

# FIVE FACTORS CRUCIAL TO THE GROWTH AND SPREAD OF A MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

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Explanations for the spread of a modern religious movement are sought within the dynamics of the movement itself. Five key factors are identified and functionally analysed: (1) an acephalous, reticulate organizational structure, (2) face-to-face recruitment along lines of pre-existing significant social relationships, (3) commitment generated through an act or experience, (4) change-oriented ideology, and (5) real or perceived opposition. It is suggested that these five factors are common in other types of movements and that when they are present and interacting, the conditions which were causal in the genesis of the movement become facilitating only and are not essential to its spread.

THE CONCEPT OF "SECT" has provided the principal basis for the analysis of the Pentecostal movement. Inherent in this approach has been the proposition that people become Pentecostal primarily because they are maladjusted or are experiencing conditions of economic deprivation or social disorganization. Our own research has demonstrated the

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inadequacy of this interpretation. In newer Pentecostal groups in the U.S.A. which display the most sect-like signs—fervor, personal religious experience, spontaneous leadings of the spirit—members are drawn from socio-economic levels traditionally associated with the "church." Most, but certainly not all, Pentecostals in Haiti, Colombia, and Mexico come from lower socio-economic strata, but deprivation and disorganization models do not explain why some persons in these countries join the movement and others, equally poor and powerless, do not. To account for the spread of Pentecostalism, we propose instead a set of five factors which are "within the movement." These factors are:

1. reticulate *organization*
2. fervent and convincing *recruitment* along pre-existing lines of significant social relationships
3. a *commitment* act or experience

4. a change-oriented and action-motivating *ideology* which offers (a) a simple master plan presented in symbolic and easily communicated terms, (b) a sense of sharing in the control and rewards of destiny, (c) a feeling of personal worth and power

5. the perception of real or imagined *opposition*.

We formulated a general perspective on these five factors in the second year of our three-year study as we sought for a more heuristic strategy with which to analyze our data. Our previous analysis of other change-oriented movements including communism, Mau-Mau, early Islam contributed importantly to the identification of these factors. While the focus of this paper is on Pentecostalism, we might note that these factors apply to a wide range of revolutionary movements.

We tested propositions about these five factors primarily through the comparative analysis of different Pentecostal groups. For example, we compared the role of glossolalia or tongue-speaking as a commitment act among Pentecostals in various social and cultural settings. Most of our data were obtained in different types of Pentecostal groups in the Twin Cities. Brief field trips to three other American cities and to Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, and Mexico provided good indication of patterns that characterize the movement as a whole. Data were collected largely through formal and informal interviews and participant observation in six selected groups over a period of six months to one year. Important data were also obtained through the administration of a questionnaire which was designed after the formulation of the five factors. Questionnaire data were run through a multi-variant analysis computer program.

Let us now turn to a brief description of the movement, after which we shall discuss the five factors at some length.

#### BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MOVEMENT

Pentecostalism as a modern religious movement started in the United States at the turn of the century and has been exported with remarkable success to Europe, Latin America, and into many non-Western societies in Africa and Asia.

The first wave of revivals came out of that tradition within Christianity known as "holiness religion" and resulted in the gradual formation of some twenty-five or thirty national or regional associations of which the Assemblies of God is the largest. These are the Pentecostal "sects" described in sociological literature as appealing to the socially or economically deprived (Pope 1942, Johnson 1961, Harper 1963, Elinson 1965), to the socially disorganized (Holt 1940, Cohn 1957, O'Dea 1960, Talmon 1962), and possibly to the psychologically disadvantaged (Cutten 1927, Alland 1961). It is also within these established Pentecostal bodies that the simple sect-to-church development has been noted (Wilson 1959).

A second wave, often called Neo-Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Revival, attained sufficient proportions to make newspaper headlines during the 1950's and is still going on. It is attracting people from a much wider range of socio-economic and educational backgrounds and is spreading into major Protestant denominations as well as within Catholicism. The established Pentecostal churches are enjoying an increase in membership that outstrips all other denominations both in the United States (Yearbook of American Churches for 1916, 1935, 1955, 1966) and in Latin America (McGavran 1963, Read 1965).

The spread of the movement across class lines has resulted in the formation of as yet uncounted numbers of independent groups. Some of these have memberships of several hundreds and meet in converted theatres; some are comprised of a few families and meet in homes. The larger independent churches, often designated as interdenominational, represent a socio-economic cross section, although in three of the cities we have surveyed, one is characteristically "home base" for the more prosperous middle class Pentecostals. They are

generally organized around a strong leader and have a history of fifteen or twenty years. The smaller independent groups which we have studied are internally homogeneous as to socio-economic and educational background of members but may be found at all levels of the socio-economic scale. They are often groups who have resigned from or been asked to leave churches of the major denominations because of their Pentecostal experience, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit manifested by speaking with tongues, and the personal evangelizing which appears to be a natural aftermath.

None of these independent groups appears in the official membership statistics of Christendom's nose-counters. Difficult as it is to estimate the number of these fissiparous and proliferating groups, however, there is another sector of Pentecostalism that is even less amenable to quantification. These are participants in the so-called "tongues movements" within the Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches (Kelsey 1964, Plog 1964, Hoekema 1966, Nouwen 1967). Enclaves of "Spirit-filled" Christians, who remain active in their non-Pentecostal churches, meet regularly in homes, in churches of sympathetic or participating clergymen, or on the campuses of those colleges and universities where there has been an "outpouring of the Spirit." These hidden Pentecostals are articulated to the movement as a whole (a) experientially through the same Baptism of the Holy Spirit as their brethren in the established sects, (b) ideologically, through a common interpretation of that experience as an empowering gift of God as recorded in the Acts and First Corinthians, and (c) organizationally, through indirect ties which will be discussed below. Historically, links between the established sects, the independent churches, and the "hiddens" can be traced through the activities of a few key individuals (Nichols 1966).

