Building Bridges: The Development of Pentecostal
Identity and Social Concern

by

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Abstract

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Abstract: This thesis will look at Canadian Pentecostalism in order to understand the interplay between religious identity, theology, and socio-cultural context in the formation of faith-based social concerns. Although attempts to attain a "pure" identity are evident within the history of Pentecostalism, there is also a willingness to embrace paradox and diversity that is a reflection of its Holy Spirit-based theology and its collective memory of Pentecostalism's multicultural origins. Looking specifically at the case of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, it is evident that this denomination has entered a new phase characterized by immigration, globalization, and the hybridization of identity and culture. In order to adapt to this phase, the flexibility to build bridges across social boundaries is necessary. This study explores why the pragmatism and sense of conviction that comes from Pentecostalism's focus on experience will be a defining feature of such bridge building.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Open any book on Pentecostalism and one of the first things you will read is that

the movement has experienced extraordinary growth over the past century. Pentecostal

Christianity is considered to be the most rapidly expanding religious movement

worldwide, spanning the continents of Africa, Asia, and South America as well as

maintaining a presence within the North American religious landscape. Although it can

be argued that there are different kinds of Pentecostalism taking root in different global

contexts, it cannot be denied that there is both truth and significance in claims of a

widespread Pentecostal expansion. A Christian movement which emphasizes the

realness of supernatural signs and wonders in the modern, secularist, science-driven

world is a growing expression of popular piety. As theorists of secularization and

globalization strive to pinpoint which ideological trends will characterize the 21st century,

it is becoming increasingly obvious that religious commitment and expression will not be

banished from society the way they were once expected to be.

It is not only Pentecostalism that is disproving the original assumption of

secularization theory that religion would decline from the modern world until it held no

social relevance at all. Other forms of Christianity as well as other religions such as

Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism are experiencing a resurgence of religious devotion and

piety in spite of their existence within secularized, modernized societies. David Martin

(2005) has suggested that it is more appropriate to speak of secularization as the

differentiation of religion from other social spheres and points out that secularization is

not the "once-for-all unilateral process" that it is often expected to be. Instead when

considering Christianity and secularization, "one might rather think in terms of

successive Christianizations followed or accompanied by recoils" (Martin, 2005, p. 3).

Pentecostalism has become a key part of worldwide "successive

Christianizations," and such religious trends are occurring in a period of globalization

more extreme than human history has ever encountered. Humans not only have access to

information and cultural stimulation from all over the world, but increased migration also

means that they are living side by side with those of other cultures, nationalities, and

religions. Boundaries that were once easily distinguished through geography, family

lineage, and religious affiliation are up for renegotiation in a way that history has never

before seen. In modern, pluralistic societies, the individual is expected to ignore such

traditional boundaries. Instead, the individual is expected to recreate boundaries within

themselves, compartmentalizing their lives internally. Citizens who are effective internal

boundary keepers are valuable for many reasons, and one reason is the toleration for the

differences of others that such internal compartmentalization makes possible. What,

then, does this mean for the adherents of religions who are reportedly experiencing

resurgence in numbers and enthusiasm? How do these adherents navigate between

religious identity and the boundaries expected of the modern public citizen?

The success of today's religious movements will depend on how they deal with

the issue of boundaries in the modern world and whether their solution appeals to the

socio-cultural context of individual adherents. Some, such as fundamentalist movements,

will reject the new methods of boundary making that have been taken up by the secular.

Boundaries based on nationality, ethnicity, and religion will be re-emphasized in an

attempt to create clean lines between good and bad, purity and impurity, belonging and alienation. Others will try to live out a religious faith which can exist alongside the social standards of a modern, pluralistic society. For these groups, boundaries will be re-negotiated, but a compromise will have to be sought between total compartmentalization of social spheres and strict boundaries of purity.

