflect Pentecostal parochialism being stronger in traditional churches, we would also expect care-love to be more extensive (ecumenical) in charismatic congregations that are less accepting of traditional values that separate Pentecostals from other Christians. Evangelical churches, on the other hand, are more likely to downplay primal religious experiences and to adapt their teachings and to adopt practices that further the routinization of charisma. We would expect the lines between the God box and collaborator boxes depicted in Figure 1 to be weaker for members of these congregations that are likely to have fewer congregational opportunities to witness and experience Pentecostal revitalization.

Alternative congregations, profiled with low scores on both Pentecostal identity and experiences, reflect a wide variety of innovative practices that move such congregations further from the intersect of the primal and pragmatic toward an emphasis on the pragmatic. The top half of Figure 1 would be less important for understanding benevolence these congregations with the lines between the God and collaborator boxes being less pronounced. However, alternative congregations, like those in the charismatic quadrant, tend to be marginal to the working of the denomination. It is doubtful that congregations in these two quadrants of our typology will have any significant impact on the AG. Both types have demonstrated a tendency to revert to other quadrants of the typology or to eventually drop out of the denomination.

Although traditional and evangelical congregations dominate the AG landscape, traditional churches remain more visibly and experientially Pentecostal. Furthermore, traditional churches are significantly more likely to be ethnic churches and less likely to be Euro-American.<sup>xii</sup> Ethnic congregations are generally more accepting and encouraging of Pentecostal experiences that mirror the Pentecostalism of their native countries. The future of the AG is thus at a crossroads with the charismatic experiences of the traditional ethnic congregation on one

side and the predictability and routinization of the evangelical Anglo congregation on the other. These two paths are also shaped by the interface of the judicatory and congregational leadership.

The relationship between the judicatory and diverse AG congregations can be described using the analogy of a hot air balloon ride. When balloon and basket function together, it can provide a breathtaking panoramic view for its riders. When the balloon is left to soar alone, it rides high; but without the tension provided by the rope and basket, it will inevitably self-destruct. The basket without the balloon, on the other hand, will remain bound to the ground with its riders unable to view the promised panorama. Congregations experiencing primal Pentecostal revival need the pragmatism of a basket that controls the hot air to maintain a vital Pentecostal congregation; pragmatic judicatories need a balloon to experience afresh the primal stirrings that first brought the AG into existence. Uncoupling the primal from the pragmatic is much like cutting the rope of a hot air balloon to separate the balloon from the basket; the primal may soar but destruction is its ultimate fate and the pragmatic will remain solidly grounded but deprived of the panoramic spiritual worldview provided by ride. The person in charge of the navigation between the primal and the pragmatic, deciding how high or if the congregation is to soar into the realms of Pentecostal possibilities, is generally the AG pastor who interacts with the judicatory at the district and national levels and as well as the church boards that can function as local judicatories.

#### Interactive Model of Godly Love: Pastors as Linchpins

It is the AG pastor who links the denominational structure (where the primary mode of action is corporately pragmatic, interdictive and contractual and the primary object of love is appreciation of AG vision and values) with diverse congregational communities (where the primary mode of action is likely to be affective, charismatic and covenantal, commonly revitalized by the

interaction of union love and care love). As linchpins between individual congregations and various judicatory systems, it is no surprise that pastors often find themselves between the rock of denominational polity and the hard place of daily pastoral demands. We have heard pastors—including some who have left and others who remain faithful to the AG—lament the seeming incompatibility of the relational networks that foster and sustain their direct experiences of God and the modern organizational structures that provide the denominational context for their spiritual lives.

The tension in negotiating the contradictory dictates of (legal rational) contract and (relational) covenant often continues within the microcosm of the congregation. To demonstrate this tension between the primal and pragmatic forces that can be found in congregations we return to a pastoral survey finding reported earlier. When asked about the degree to which the divine presence (e.g. prophetic leadings, tongues and interpretations) affected the “decision making process of your local congregation,” less than one-fifth of the pastors indicated “greatly” while over one-fourth replied “not at all.” In a related question, only one in ten pastors strongly agreed that “the Holy Spirit directly affects the decision making process in most AG administrative agencies.” While we do not know the reason why pragmatic decision making usually takes the lead over primal prophetic experience for most pastors, we do see that the model for congregational government and the perceived model for denominational government tend toward the pragmatic. We suspect that those who seek to balance the primal and pragmatic often feel the stretching of a rope that fastens the hot air balloon to the basket. Sometimes it is easier to simply cut the rope and leave the basket firmly anchored in pragmatism at the expense of primal experiences.