These types of Pentecostal groups can be ranged along an institutional continuum with the long-established sects at one end; the larger independent groups of some fifteen or twenty years' duration next; then the smaller,

more recently organized independent groups; and finally the Spirit-filled Christians still hidden in non-Pentecostal churches. Certain regularities in sociometric data appeared when we divided our questionnaire sample of 239 according to this group-type continuum. Mean income and mean occupational level, scaled according to Warner's measurement of social status (Warner 1960; 141-142), are lowest at the sect end of the continuum, highest at the "hidden" end. There is also a trend toward higher mean level of education as one moves along the continuum.

Total world membership in the movement is variously estimated at eight million (Nichols 1966), at ten million (Hollenweger 1967), and at twelve million (*Time Magazine*, July 28, 1967). There are no available figures that would indicate what proportion of these are in independent or indigenous churches rather than in the more highly organized Pentecostal bodies with national organizations in the United States and international missionary programs. According to William Read (1965), forty-two percent of the two million Brazilian Pentecostals are in independent churches. McGavran (1963) indicates that in Mexico forty percent are independent. One very unofficial estimate by a Twin Cities leader of the proportion of participants in the United States who are in independent groups or hidden in non-Pentecostal churches was placed at twenty-five percent.

#### *Glossolalia*

The movement is characterized by those charismatic manifestations recorded in the New Testament as accompanying the emergence of the early churches, the most controversial being that of glossolalia or speaking with tongues. For some participants, the experience of speaking with tongues occurs only once and is considered a sign of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. For most it is a recurrent experience felt to be a more direct communication with God and usually accompanied by a sense of joy, release and power. Pentecostals whom we have heard, read, or interviewed characteristically report that Pentecostal glossolalia frequently includes that which May

(1956:77), refers to as *xenoglossie*, speaking in a tongue foreign and unknown to the speaker. But the ecstatic utterances which members of our research team have heard during these three years of our study have only rarely involved such foreign language, and in these cases it is probable that the speaker had previous acquaintance with at least some words of this language. Rather, these utterances have taken the form of sounds ranging from mutterings to meaningless but speech-like syllables. As such, they would fall within the category *phonotations frustes* as used by May (1956; 77-79). (We suggest that mutterings occur with much less frequency than do the speech-like syllables.) These utterances impress us as involving a limited number of different syllables for any one tongue speaker and a high degree of alliteration and repetition. There are definite sound patterns characteristic of the tongue speech of different individuals and occasionally one tongue speaker uses two or more such distinguishable patterns of paralinguistic.

Pentecostal glossolalic experiences are similar to what anthropologists call spirit possession in other cultures in that it is conceptualized as possession, at least of the speech organs, by the Holy Spirit who speaks through the believer. They differ from such other spirit possession in a number of complex ways which will be discussed in a subsequent publication. Types of Pentecostal glossolalic experience vary widely, from semi-trance states accompanied by bizarre involuntary motor activity to quiet prayer in tongues during private or small group devotions in which there is no loss of conscious control and little if any dissociation experienced.

A limited but interesting body of literature on the psychology of glossolalia has been accumulating over the past forty years and is reviewed elsewhere (Hine 1967).

For the purposes of our study, we have defined a Pentecostal group as any group in which speaking with tongues is accepted as a manifestation of the Baptism or infilling of the Holy Spirit and in which its practice is valued or encouraged by members. It should be

noted that for participants in the movement, glossolalia *per se* is important only as one, and a minor one, of the many manifestations (such as healing, faith, prophecy, exorcism, and miracles) of the power that characterized first century Christianity and is being revived in some churches today.

#### RETICULATE ORGANIZATION

The essentially acephalous organization of the Pentecostal movement as a whole is obscured by the fact that a majority of American participants belong to the established Pentecostal sects with organizational polity similar to Congregational, Methodist, or Presbyterian denominations. As we have noted, however, these bodies fail to account for a significant proportion of the movement as a whole. Further, the schismatic, fissiparous tendencies noted by students of millenarian movements (Cohn 1957, Worsley 1957, Talmon 1962) are still very evident within these more centralized Pentecostal bodies. The concept of individual access to the spiritual source of authority, when taken seriously, tends to prevent organizational solidarity and centralized control. In the churches of this type that we have studied, the emergence of an individual with leadership capabilities more often results in his breaking off from his church of origin to form either another church under the same sect banner or an independent church than in his being directed into a position within an existing authority structure. Proliferation through factional splitting, unauthorized and often deplored by the denominational headquarters, is still characteristic (Nichols 1966). This organizational spontaneity, even of the denominationally organized sectors of the movement, the remarkable emergence of self-appointed (or God-appointed) indigenous lay leaders and the growth through fission has also been generally noted by students of the movement in Latin America (McGavran 1963, Read

1965, Willems 1964, 1966). In his study of West Indian Pentecostals in England, Malcolm Calley (1965) notes that organizational ties between the local groups and the American Pentecostal denomination to which they belong are "in name only."

The growing edge of the movement in America appears to us to be more with the independent groups and the "tongues movements" within main-line denominations. A true picture of the organizational structure of the movement as such must focus on the linkages between the various types of independent groups and between these and the local churches affiliated with centralized Pentecostal bodies. From another perspective it must also bring into view the personal interrelationships among individual Pentecostals of varying religious group membership, varying type, class, capability, and access to worldly power, including access to influential non-Pentecostals.