The Pentecostal movement has generally fallen within this latter group. Individual members as well as whole Pentecostal denominations are in the process of developing a worldview and way of life that is a compromise between compartmentalization of social spheres and strict boundaries of purity. It is for this reason I have chosen Pentecostalism for the topic of my thesis. To avoid overgeneralizations and to give more attention to social context, I have narrowed my focus of study to Pentecostalism in Canada, and further still to the denomination of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC).[1] Within the Pentecostal tradition, there are the tools needed to compromise and negotiate systems of boundaries in order to stay true to a religious meaning system, while at the same time participating peaceably in a multicultural society. Because of these tools, Pentecostals have viewed and engaged with society in different ways depending on different socio-cultural contexts, but are still able to align these varying strategies to the practice of Pentecostal faith. In this thesis I will

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[1] From this point on, when using the general term 'Pentecostal' or 'Pentecostalism' I will be referring to the category of classic evangelical Pentecostalism of which the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is a part of and not to charismatic Pentecostalism or Neo-Pentecostalism although the reference may also apply to these groups. A description of these classifications of Pentecostalism can be found in Chapter Two. See also Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 9-15.

show that Pentecostalism's pneumatological[2] emphasis combined with a "hybrid" approach to social engagement, provides a bridge for interaction with the wider Canadian society.

I began my research with the plan to choose one modern religion and attempt to uncover the characteristics that made its negotiation with the wider culture possible, both in theological reflection and in the everyday experiences of adherents. When I first chose Pentecostalism, I was assuming that the results I found could be applied to any modern religion, and that it would be a general, somehow universal, list of characteristics that allow the religious person to interact with people of other religions and the non-religious in a pluralistic society. In some ways it was, but at the same time I did not realize what unique results I would find from looking into the world of Pentecostalism.

Through my research, I have come to recognize the specifically Pentecostal characteristics of the movement which allow for its acceptance of multiculturalism and its success in the modern world. By combining a tradition of diversity with an enchanted view of the present and a desire for constant renewal, Pentecostalism has developed what Ronald Kydd calls a "two-toned appearance."[3] As a worldwide, century old movement, Pentecostalism has been able to take on sect-like as well as church-like characteristics, adapting to different social contexts while staying true to the Pentecostal undertaking of experiencing Christian faith through the empowerment of Spirit baptism.

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[2] Pneumatology refers broadly to the study of spirits, but in the Christian context it specifically refers to the theology of the Holy Spirit, both the work of the Spirit and God as the Holy Spirit.

[3] Phrase taken from Ronald A. Kydd's comment on the "two toned appearance" of the PAOC, which refers to how the diversity of the denomination allows it to appear "sectarian at one time and church like at another." (Kydd, 1997, p. 299).

Within the Canadian as well as American context, Pentecostalism has been present since the beginning of the twentieth century. Established in 1919, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is the largest Pentecostal denomination in Canada and has grown to include over 1,100 churches and 235,000 attendees.[4] "In just over a hundred years, Pentecostalism has gone from a marginalized obscure movement to the most significant reconfiguration within Christianity" (Wilkinson, 2009, p. 4). The growth of Pentecostal denominations is particularly striking when compared with the decreasing size of many mainline Canadian churches which are experiencing precipitous declines in membership and attendance.[5]

Pentecostalism is particularly interesting within the Christian tradition because of its heightened ability to uphold a multitude of "two-toned appearances." Ronald Kydd's notion of church-like and sect-like characteristics is one form of "two toned appearance," but also important is the presence of both conservative/evangelical and liberal features of the movement. Today, the conservative, evangelical, expressional, and uniquely exuberant features of Pentecostalism that characterized its early life have remained a part of Pentecostal identity. The emotion and physicality in worship along with the emphasis on spiritual gifts was originally rejected by other Christian groups. As history unfolded, social contexts changed, and Pentecostal churches became grand scale institutions, the very characteristics that made other groups reject Pentecostalism have become those which give it a 'competitive edge' in the modern religious marketplace. At the same time, the conservative/ evangelical reputation of Pentecostalism is now undergoing

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[4] Data available as of 2008 (http://www.paoc.org/about/default.aspx).
[5] See O'Toole, 2006, pp. 10-15.

another historical shift as the present socio-cultural context moves Pentecostalism toward

a more liberal and global representation of a modern public religion.