As reflected in the account presented earlier of YWAM, the prophetic visionary and the judicatory leaders can find it difficult to come to agreement when navigating the waters between a divine call and judicatory dictates. A more recent account can be found in Pastor Bill Johnson's Bethel Church in Redding, California. As did many AG churches in the 1990s, Johnson's congregation experienced revival – a revival that split the congregation and caused half of its members to leave the church. Johnson supported the revival as a “move of God” and in time his congregation would recover from its loss of members to become a flagship for neo-pentecostals seeking ongoing revival. In 2006 after deciding to leave the AG, Johnson wrote the following:

This has been an extremely slow, thought-full and care-full process that is not a reaction to conflict but a response to a call. . . . Though we haven't yet articulated it very clearly, we feel called to create a network that helps other networks thrive - to be one of many ongoing catalysts in this continuing revival. Our call feels unique enough theologically and practically from the call on the Assemblies of God that this change is appropriate. We believe we have heard the voice of the Lord very clearly concerning this transition. We are in the process of inviting several apostolic leaders that have had a long-term relationship with us to be integral in the spiritual covering of our church. We look forward to working alongside our brothers and sisters in the Assemblies and are continuing our regular financial and prayer support of the denomination. We thank you for your interest in the ongoing mutual success and respect of the Assemblies of God and Bethel Church of Redding ([www.ibethel.org](http://www.ibethel.org); last accessed, 9/01/2009).

Revivals come at a cost, and they are often counter-cultural in their demands on personal time and resources. Revivals appear easier to sustain in developing nations than in American society with the pull toward materialistic concerns that early Pentecostals condemned. Pastors often find themselves in a difficult situation caught between balloon-like revivalists who want to go all the way with the primal and the basket-sitting pragmatists who want order and predictability. How balloon and basket ultimately align in congregations usually depends on pastoral experience with and acceptance of primal spirituality. According to an old cliché, a church cannot not rise above its pastor. Individuals may soar with Pentecostal experiences found

outside the congregation, particularly at charismatic conferences and schools, but the congregation itself is dependent on pastoral acceptance and leadership.

### A Tentative Sociological Conclusion

Charisma cannot persist without social form and structure. The early Pentecostals soon became aware of this basic sociological premise, and they knew of the dangers of charisma's routinization before sociologists had yet put a label on the process. The AG has always and continues to assert that it is not a denomination. Its Website proclaims, "In keeping with the original intention of the founding body, the Assemblies of God is considered a cooperative fellowship instead of a denomination" ([www.ag.org](http://www.ag.org); accessed 9/01/2009). The "cooperative fellowship" has in fact become layered with judicatory rulings and dictates which many find porous enough for the leading of the Spirit. Others, as did Pastor Bill Johnson, seek new "relational networks," neo-Pentecostal and evangelical groupings that may well become the new denominations of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

It is important to stress that not all instances of "routinization" are contrary to charisma (Rieff, 2007). Whether its structure is permeable enough to allow a creative tension between primitive experience and pragmatic organization to remain viable is the critical sociological question for the future of the AG -- and for the future of American Pentecostalism more generally. It would mean making room for failed prophecies, allowing religious services to be more than pre-packaged productions, and leaving space for new expressions of charisma, including new waves of revival that seem to regularly roll upon the American continent. Although charisma has long been recognized as a factor in the rise of religious movements, it seems to depart quickly once the task of institution-building has been completed. One can argue

that charisma thrives best in relational groups where care-love rather than appreciation love is center stage.

There are judicatory members, particularly among current leaders in the Executive Presbytery, who are aware of this dilemma. A proposal that was defeated in the 53<sup>rd</sup> General Council (August 2009) provides a good illustration. In response to requests from some pastors, the Executive Presbytery proposed a four year pilot project of churches that would depart from the traditional geographic and ethnic districts, but would consist of a network of ministers working for revival that stayed connected (in part) through new media of communications. This proposal met with considerable resistance from some district superintendents in the General Presbytery and it was defeated before being sent to the General Council for a vote. As an AG leader in Springfield reported in a personal e-mail (August 29, 2009), “[General Superintendent] George Wood et al. [the Executive Presbytery] had done their homework and were really trying to find a way that they could create a new model. In this case, it was not opposed by Springfield, but initiated by Springfield. It was opposed by some districts for a variety of reasons.” When asked what might happen next, the informant responded: “I do think that some form of this non-geographic district initiative will resurface. However, in the meantime, people will create their own non-geographical networks of accountability and influence. The idea that something has been stopped because a resolution wasn’t passed simply doesn’t mesh with reality. This impetus will find and is finding realization with or without ‘officialness.’” The question at hand is whether this new unofficial network will remain in the AG or take the path of others we have discussed, like YWAM or Bethel Church.