#### *Infrastructure*

We found a pattern of personal interrelationships and group linkages which was similar in the several communities we have observed and which might be called the "infrastructure" of the Pentecostal movement. These interrelationships and linkages are of several types and operate at different levels of organization. It is useful to classify them as follows:

1) *Personal associations* between individual members of different local groups based on some pre-existing kinship, friendship or other social relationship, or based on a similar approach to the Baptism experience or interpretation of the movement ideology. In short, each individual member has a personal network or family of brother Pentecostals linked together in varying degrees of closeness. There is much crossing over of individuals who attend worship services in churches other than their own and who attend midweek

Bible study and prayer groups which characteristically include individuals from several types of Pentecostal, independent, or "hidden" groups. The membership of local groups is hence far from static but rather fluctuates as members come and go from one group to another, thereby forming links between all groups.

2) *Leadership exchange*: Networks of friendship or kinship ties between ministers or leaders of local groups who visit each other's churches periodically. This leadership exchange system often operates across community, state, and even national boundaries. It is also important to note that the leader of one is often a follower in another.

3) *Networks of the traveling evangelists* who preach, hold revival meetings, and prayer sessions in varying localities throughout the United States and, in some cases, the world. The network of each evangelist characteristically includes a mix of organized and established Pentecostal bodies, loosely bound independent groups, and a few personally devoted individuals who may or may not be affiliated with a group. Sponsorship and financing usually come from the same mix, with some evangelists depending chiefly upon donations from the established groups and others mostly upon contributions from the devoted individuals. No single evangelist or teacher appeals to all Pentecostal groups in any locality, nor would all participants in the movement in any one city foregather in one place at one time for an evangelist-led revival. This lack of unity is a reflection of the schismatic nature of the movement. Each evangelist, however, draws attendance from more than one and sometimes from all of the four major types of Pentecostal groups we have identified.

4) *Large-scale membership associations*. There are several national and international incorporated and large-scale associations of Pentecostals which link organizational units within the movement

in much the same way that Rotary Clubs link local business organizations. The largest and most significant of these—and one of the most important elements in the infrastructure of the movement—is the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International (the FGBFI). According to Pentecostal historian John Nichols, this association has “conducted dinner meetings in nearly every major ballroom in this country and abroad.” The two founders of the FGBFI, men reared in traditional Pentecostalism, have been instrumental in the spread of the movement across social, economic, and denominational lines. Its meetings are attended by “Spirit-filled Christians” of all types and its members are also members in a variety of local churches, Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal.

A former FGBFI stalwart, Mr. Clay, recently rebelled against what he considered to be an attempt by the leaders of the FGBFI to impose too many rules and regulations on the evangelistic activities of its members. He and a group of followers then formed a new and rival international association which has as its main theme the proposition that the time has come for those led in the Spirit to march “Beyond Pentecostalism.” This association has been growing in numbers and expanding its operations into Latin America and the Caribbean.

5) *External linkages.* These various networks and associations overlap, intertwine and interlock, and in their resulting combinations comprise the core infrastructure of the Pentecostal movement. By utilizing them, the Pentecostals are afforded considerable worldly power. But the linkages which give power to the movement do not end here; they extend beyond the members of the movement. As noted, these members come from a broad range of social, economic, political, and religious backgrounds. Many members have personal networks of friends, associates, and contacts outside of the Pentecostal community. Members of the

movement may call upon these non-Pentecostals to help them in ways which benefit the movement. In turn, Pentecostals may ask members of the movement to help them to help a non-Pentecostal friend—who then becomes increasingly attracted to the movement or at least more willing or obligated to help the movement and its members. Members of the movement call each other “brother” (or “sister”). In at least one case known to the authors, an influential non-Pentecostal was introduced to a group of Pentecostals by a leader of the group as “not a ‘brother’, but a ‘cousin’—a close ‘cousin’.” These linkages tie the Pentecostal infrastructure to the overall structure of the established social system within which Pentecostalism exists, and help the Pentecostals to deal with the system to their advantage.

As an example of such external ‘power’ linkages, we can consider the case of Señor Vargas, a Colombian of considerable influence and political power. He is not a Pentecostal, but is a good friend of some North American Pentecostal evangelists in Colombia who regard him as a ‘cousin’. He has helped them to meet and get assistance from important government officials in Colombia to hold a revival in Bogota and has helped them to locate and purchase an estate for a mission center. In turn, he has visited and studied in the U.S.A., and they have arranged for him to meet influential members of a number of different communities in this country. Furthermore, drawing upon their Pentecostal linkages in Washington, D. C., they have enabled him to make contacts with U. S. government officials with whom he wished to converse.

The Pentecostal infrastructure thus comprises in part a system of interlocking social relationships which are then articulated to the non-Pentecostal system. A pattern of reciprocity, of shared rights and duties helps to maintain

this infrastructure. The holding of revival and prayer meetings, the provision of mutual aid to members, and fairly consistent recharging of network lines, near and far, reflect the ability of the infrastructure to mobilize its personnel, just as they help to cement and extend the very linkages which permit such mobilization.

### *Infra-“dynamics”*

Among the several other activities which both reflect and contribute to the growth of Pentecostal capabilities are: (a) ‘grapevine’ communication within the infrastructure and the collection and distribution of intelligence about matters of importance to the movement; (b) the provision of support to individuals and causes which serve the purposes of the movement; (c) communication of the integrating core ideology of the movement. Let us briefly consider each of these.