Instead of separating itself from mainstream society in order to avoid exposure to

secular influences, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada now encourages members to be

set apart while still engaging in society. Thus, Pentecostal social engagement requires a

third kind of "two-toned appearance," which can most appropriately be called

hybridization. The use of the term hybridization in this thesis has been inspired by its use

in social scientific discourse, especially relating to immigration and globalization.[6]

Hybridization comes from the idea of mixing; crossing borders of purity in order to make

something new, something stronger, and something essentially open-ended. As

globalization has brought about the connection and co-habitation of diverse groups of

people, the notion of hybridization becomes more and more important in order to negate

any ideals of purity regarding identity, ethnicity, or culture. For the purposes of this

thesis, "hybridization" is meant to be used in both a religious and cultural context. The

boundaries of religion and culture criss-cross constantly in a life of faith, and therefore a

hybridized approach to cultural diversity also influences a hybridized approach to living

out religious faith. Engagement with the wider sphere is not meant to lead to

homogenization, or in other words assimilation into the secular worldview. A hybridized

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[6] Originally coined in the field of biology to describe the mating or crossing of two different varieties, in the social sciences and for the purpose of this thesis, "hybridization" will refer to the innovative "mating" or "crossing" of two different cultural entities in response to social change or tension. Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1995) used the term "hybridization" to describe the best of three possible paradigms of globalization in which a process of cultural mixing occurs across locations and identities. Roland Robertson (2006) reformulated Pieterse's use of the term and described it as one of four categories of "cultural glocalization." Jeanine Hill Fletcher (2005) adopted the term, applying it to Christian feminist theology to promote the notion that the Christian identity is always a hybrid identity.

approach means that "cut'n'mix"[7] connections to secular society are made while maintaining a religious identity and staying critical of the problems within that society. The influence of liberal theology, as well as the multicultural presence within Canadian churches, has made the hybridization approach to social engagement an unanticipated coping mechanism for Canadian Pentecostals.

As it is important to understand how social context influences religious thought, I will simultaneously examine Canadian Pentecostalism and the wider Canadian social context. Identity and boundary theories from a variety of scholars will be used as a lens through which to understand how these two spheres of society relate to each other. In order to apply these theories practically to the Canadian Pentecostal experience, I will explore the history of the PAOC and its perspective on society at large. I will especially focus on the PAOC's approach to collective social issues and individual moral piety, demonstrating how it has changed along with the changing socio-cultural context of 20th century North America.

In the story of the PAOC, one sees a religious identity group which uses its unique practice of faith to deal with the controversial demands of critical social engagement. There are four particular aspects of the PAOC's history and theology that stand out in explanation: 1) The characteristics of "faith-based Christianity," 2) The centrality of pneumatology in Pentecostal practice, 3) A "two-toned" or historically adaptable understanding of redemptive action, and 4) Pentecostal action as bridging through the process of hybridization.

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[7] See Pieterse, 2009, p.55.

These four aspects also help to explain why Pentecostalism continued to grow as it transitioned from sect to church and from a private group of like-minded conservatives into a modern public religion. The stage of development at which the PAOC now finds itself; having moved substantially along the sect/church continuum, expanding its international missions, and incorporating diversity into its Canadian churches; provides the right milieu for expanding beyond a strictly conservative/evangelical/political right approach to social issues. Because of the four aspects mentioned above and described further below, the PAOC displays a "two-toned" approach to social issues, maintaining a conservative/ evangelical stance on moral values while endorsing a liberal/ progressive approach to social welfare. This two toned approach is also available for issues of everyday engagement with the wider society such as tolerance of multiculturalism, critical engagement with popular culture, and endorsement of religious views in the public sphere.

1) Faith Based Christianity: The idea of faith-based Christianity was proposed by theologian Harvey Cox in *The Future of Faith* (2009). Cox contrasted this notion to the belief-based Christianity that dominated the majority of Christian history.[8] Faith based Christianity was practiced in the early church before Christianity became the

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[8] The difference between the terms "faith" and "belief" is widely disputed, and the two terms are often used interchangeably in Christian thought. In the Greek text of the New Testament, the same word, "pistis," is used for both terms. To further complicate matters, in conversational language, the word "belief" is used with a wide variety of intensities: "I believe there's cake left" vs "I believe that Jesus is my personal savior." It is important to note that Cox differentiates between these terms to pull out the admittedly subtle but profound differences in their meanings. Cox is not suggesting that each Christian falls neatly into one of these two categories. Characteristics of both "faith" and "belief" are often evident within a religious life. Rather, he is highlighting a general, grand-scale, global trend - a shift in the emphasis of certain characteristics within Christianity for which exceptions will undoubtedly arise. For an extended discussion of these terms, see Cox, 2009, pp. 2-8.