When seen in the light of the overarching patterns of routinization and revitalization evident in our survey data, the fundamental issue currently facing the AG continues to be the

lure of pragmatism at the expense of primal experience. This is particularly true in Anglo evangelical AG congregations and in the judicatory, but less so in traditional ethnic congregations which have accounted for much of the AG's growth in the U.S. in recent decades. As guardians of the vision and expositors on interdicts, it is the judicatory leadership (national and districts, which as we have seen sometimes conflict) that has the most power to move towards greater revitalization and also the biggest stake in not doing so. Scholars in the sociology of organizations would not be surprised. They would point out that judicatories always seek a "tight coupling" between their normative structures (e.g., as spelled out in position papers) and the behavioral structures of the other parts of their organization (Perrow 1986, p. 148). Revitalizing experiences of God take a backseat to fidelity to the interdicts. Centralization of control is the goal. However, this attempt will always fall short because of the "interactive complexity" that always exists in the ever-changing social environment that shapes congregational life (Perrow 1986, p. 148). In this situation, various forms of "loose coupling" become the norm (as with alternative and revivalist congregations) and some de-coupling may occur (as with YWAM and Bethel Church leaving the AG to pursue informal ties with neo-Pentecostal networks).

The tension between pragmatism and primalism plays out against a background of centralization and decentralization. It is easy to see that the primitive will find a more supportive home in decentralized congregations. This suggests that the most vital sectors of the Pentecostal movement are likely to be loosely coupled or decoupled from traditional Pentecostal denominations like the AG. Sociologist Richard Sennett's (1998) observations about the shift in the corporate sector from stable, rigid, bureaucratic structures to flexible, innovative, and constantly changing networks applies equally well to the post-denominational environment that

characterizes the religious landscape in contemporary America. Regardless of whether the goal is an innovative and prophetic approach to missions, or simply church growth instead of decline, its achievement is more likely in an “archipelago of related activities” rather than a formal “organization” or “denomination” (Sennett 1998, p. 23). Hence the rise of informal, “apostolic” networks in neo-Pentecostal circles as referred to in Bill Johnson’s letter of withdrawal from the AG.<sup>xiii</sup>

What can the AG do about this situation? Organizational sociologists would not be optimistic that the judicatory leadership is strategically situated to respond effectively. They would point out that organizations tend to “generate actions unreflectively and nonadaptively” because the “behavior programs” that organizations create in an attempt to solidify past successes are often the primary causes of current crises (Starbuck 1983, pp. 91-92). Institutionalized programs of behavior create a kind of blindness within bureaucratically structured organizations that direct the attention of leadership to pseudo-problems that are of little concern to the constituencies that they serve and away from real problems that threaten the ongoing viability of the organization. The AG’s failure to establish a new district for revival serves as a case in point. There is an ever-present danger that an organization’s behavior programs will shape perceptions of reality in such a way that the judicatory leadership becomes unable to hear the prophetic voices of pastors like Bill Johnson and young men and women who are trained in schools of the supernatural and who like Johnson move to the beat of a different drum. The result is likely to be the ongoing dilution of Pentecostal distinctives in the AG—as in other classical Pentecostal denominations—to the point that many AG congregations will continue their slide towards a “bland evangelical ‘pot of goo’ characterized by pop music,

well-managed programs, and topical sermons, and from time to time [nostalgia for] that ‘old-time religion’ of their holy roller grandparents” (Patterson, 2007:201).

The AG is certainly not alone in facing these dilemmas. Other Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal denominations are experiencing similar tensions. In the volatile religious marketplace of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Godly Love cannot offer a one-size-fits-all solution to the myriad challenges facing religious denominations in general or pentecostalism in particular. But then again, neither can the strong religious interdicts of an earlier era. Our results suggest that interdicts remain relevant in the AG, but that Godly Love has been more central to its recent vitality. Pentecostal experiences of divine love – commonly reflected in glossolalia, prophecy, and sensing the divine presence -- are significant catalysts of human benevolence within covenantal relationships as found in AG congregations.

Of course Godly Love by itself does not guarantee organizational success or longevity (see Poloma and Hood 2008). The story of the AG cannot be told, however, without careful attention to this interaction between divine and human love that enlivens benevolence. Our findings demonstrate that the Pentecostal gifts of the Spirit do bear benevolent fruit. Whether a pentecostalization of other denominations would have this effect remains to be seen (see Macchia 2006, for an affirmative theological argument). Our research on the AG thus leaves us both cautious and hopeful. We are cautious because we have seen how organizational constraints and routinization can easily stifle the vital energy of religious experience. But we remain hopeful because we have also witnessed how this energy can bring a bit of heaven down to earth and greatly expand benevolence in the process.