*The ‘grapevine’ communication* and intelligence system is based on the interlocking personal and group networks within the infrastructure and articulating it to the external system and is extremely effective. For example, news of the arrest of a young Twin Cities Pentecostal convert for “disturbing the peace” by speaking in tongues on the streets at night was known within twenty-four hours by members of Spirit-filled groups throughout the area. Some of these groups were and probably still are, quite ignorant of the existence of each other.

Another example is that of Don Jones, a pastor of a Minneapolis suburban Lutheran Church who has been under severe censure by his synod for professing involvement in the Charismatic Revival. News of his “persecution” by the synod has spread to Pentecostal groups throughout this country, to Canada and to Latin America by ham radio, traveling evangelists, letters, and word-of-mouth.

*Supporting activities.* Funds and other goods and services to support the activities of evangelists, missionaries, teachers, and newly organized groups both in this country and abroad, flow throughout this infrastructure, across organizational lines, from group to group. One Assemblies of God missionary in Mexico, for example, is largely supported by contributions from well-to-do independent Pentecostals in this country and abroad. Although each local church or group elicits funds from its members by usual methods, and tithing is regularly practised in all group types, there is also a superogatory flow of funds inspired by specific experiences of donors. Pentecostal financial activity is personal and reciprocal, in the sense that money is given as a “love-offering” in direct proportion to the importance of the non-material gift that the donor feels that he has received through a particular evangelist or teacher in a specific group situation. As a result there are impermanent but significant financial linkages between organizationally distinct groups. The network provides channels for fund raising and dispersal; and it grows, and increases in articulation through such funding.

*Ideology* is communicated across the network by the traveling evangelists and teachers, through discussions, lectures and sermons as individuals and groups interact, and through Pentecostal radio and publications. The core integrating ideology undergirds the capability of the movement to organize diversity—impressive evidence of the power of an idea, held with conviction, effectively to link groups which are organizationally disparate.

The ideology is, perhaps, the key to the infrastructure of the movement. In spite of the fact that personal, organizational, and ideological differences continually split groups, the conceptual commonality of the Baptism experience and the conceptual authority of the non-



human leader provide a basis for continuing interaction between the resulting splinters. United in core belief, the Pentecostals can then unite against genuine opposition and/or what they believe to be opposition.

### *Summary*

The significance of this decentralized, reticulate social structure for a theory of movement dynamics lies in its somewhat surprising agility in facilitating the spread of the movement across class and cultural boundaries. Ideological interpretation, organizational polity, type of leadership, methods of recruitment, and even the manifestations of the charismatic gifts vary widely among different Pentecostal groups. This organizational smorgasboard makes it possible to meet a variety of psychological as well as sociological needs, to draw adherents from a much wider range of socio-economic, educational, religious, and cultural backgrounds than would be possible in either the "church" or the "sect" as defined in sociological literature, and to adapt to a wide variety of situations and conditions. Unless this particular movement is unique in this respect, and we maintain that it is *not*, the common view of movements as appealing to particular psychological types or to certain social classes must be revised.

What we have, in fact, is a process of segmentation, social level penetration, and reticulation which bears some structural resemblance to the ways in which segmental lineage systems studied by anthropologists in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia divide and recombine, thus enabling them to expand into and cope with a broad range of ecological niches and yet unite to eliminate opposition (Sahlins, 1961). A further parallel to this process can be drawn to the Communist system, with its cellular structure, penetrating all levels of an opposing society, flooding it with a variety of overt, covert, and front groups. One difference,

of course, is that the Communist system tends to have a central directorate to which the segments respond, while the Pentecostal system remains essentially "headless" or acephalous.

It must also be noted that this kind of acephalous, multipenetration network of reticulated, often inconspicuous and seemingly innocuous cells provides a flexibility and camouflage which makes recognition and suppression of a movement very difficult. This type of organization can make a movement appear to its opponents to be a hydra-headed monster, or conversely, to be a spontaneous combustion of the grass roots.

### RECRUITMENT

A second factor which we believe has importance in explaining the spread of movements is face-to-face recruitment along lines of pre-existing significant social relationships. Whatever motivation for joining a movement is verbalized by the participant or imputed by the social scientist using his deprivation, disorganization, or maladjustment models, it is obvious that it cannot occur without some contact with the catalytic agent—another human being. We found that relatives accounted for the recruitment of fifty-two percent of our total sample and close friends for another twenty-nine percent. Other recruiting relationships were those between neighbors, business associates, fellow students, employer-employee, or teacher-student, in which previous significant interaction has occurred. Other studies of movement growth have noted the types of pre-existing social relationships through which recruitment to a movement occurred (Steward 1954, Redfield 1950, Lewis 1964, Aberle 1966, Lofland 1966, Lee 1964). Of these only the last two writers made explicit the theoretical implications of recruitment relationships.

We would suggest that a study of recruitment relationships might help to fill the theoretical gap in the deprivation,



disorganization models of movement genesis. As Aberle points out in his analysis of the role of relative deprivation in the rise and spread of movements (1965), "the fact of deprivation is clearly an insufficient basis for predicting whether [a movement] will occur." Our interview material contains repeated examples of recruitment to Pentecostalism where economic or social status deprivation is clearly non-existent, and where social disorganization or personality maladjustment was not observable. The crucial factor in these cases was the conversion of a close relative, most often a spouse or sibling. In the case of an individual for whom participation in a non-Pentecostal church is an important part of life, the conversion of a fellow church member with whom there had been a close association was crucial.