official religion of the Roman Empire, and it is now again becoming prevalent in the contemporary world. It is part of a religious upheaval and a turning toward a more physical, bodily felt, ritually experienced form of religion. Cox insists that faith and belief are quite different concepts. Faith is "about a deep seated confidence" (Cox, 2009, p. 3) that is played out in ritual and lived experiences. In contrast, belief is "more like an opinion" (Cox, 2009, p. 3). It is something that you would agree or disagree with in hesitant certainty, but may or may not make much difference in the way you live. Belief-based Christianity is dominated by an intellectual knowledge system which presents itself in doctrine and catechism. Therefore, in belief based Christianity, redemption primarily comes from choosing to believe the right statements of doctrine.[9]

Cox categorizes Pentecostalism as an example of faith-based Christianity and sees the movement's worldwide success as a major indicator of an upheaval in the nature of religiousness. This does not mean that Pentecostalism does not include and support intellectual pursuits, but that no knowledge gained intellectually can compare to knowledge bestowed by the Holy Spirit through a religious experience. Grant Wacker has suggested that the Pentecostal emphasis on speaking in tongues and physically connecting to the events of the Biblical era can be seen as primitivism.[10] This

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[9] Cox's theories are strengthened by the work of James Carse, particularly his book, *The Religious Case Against Belief* (2008). Carse launches a more oppositional attack against "belief" as a way of being religious, stating that belief thrives on boundaries and conflict and, "marks the line at which our thinking stops" (2008, p. 44). Cox's exploration of faith and belief is more productive in the context of this thesis because of his emphasis on faith through experience and his less judgmental approach, but Carse's work solidifies the terms as distinct tendencies within religious life.

[10] Wacker defines Pentecostal primitivism as an idealism and emphasis on principle which developed from a determination to return to the ways and experiences of the early church. "It denotes a believer's yearning to be guided solely by God's spirit in every aspect of their lives, however great or small" (Wacker, 2001, pp. 11-12).

primitivism exists alongside the pragmatism that comes with faith-based Christianity. As

Cox says, "we place our faith only in what is vital for the way we live" (2009, p. 3).

Thus, faith includes a focus on the everyday, the material, the physical, and the ways in

which we need this world to be better. It is the physical connection to faith through

experience that gives the individual a "deep seated confidence" (Cox, 2009, p.3), and an

absolutist stance on morality. Cox's theories on faith-based Christianity coincide with

Wacker's description of "primitivism" in Pentecostal faith. Both of these authors

highlight the characteristics of Pentecostalism that make it able to be both a conservative

religious movement and a "modern public religion" (Seljak, p. 39, 2006).

2) A Pnuematological Emphasis: Throughout this paper, a variety of constant

but complimentary tensions which provide Pentecostalism with a "two-toned

appearance" will be discussed. Firstly, Pentecostals can attest to a singular unified

identity which allows them to relate to other Pentecostals and feel part of their religious

community. At the same time it is the diversities and paradoxes within Pentecostalism

which give it its strength. As Allan Anderson described in his introductory book on

Pentecostalism, "Pentecostals have defined themselves by so many paradigms that

diversity itself has become a primary defining characteristic of Pentecostal and

Charismatic identity" (Anderson, 2004, p. 10).

Secondly, contemporary Pentecostalism has had to relinquish categories of pure

and impure, or sanctified and unsanctified, in order to engage respectfully in non-

Pentecostal areas of society. However, they also are also constantly reaffirming their

faith through those binaries in order to conserve their ultimate theological meaning

system. Thirdly, the tension between "primitive and pragmatic"[11] tendencies that was

identified by Grant Wacker (2001) existed in the early movement and still exists in the

contemporary movement. Fourth, traditionalism in the area of theology, morality, and

family values can seem to contrast with the use of modern technologies and the flexibility

of worship styles within contemporary Pentecostal churches.

These tensions can all be connected to the overarching idea that the Pentecostal

faith provides room for ambiguity and paradox. This is primarily because of the

pneumatological-emphasis within Pentecostalism. Throughout this movement of

ambiguity and diversity, the experience of the Holy Spirit creates some sense of a static

pillar of identity. At the same time the Holy Spirit is understood to be an unpredictable,

dynamic force which changes in the way of presentation but not in essence. Pentecostal

Christianity as a whole has taken on this characteristic. Pentecostalism is an

unpredictable, dynamic force which changes in the way of presentation but not in

essence. Like the Holy Spirit, the nature of Pentecostalism can be mysterious and

ambiguous and still be embraced by its adherents. Thus, this leaves room for a

negotiation with the secular world that is led by experience-driven morality and

spontaneous interpretation of the Holy Spirit's presence in all areas of life.