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<sup>i</sup> Pentecostal, when capitalized, will refer to the Classical Pentecostal denominations, including the Assemblies of God. When used in lower case, pentecostal refers to the broader movement that includes the three “waves” described in the introductory chapter and the newer emergent groups and its leaders energized by revivals.

<sup>ii</sup> “By ‘pot of goo’ I mean to convey the vapid, indistinct, and prophetically fainthearted amalgam that is, unfortunately, only too characteristic of both Evangelical and Classical Pentecostal churches” (Rybarczyk, 2007, p. 7).

<sup>iii</sup> The heightened primitivism of neo-Pentecostal spirituality and eschewing of traditional organizational structures has led one British sociologist to make the following wager: “....I would put my money on the old Pentecostal denominations still to be with us, and thriving at the end of the next century. I’m not prepared to put my shirt on the new churches, and don’t relish the long-odds on the Renewal” (Walker 2000:ix).

<sup>iv</sup> Evangelical identity had a mean score of 3 (on a 4-point scale) while Charismatic/Third-Wave identity scores had a mean score of 2 points.

<sup>v</sup> In North America the term “Pentecostal” usually refers to persons in denominations born out of or having some connection with the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles (1906-09).

“Charismatic” applies to those in mainline and newer (often independent) churches which embraced a Pentecostal worldview in the mid-twentieth century or later. In the U.S. some 23 percent of all evangelical Protestants, 9 percent of mainline Protestants, 13 percent of Roman Catholics, and 36 percent of Black Protestants claim to be “Spirit-filled,” another appellation for those persons embracing the PCM (Green et al.1997:228). Americans who claim to be Spirit-filled tend to self-identify as Pentecostal (4.7%) or Charismatic (6.6%), but much less frequently as “both Charismatic and Pentecostal” (.8%). It is thus not surprising that these clearly Pentecostal pastors would express some social distance from Charismatics. Despite a world view and theology that is more similar than dissimilar, most persons involved in the PCM are likely to identify with a particular stream of the movement.

<sup>vi</sup> Data from the CCSP (Cooperative Congregational Studies Project) found that “40% of churches estimated that half or less of their members has been baptized in the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in other tongues” (Doty and Espinoza, 2000.)

<sup>vii</sup> In reviewing these statistics, I was reminded of a comment made by an AG graduate student in one of my courses during which I was discussing my research on divine healing. The young man commented, “I have heard stories like you are reporting all of my life, but I have never seen one case of such healing in my church. Healing is professed but I have seen little evidence of its being practiced or experienced.”

<sup>viii</sup> It was interesting to review the selection of readings found in the 85th Anniversary Edition 1913-1998 of the Pentecostal Evangel, the weekly publication of the AG. An article on Pentecostal revival was reprinted from the July 12, 1924 issue that lamented how “many folks are blind” to the Pentecostal revival that was still in process. The anniversary issue, although published three years after the revival began at BAOG, failed to mention the Pensacola Outpouring (as it is often called) as one of the significant events of AG history.

<sup>ix</sup> Ambiguity and ambivalence appear to be heightened by the fact that only 6 percent of the respondents did not believe that the denomination is responsible for promoting revival. Sixty percent (60%) of the pastors surveyed believed it was the task of the National Office and another 34 percent reported it was the task of the District Offices to promote revival.

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<sup>x</sup> Other similar accounts can be found in *Crossroads*, including that of David du Plessis (commonly known as “Mr. Pentecost” because of his extensive work with the World Council of Churches and the Charismatic Movement) who was defrocked because of his ecumenical activities (although reinstated some 20 years later). See also a short account of Cecil M. Robeck’s struggle to remain true to his prophetic call while avoiding denominational dismissal because of his ecumenical activities (chapter 4).

<sup>xi</sup> As a 20-year-old-college student traveling in the Bahamas, Cunningham had a vision of waves breaking over the earth that turned into young people taking the gospel into all the nations. It was this vision that served as the mystical seed for YWAM, a loosely-knit network of YWAMs in over 130 countries served by over 11,000 staff, and thousands more volunteers. Its major training center, University of the Nations, encompasses training programs in hundreds of YWAM locations.

<sup>xii</sup> All eight of the ethnic congregations included in this sample – six Hispanic, one Caribbean and one African -- were traditional churches.

<sup>xiii</sup> Leaders of “apostolic networks” commonly call for the restoration of the “five fold ministry” of pastor, teacher, evangelist, prophet and apostle, a teaching that gained both followers and detractors during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Latter Rain movement. In the 1980s the “office of the prophet” (with often long predictions about the future) and prophets identified in some sectors of the neo-pentecostal movement, and in the 1990s the “office of the apostle” would gain ground. Just as the AG rejected early Latter Rain teachings about the “offices” of prophets and apostles, it does not support the theology that underlies new apostolic networks.