Negative evidence for pre-existing recruitment relationships as a better prediction of movement growth than conditions of deprivation is a storefront church in which intensive participant-observation was conducted. In spite of the economic deprivation characterizing the area in which it is located and of the highly charismatic personality of the minister, the church is not experiencing growth at present. The membership already includes the recruitable (by our definition) relatives of the original core group; and recruitment efforts, though zealous, are expended as yet unsuccessfully upon strangers living in the vicinity.

Pentecostal groups do not grow if they attempt to recruit from loners and drifters; such persons have difficulty in bringing in others. When a person with some influence over friends, family, or associates is recruited, he is potentially capable of attracting many recruits from his circle of contacts and membership will grow exponentially. Membership patterns in Mexico, Jamaica, and Haiti, as we observed them, provide strong support for the importance of recruitment along lines of pre-existing significant

social relationships in the spread of a movement.

More careful analysis of the types of recruiting relationships utilized by different cultural or class groups participating in any movement should increase predictability of movement growth, using knowledge about kinship structure, social organization, and significant social relationships.

Data from our questionnaires revealed differences in the recruitment patterns of the four main types of Pentecostal groups in the Twin Cities, ranged along the previously mentioned institutionalization continuum. Relatives are responsible for recruiting 71 per cent of the established Pentecostal sect members. This declines to 50 per cent for the members of large independent groups, 42 per cent of those in recently organized small independent groups, and only 32 per cent of the "hiddens". Of these, parents are, predictably, the most important at the established sect end of the continuum and the spouse most important at the hidden end. Friends increase in importance as relatives decrease. A significant social relationship that is equal in importance with relatives and friends in recruitment among the "hiddens" is the fellow church member in their non-Pentecostal church. Superimposing the socio-economic differences upon these differences in recruiting relationships, it would appear that kinship ties are more significant at the lower end of the socio-economic scale and various types of non-kin associations at the upper end.

These data are offered, not as statistical "proof" of anything, but as an indication of the type of analysis that might help to develop more workable theories of movement growth. Our field observations have convinced us that while facilitating conditions such as deprivation of various types or social disorganization may predispose people to joining a movement, close association with a committed "witness" or recruiter is

empirically far more explanatory. We have seen this movement spread through just such relationships into groups in which, according to existing theories, it should not have the slightest possibility of success.

#### COMMITMENT

A third factor which we have isolated as crucial in movement dynamics is that of commitment. The kind of experiences described in our interview material, while unique in many respects to Pentecostalism, show some similarity to those reported by converts to other movements. (Koestler 1952, Mead 1956, Sargant 1957, Schwartz 1962, Singer 1962.) Characteristics of the kind of perception typical during these experiences are described by psychologist Abraham Maslow (1964). Significance of these experiences for a theory of movement dynamics lies in the cognitive restructuring, the resulting certitude, and in the effortlessness of subsequent behavioral changes that are frequently reported. The nature of such commitment experiences and the processes by which individuals can be led into them has been subject to too much debate to be considered well understood! The effect, however, is quite observable by the student of movement dynamics. Charisma, that quality traditionally assigned by sociologists and anthropologists only to magnetic leaders of emergent movements, flows freely through the ranks of Pentecostalism. The fact that less extraordinary individuals can be led through a social process into an experience of commitment, with all its personal and social ramifications, and can influence others in turn, is the significance for the study of a movement. The capacity to influence others and to arrive pragmatically at sophisticated techniques of persuasion is observably traceable to the commitment experience. Pentecostals themselves verbalize one of the rewards of the Baptism experience as the power to witness effectively.

We found that commitment in Pentecostalism involved not only a highly motivating religious experience, but often a more objectively observable act. These bridge-burning, power-generating acts, as we came to call them, usually accompanied but sometimes followed or preceded the religious commitment experience. Anthropologist Ward Goodenough has recognized that a key factor in social change is the personal identity change that occurs through what he has called an act of commitment (1963: 229-230). Effective participation in a movement involves just such an act that sets the believer apart in some way from the larger social context, cuts him off from past patterns of behavior and sometimes from past associations, identifies him with other participants in the movement, and provides high motivation for changed behavior.

In American Pentecostalism, glossolalia is a phenomenon that performs such a function for many participants. In a society where highly expressive religious practices are considered ill bred to say the least, ecstatic utterances of streams of unintelligible syllables and the joyous enthusiasm that recent converts have difficulty in suppressing is sufficient to burn a great many bridges. Neo-Pentecostals, especially those who have been asked to leave their churches of origin, testify to this fact. It is important to note that in Haiti, where glossolalia is very similar to culturally accepted practices of Voodoo spirit possession, the act that sets the convert apart and solidifies his involvement in Pentecostalism is not glossolalia, but the ritual burning of Voodoo objects in his home. The Haitian Pentecostals regard the Voodoo system as their major opposition. In Mexico, where glossolalic manifestations of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit are less frequent than in the United States, opposition from the Catholic church has made the simple act of walking into a Protestant church a bridge-burning act

affecting economic and social relationships in many villages.

The dynamics of an act of commitment can be observed in other types of movements. The Mau Mau who engaged in terrible oath-taking rituals and then killed a close kinsman, or the Melanesian Cargo Cult member who destroyed his property not only allied himself thereby with a movement, he committed himself irrevocably to new patterns of social or economic behavior because the old alliances or the old subsistence tools no longer existed.

Some of the violence associated with modern racial movements, often viewed solely in terms of explosive frustrations resulting from deprivations, might be more usefully analysed in terms of the evangelistic commitment that can be generated by such acts. The resultant "new men" with new personal and social identity who emerge from effective bridge burning acts of commitment are then deeply involved in a movement and potential leaders in its spread. It is at this point that conditions such as deprivation or disorganization, which may have been causal in the genesis of the movement, become merely facilitating and may not be at all explanatory in the subsequent appeal or spread of the movement.