3) The Interpretation of Redemption: Redemption has always been a central

theme within the Christian narrative. It is considered to be the outcome of religious

experience, and within Pentecostalism this is particularly so because baptism in the Holy

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[11] The term "primitive" has been avoided in contemporary scholarship as it connotes an uncivilized backwardness and usually represents ignorance of the subject and people at hand. Although it would not be the word I would choose, it must be noted that Wacker's intention was to convey Pentecostalism's desire to return to the origin, namely the spirituality of the first Christians.

Spirit empowers the individual for a lifestyle of holiness, mission, and service. The history of Pentecostalism provides a narrative through which these experiences are interpreted. Through the physical presence of the Holy Spirit in history and historical interpretations of Pentecostal identity, the energy of the contemporary Pentecostal movement is continuously being drawn back to the energy of the early movement. Unlike the viewpoint of the 20th century Social Gospel movement, 'big picture" change alone cannot redeem society, but redemption must also happen on the individual level with every individual reforming their morality through a confirming religious experience. Both early Pentecostalism and contemporary Pentecostalism focus their understanding of redemption on this individual experience. However, without changing the "essence" of redemption, Canadian Pentecostals have embraced the Canadian cultural value of pluralism and have included a critical engagement with the secular within their understanding of redeeming the secular. In addition a transition is taking place, from emphasis solely being put on individual experience and redemption to social liberation. The task of the PAOC and other North American Pentecostal groups will be to incorporate an emphasis on social liberation without de-emphasizing the importance of individual religious experience.

4) Bridging: In discussing strategies of bridging, I turn to the more practical aspects of this thesis. It may be true that Pentecostals aim to engage in society, but in exactly what ways do they do it? As mentioned, the focus on boundary bridging has been inspired by theories of identity hybridization which have been become prevalent in Women's Studies, Sociology, and Anthropology. However it has also been inspired by the conviction that answers to large scale sociological questions about religion can be

found by looking at what people are doing on the small scale. Religious lay-people have already been living out a hybridized cultural and social life, so strategies already exist and are in full swing within everyday situations. In relation, the phenomenon of "glocalization" has meant that global cultural trends are localized and intensified through individual agency in local settings. When integrated into notions of bridging and hybridization, glocalization emphasizes the importance of grassroots initiatives and the wisdom of pragmatic experiences of the individual in dealing with social concerns.

It is with these four themes providing a backdrop that the following chapters will examine engagement within Canadian Pentecostalism. Chapter Two reviews the literature on this topic, drawing from a range of academic disciplines such as religious studies, anthropology, and women studies. Chapter Three focuses particularly on identity and religious boundaries and how both of these aspects of a religious community influence how members engage with those outside the community. Both Chapter Two and Three draw attention to the complexities of community formation that allow bridging to happen. These complexities also begin to shed light on the productively paradoxical nature of the Pentecostal movement. Chapter Four provides a historical examination of Pentecostalism and the PAOC in order to demonstrate how the movement has evolved and how redemption is interpreted differently depending on socio-historical context. This chapter also introduces the characteristics which have become pillars of the movement and through which Harvey Cox has defined Pentecostalism as an example of faith-based Christianity. Chapter Five turns to the contemporary Pentecostal movement, the Canadian context which it exists within, and the approaches taken to social concerns within the PAOC. Through examination of both historical and contemporary Pentecostalism, I will

show how the contemporary interpretation of redemption directs the movement toward a critical engagement with society and a liberal approach to social concern.

As a consequence of narrowing my research focus to Canadian Pentecostals in the early and contemporary contexts, I was not able to give a great deal of attention to such topics as the growth of Pentecostalism globally, the role of women in the Pentecostal church, or the more intricate details of Pentecostal theology. This is not because I do not consider such topics important. Rather, my purpose has been to build a theoretical framework from the nature of group identity and boundaries, the characteristics of Canadian Pentecostalism, and the social context of Canadian society which can be used to address any such topics within Pentecostalism in the future.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Scholars of religious studies have produced a range of theological, sociological, and historical literature on the Pentecostal movement. Biblical texts have been addressed in light of modern issues, histories of Pentecostalism have been written, and the growth and development of the movement has been analyzed. Over the last century scholars have made significant attempts at outlining exactly "what is Pentecostalism?" and in some ways a unifying identity within the movement can be found. However, an understanding of the movement has also come with the recognition that no definition is absolute and no categorization stays constant over time. Academia as a whole has come to recognize the multiplicity that is present in meanings and identities, and likewise scholars of Pentecostalism have come to emphasize that there are many hybrid Pentecostalisms. Over the last few decades, Pentecostalism has come to be seen as a movement of both singular vision and underestimated complexity.

The following chapter contributes to this perception of Pentecostalism as a unified yet diverse movement by bringing literature from a broad range of disciplines into the discussion. It is important to establish that within Pentecostalism, there exists a sense of a unified identity and strong moral boundaries. At the same time there exist diversity and hybrid identities that allow boundaries to be negotiated in engagement with the wider society. Even if one identifies with a certain religious group, "we are all hybrids,"[12] influenced by a wide range of factors and drawing our sense of self from a variety of

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[12] Phrase taken from a chapter title in Jeannine Hill Fletcher's *Monopoly on Salvation* (2005).

places. Both individual identity and group identity[13] are always in a simultaneously

homogenous and heterogeneous state. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit and its dynamic

character help to highlight this point within the Pentecostal tradition. This complexity

can best be understood by incorporating theories from disciplines such as anthropology

and women's studies into the overall study of Pentecostalism. For example, an important

starting point for this thesis is the fundamental boundary between purity and impurity that

was described by anthropologist Mary Douglas (1978). The distinction between purity

and impurity is especially relevant in the Pentecostal worldview because it can also be

related to boundaries of good and evil, saved and unsaved, and saint and sinner.

Examples of theological and moral boundaries[14] such as good and evil make

evident the fact that boundaries foster both inclusion and exclusion. Although they serve

to divide a particular group of people from others, they also foster a sense of meaning,

order, and solidarity for those within the group. Along with the work of Mary Douglas,

the theories of women studies scholars Iris Marion Young and Jeanine Hill Fletcher show

that boundaries are universal and are created from a universal metaphysical yearning for

understanding. However, the nature of boundaries means that they must always

categorize someone else as the "other," in order to form an in-group identity. The

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[13] In this thesis, the term identity is meant to convey the model or image of oneself or one's group. Such modeling of "identity" serves the group to set them apart from other groups It also serves the individual to represent their integration in the group and externally to project that integration into the community at large For instance, within Pentecostal identity, speaking in tongues is a central part of the model which defines the religious group and provides a marker of inclusion/exclusion from which group members understand their place in the community at large
*This definition of identity has been influenced by work on identity and boundaries of Anthony Cohen (1985, p 12) & (1999, pp 7-13) For a further exploration of identity, see also Chapter Three, pp 40-46
[14] Although the term "boundary" can be used in reference to geographical or political boundaries, in this thesis it is mainly used in an anthropological/psychological context When using the word "boundary," I am referring to the points at which actions and ideas fall outside the sphere of what is considered reasonable and permissible within an understood identity Boundaries define identity in relation to everything else, providing markers of distinction from those people, actions, and ideas which represent the "other "

yearning for understanding through clean categorization is never really fulfilled, as hybrid identities exist within every group and even within every individual person. With that said, there is the opportunity for this hybridity to be more fully recognized and accepted in the contemporary world, as globalization has caused scholars like Jeannine Hill Fletcher and Jan Nederveen Pieterse to emphasize its importance.

These theories can be brought to the specific topic of Pentecostal critical engagement by merging them with the characteristics of Pentecostalism that have been highlighted by scholars of religious studies and sociology. The movement's pneumatological focus and distinctive experience of tongues begin to define the basis for Pentecostal boundaries. At the same time, these characteristics can also provide the theological building blocks for promoting a hospitable engagement with those outside standard Pentecostal boundaries. This chapter will combine historical and theological interpretations of Pentecostalism with cross-disciplinary understandings of identity and boundaries to establish a background with which to understand contemporary Pentecostal critical engagement.