In our analysis of Pentecostalism we attempted to discover the relative importance in movement participation of *commitment by experience* (in terms of the frequency of the glossolalic experience) and *commitment by act* (in terms of a reported break with church or family). Involvement in the movement was measured by frequency of meeting with other participants and by proportion of close friends within the movement.

We found that individuals who experience glossolalia more frequently also meet more often with other Spirit-filled Christians ( $p < .04$ ), Individuals in our sample who were committed by act also meet more frequently ( $p < .07$ ) but, more

significantly, they have more of their close friends within the movement ( $p < .0004$ ). These data strongly support the conclusion that degree of commitment is a significant factor in degree of participation in a movement and indicate that both act and experience are equally important in the commitment process. We would suggest that further study of the relative importance of these two aspects of commitment would be useful not only in analyses of movement dynamics but in studies of socio-cultural change in general.

A theory of movement dynamics must take into account the effect of committed recruiters on movement growth, the schismatic and proliferating organizational effects of leaders qualified through act or experience rather than through institutional training, and the role of commitment in meeting opposition to the movement. Bewilderment frequently expressed in American press reports of the failure of bombing and other traditional methods of suppression in Viet Nam indicates a lack of recognition of the effect on social organization of the commitment factor. One fact that is obvious to any student of movement dynamics is the differing levels or degrees of depth of commitment among participants. Further study is needed to determine (a) the role of the less committed or "cool layer" members in contacting and establishing rapport with new prospects and (b) the optimum proportion of deeply committed or "hard core" members in the successful spread of a movement.

#### IDEOLOGY

Much has been written about the ideology of movement, often in connection with analysis of the "appeals" (Toch 1965). David Aberle (1965) suggests an attempt to determine which types of ideologies result from different types of relative deprivation. In our study of the Pentecostal movement certain char-

acteristics of the belief system seemed typical of movements in general and functional in terms of personal and social change.

#### *Dogmatic quality*

We would agree with Eric Hoffer that "the effectiveness of a doctrine does not come from its meaning but from its certitude." (1951: 76) That movement ideologies are characterized by dogmatism, by an "either-you-are-with-us-or-against-us" challenge to unity, and by the accompanying in-group-out-group definition of the opposition is widely attested. The function of this type of clarity and ideological focus in the process of personal or social change is less well understood. Studies of the dogmatic or authoritarian personality structure (Adorno 1950, Rokeach 1960, Harvey 1961, Pattison 1965) tend to carry evaluative undertones and provide a basis for simplistic categorization of movement-joiners as belonging to a certain personality type. Our observations, however, indicate that while participants in the Pentecostal Movement were either brought up with or were converted to what Rokeach would call "a closed cognitive organization of beliefs," they do not as a group behave or relate to other people in a fashion that fits the dogmatic or dominant-submissive stereotypes. We would wish to suggest the possibility that the dogmatic quality of movement ideology is less an indication of the personality types who join than a function of the process of personal or social change in which clarity, simplicity, and a certain rigidity of belief structure is essential to motivate a changed course of action.

#### *Rejection of ideal-real gap*

Another characteristic of Pentecostal ideology is intolerance for the ideal-real gap. That there is a discrepancy in any society between social ideals and real behavioral norms is a truism. The sig-

nificance of this gap for a theory of movements is not as obvious. A philosophical acceptance of the ideal-real gap is typical in social institutions designed to maintain social stability at the status quo. Fanaticism, the hallmark of movements and revolutionary social change, is in essence a rejection of this gap.

It must be remembered that most converts to Pentecostalism are drawn from the ranks of nominal Christians and that the Baptism experience is viewed as the reception of that power that enables the believer to live the Christian life. Christianity's impossible ethic, "Be ye therefore perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect," of little concern to most church goers, is important to the Pentecostal largely because his ideology also provides a method by which the ethic becomes possible. Attitudinal changes generated in the Baptism experience plus the strong support of fellow believers have indeed been observed by others as well as ourselves to be an effective mechanism in this regard (Harper 1963, Calley 1965). Ideologies of Cargo Cults and of many of the more action-centered social and political movements involve more obvious and direct mechanism for ideal-real gap closure. In viewing movements positively as mechanisms for social change as well as negatively as results of social change, deprivation and disorganization, we would focus on the role of existing social ideals in processes of social change and the periodicity with which these ideals, or introduced others, come to be taken seriously.

#### *Serious involvement*

A third characteristic of Pentecostal ideology is the seriousness with which participants approach it, the amount of time they spend studying their basic text and hammering out in discussion the application of ideological principles to specific situations. Intense focus on ideology functions as a mechanism for

renewal of commitment and for increased involvement in the social structure of the movement. It is possible that Communist cell group meetings in which the method of self-criticism is employed serves some of the same functions.

#### *Positive fatalism*

A fourth characteristic of Pentecostal ideology is that it motivates action. It promises that God will direct, guide, and give power to His followers. Believers should be "bold in the spirit," and act in the sure belief that they will triumph if they are serving the will of God. They are fatalistic, but it is a positive fatalism which encourages striving as opposed to a passive, overly-dependent relationship with God, or a retreat from difficulties.

When striving for the movement, true believers do not easily perceive failure. Rather they reinterpret even what objectively is failure as redirection by God, predicative of future success, or a temporary testing of devotion and courage. Since the established order keeps score using a different and seemingly "more objective and rational" system, it characteristically misjudges the ability of the movement and its members to persist in the face of setbacks.

The case of the Lutheran pastor Don Jones mentioned earlier is illustrative of this; synod officials have for some years been trying to force him either to terminate his commitment to the movement or to resign from the Lutheran church. They terminated financial subsidies to his church, then threatened foreclosure of a mortgage. Their escalations of threat and sanction challenged but did not weaken his sense of mission and God-given power; rather they strengthened his resolve by fulfilling a prophecy he had received two years ago in which he claims God told him (through a spirit-filled member of his congregation), "You will be tested and tried, but stand fast and you will not be found wanting, for

I will be with you." This prophecy came soon after the onset of his conflict with the synod and has helped to sustain and motivate him to act in ways which make that prophecy self-fulfilling.

Just as the Pentecostal ideology promotes striving for the movement, it also very frequently promotes the economic betterment of its members (and their success advertises the benefits to be derived from becoming Pentecostal). Even as they proclaim a boldness of spirit for promoting the Lord's work, many are also given the self-confidence and desire to take risks and accept innovations which will advance their own economic position. They feel that if the Lord is guiding and helping them, they cannot fail, and every personal achievement is a testimony to the power of the Lord and evidence that they are indeed His children. Hence, Pentecostals take the moderate-to-large risks in investing their capital and show the need to achieve which some economists and psychologists find so conducive to economic development (McClelland 1961).

Pentecostalism also contributes to economic growth by encouraging the reallocation of material resources, time, and energy into productive channels and by increasing productivity through highly motivated work; this provides the capital which can be opportunistically invested. Pablo Bernal, a lay preacher in a Pentecostal church in La Mesa, Colombia, attributes his success as a coffee planter to his conversion to Pentecostalism in 1961 and his submission to the will and the way of the Lord. He explains that before his conversion he was lazy, worked without purpose, and consumed his earnings by smoking, drinking, partying, and amusing himself with women. He tells the members of his congregation that the Lord gave him the boldness to invest in the coffee plantation and the power to work hard and save so that he can pay the mortgage. In turn, his local co-religionists are themselves spurred on to

achieve by his words and the demonstration effect of his success.

The accomplishments of the Pentecostals are not lost on others. Chilean Pentecostals are "the workers most sought after by management because they are rated as the best working men in the country," according to an article in *Catholic World* (Damboriena 1966). The rise in the standard of living which does follow upon conversion in so many instances in Mexico and Colombia is good advertisement for the movement and promotes recruitment. The ability of the Pentecostals to ignore instances of failure and magnify and proclaim cases of success does even more to demonstrate that power comes, almost magically, to those who become Pentecostal.

#### REAL OR PERCEIVED OPPOSITION

One of the reasons we came to view opposition as an important factor in movement growth was the observation that in those sectors of Pentecostalism where there is no longer much real opposition from non-participants, a proportionately greater effort is expended on describing it! This phenomenon undoubtedly explains the labeling of the sect end of the sect-to-church continuum as possessing a "psychology of persecution" (Pope 1942). Among Neo-Pentecostals who have experienced ridicule or painful ejections from their main-line denominational churches because of their refusal to deny the validity of their Pentecostal experience, such "persecution psychology" is actually a realistic perception of real opposition.

Some degree of opposition to the movement on the part of Christian officialdom exists in most major denominations (Nichols 1966; 240, Kelsey 1964: 119) and is typified by the widely quoted description of the movement by an Episcopal Bishop as "heresy in embryo" (Pike 1963). The World Ministry Interdenominational Fellowship for clergy of all denominations who are participants in the movement

was initially organized in response to such opposition. It offers ordination cards and the protection of incorporation to those whose ordination papers have been withdrawn by their respective denominations.

The fact that a kite flies against the wind is not a new finding. It does, however, have important implications for a useful theory of movement dynamics. We have found that the spread of the Pentecostal movement can be inhibited by either of two extremes: (1) either local officialdom poses no opposition whatsoever or (2) is able to exert enough actual social control to make recruitment contacts impossible.

Haitian Pentecostals still talk of the early forties when the overt practice of their faith was outlawed by a government which they claim was dominated by the Catholic hierarchy of the country. The present situation seems to provide conditions of opposition which are ideal for growth: Duvalier has sought to continue his rule by effecting a balance of power which keeps his foes weak; he has weakened the Catholics and encouraged the growth of various other religions, including Pentecostalism, to act as counterweights to the Catholics, as well as to each other. He and his government support Voodoo, just as Voodoo professes to support Duvalier. Although Voodoo does stand in opposition to a militant Pentecostalism, it is not a unified system. In many areas, Voodoo priests and their followers actively oppose the Pentecostals. Their chief weapons are black magic and threat—these the Pentecostals feel strong enough to overcome. Thus Voodoo provides a real and visible opposition against which Pentecostals can strive, but it is not enough of an opposition to crush them. Pentecostals are, in fact, much more united against Voodoo than Voodoo is united against them.

Mention has already been made of the case of the Lutheran Pastor Don Jones. When Jones received the Baptism of the Spirit and made this known to his con-



gregation, he was aware of the ways in which other Lutheran synods have opposed 'their' ministers who became involved in the Charismatic renewal. He experienced the trouble which he expected. The first reaction of his close kinsmen, two of whom are also Lutheran ministers, and of leaders in the synod, was to "pity" him, and to tell him that he was obviously suffering from overwork and mental strain and needed a rest. Pity turned to anger, rejection, and ever-escalating opposition when he persisted in his commitment to the Charismatic renewal and then helped others of his congregation to learn about it and to seek the gifts of the Spirit. The end result of three years of such opposition has been that Pastor Jones is more committed and confident than ever. Furthermore, a growing group within his church are now in the movement. Others are at least sympathetic to it if only because they admire the purpose and conviction of the Pastor and/or feel that the synod leaders are mainly concerned with increasing church growth and making money by keeping religion conventional and hence popular.

The controversy has been brought to public attention through the press. While few non-Pentecostals understand the issues involved, it would appear from interviews and letters to the editor that the Pastor is regarded as an underdog who should be admired for standing up to the Synod. Indeed, the media reporters clearly reflected this attitude of support for the rebel. The Pentecostal grapevine communication network has carried news of the struggle throughout the U.S. and into foreign countries. A spirit-filled Lutheran pastor in Calgary, Canada has informed Pastor Jones that he has been encouraged to promote the movement in his own church by Jones' example. He has asked Jones to come to Calgary to help conduct a crusade. Others in the movement see the Jones case as one more sign that prophecies

about the working of the Holy Spirit in these "the last days" are being fulfilled. This increases their motivation to strive for the cause.

The resources of the movement are being tapped to help Jones and his church to refinance their church now that the synod has withdrawn its subsidies and initiated foreclosing proceedings. This helps to unite some members in a common purpose, and to manifest real power. A few members of the movement have encouraged Jones to come out of the Lutheran church and congregate his followers as another independent Pentecostal group. But he, like many other members of the movement, feels his "burden before the Lord" is to remain within the Lutheran system from which point he can better spread the word among Lutherans. This present opposition from the Synod has, in fact, enabled him to accomplish his objectives. It has promoted the establishment of a cell within the Lutheran system. Even if this cell does in time emerge, along with its pastor, it will none-the-less have carried the message to the Lutherans and provided a bridgehead for further on-going recruitment to the movement.

North American and Colombian leaders of the evangelistic crusade in Colombia warned their followers and co-workers that attempts by Catholic priests to be understanding and to promote ecumenism were nothing more than part of a plot to lull and then to subvert and destroy the Pentecostals. On the other hand, they saw actual hostility by yet other Catholics as clear evidence that the Catholics had not relaxed their opposition.

In sum, optimum amounts of opposition, short of effective total suppression, serve to intensify commitment, unify the local group, and provide a basis for identification between groups. As suggested above, in this sense opposition helps forge and maintain linkages between organizational units in the reticulate structure of the movement as a whole.



## CONCLUSION

It is true that no social phenomenon is self-explanatory. It is also true, however, that explanations for the growth of a social institution may be sought either in external conditions or in the structure of the thing itself (Durkheim, 1938). Taxonomy and ecology are not substitutes for physiology. We do not deny the validity of the theoretical models that seek to explain religious movements in terms of such external conditions as relative deprivation, disorganization, and personal maladjustment, but we do find them inadequate as analytical tools without accompanying models for understanding the inner structure and processes of a movement itself. Indeed we would prefer to consider these external conditions as 'facilitating' or 'enabling' rather than necessary or sufficient, but this subject demands further investigation. Research into the dynamics of religious movements will one day lead to a fundamental revision of the existing models explaining their genesis.

We would term the five factors discussed here as "operationally significant." We feel that (1) they are vital in the actual operation or physiology of a movement as well as in its ability to expand; (2) they can be operationalized to provide a most useful design and set of indicators for cross-cultural research and analysis of movements of varying types, increasing the ability of the analyst to predict; (3) they can serve as guides to aid the action-minded to plan and promote movements; (4) they can provide a sound and meaningful basis simply to describe a movement. We have been tempted to call these five factors the "necessary conditions" of the movement, as distinct from the external and enabling factors of deprivation, disorganization, and maladjustment, factors which we do term "facilitating conditions" in this paper. But for the present we shall beg this question of what is "necessary" and sim-

ply say that the five factors are the most effective analytical instruments for movement study which we have discovered.

Of course, it is only for purposes of analysis that we treat these five factors as separate entities; in the actual stream of events, each interrelates with the others dynamically; this has already been illustrated by the communication, throughout the network, of the news of the opposition to Pastor J., contributing to further growth and generation of opposition. We might cite some other examples; for one, the factor of opposition can contribute to the generation of commitment. All too often, the main-line churches have forced their members who outwardly manifest an involvement in the Charismatic renewal either to desist in this involvement or leave the church and make a total break with the past. In response to this edict by the opposition, some of these members have really committed themselves by leaving the church. This may well happen in the case of Pastor J. Then, in turn, an increase in the number of persons who commit themselves to the movement stimulates anger and anxiety within the opposition and contributes to yet more commitment.

Similarly, it is commitment, tied in with ideology, which helps make personalized financing within an acephalous organization work by assuring that for the most part funds will be obtained and disbursed with reasonable honesty. Also, an increase in commitment tends to increase the zeal and ability of a member to recruit and the very act of attempting to bring another to the faith tends to increase the commitment of the recruiter.

## SUMMARY

Although conditions of relative deprivation, social disorganization, and psychological maladjustment may be considered causal or enabling in the genesis of a movement, explanations for its de-

velopment into a social structure significant in producing personal or social change are more usefully sought in the dynamics of the movement itself. We have discussed five factors which we consider crucial in the analysis of a movement—a reticulate and acephalous organizational structure in which units or affiliated groups of units are linked in various ways: face-to-face recruitment along lines of preexisting significant social relationships, commitment generated through a transforming act or experience, change-oriented ideology, and an optimum amount of opposition from external sources. When, in the development of a movement, these five factors are present and begin to interact so that each contributes to the other, the movement becomes independent of enabling conditions and can spread where these conditions do not exist.

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