2.1 Categories and Identity Markers

In this section I will explore the work of scholars of Pentecostalism in an attempt to define the foundational markers of Pentecostal identity and the different categories of 'Pentecostal' that are present within the movement as a whole. In *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, Allan Anderson lists the common features one would expect to find in any Pentecostal or Charismatic church service worldwide: "the Word and the Spirit at

play,"[15] "the immediate presence of God in the service," an expectation of "some sign of miraculous intervention," and encouragement of "congregational participation, especially in prayer and worship" (Anderson, 2004, p. 9). However, Anderson is quick to point out that although Pentecostal churches may have these features in common, one would also find many differences within the movement. As a starting point for understanding such differences, he breaks Pentecostal Christianity into three general subsets. Referencing the work of Walter Hollenwager, Anderson lists these subsets as classical Pentecostalism, Charismatic revivalism, and neo or quasi-Pentecostalism.

Classical Pentecostalism can be traced back to the 19th century Holiness revival and early 20th century Pentecostal revivals, particularly the Azusa Street revival. This category encompasses the more "mainstream" Pentecostal denominations that have developed since the 1920's such as the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and many of the international churches that have sprung from their missions. Classical Pentecostalism has emphasized and been well known for the practice of speaking in tongues. Within classical Pentecostalism, the practice of speaking in tongues has been seen as initial physical evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit (Anderson, 2004, p. 10).

Along with the development of classical Pentecostal churches, since the 1960's there has been a wave of interest in signs and wonders[16] within mainline Christian

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[15] Anderson calls this a "creative combination of creativity and order" and is referencing Jean-Jaques Suurmond's theology based on the notion of play found in Suurmond, Jean-Jaques. (1994). *Word and Spirit at Play: Towards a Charismatic Theology*. London: SCM.

[16] This is another term for what Anderson has called "expectations of miraculous intervention" such as healings and speaking in tongues.

denominations.[17] These Christians; who incorporated signs and wonders into their own churches, started new churches, or joined more Pentecostal-like churches; are known as Charismatics. Although the term 'Charismatic' began as a reference to the practice of spiritual gifts and Spirit baptism in mainline churches, it "broadened to refer to all these movements outside denominational or 'classical' Pentecostalism where spiritual gifts are exercised (Anderson, 2004, p. 144).

A third category described by Anderson is neo or quasi-Pentecostalism. These terms are used to refer to Pentecostal-like independent churches in the majority world or North American churches that emerged out of evangelical dispositions in the 1980's. Although their members do not generally come from Pentecostal or Charismatic backgrounds, these churches are rooted in a desire for a more expressive, experienced-based Christianity. Often neo-Pentecostal churches designate themselves as "nondenominational." Anderson points out that although all three subsets share an appreciation and expectation of spiritual gifts, Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal churches generally do not insist on tongues as initial evidence as have classical Pentecostal denominations (Anderson, 2004, p.13).

Anderson appears to be implying that the main difference between these categories is the focus on glossolalia as doctrine rather than as a subjective religious experience. In the classical Pentecostal tradition, glossolalia must be included in religious life and must be understood as a central part of the doctrine of initial evidence. This distinction is interesting because it also highlights the main issue behind Pentecostalism's claim to exclusivity throughout history. At the same time, as the focus of Pentecostalism

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[17] Such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches.

shifts from the classical, North American version to worldwide representations, the

emphasis on tongues and the identity of Pentecostalism as 'tongues-speaking

Christianity' will have to be modified. "Whereas Western classical Pentecostals usually

define themselves in terms of the doctrine of initial evidence, Pentecostalism is more

correctly seen in a much broader context as a movement concerned primarily with the

experience of the working of the Holy Spirit and the practice of spiritual gifts"

(Anderson, 2004, p. 14).

This thesis will be focusing on Pentecostalism as represented by the Pentecostal

Assemblies of Canada, which falls into the category of classical Pentecostalism and, in

Anderson's view, would be among the denominations that characterize themselves by the

doctrines of subsequence[18] and initial evidence. Historically this has been the case. The

PAOC has identified itself, and excluded others, on the precedent of these doctrines.

However, it is questionable whether these doctrines were as important to the individual

PAOC members as they were within the PAOC's statement of faith. The main draw of

the Pentecostal faith was experience, expression, and a sense of authentication that came

from both. In addition, with the steady influx of immigrants to Canada, many of whom

have come from neo-Pentecostal denominations around the world world, along with the

presence of third and fourth generation members within the PAOC churches, the

denomination is evolving to take on certain characteristics of the charismatic and neo-

Pentecostal movements and of liberal public religions in general.

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[18] Closely tied to the doctrine of initial evidence, the doctrine of subsequence asserts that "Spirit baptism is a definite and subsequent experience to conversion" (Anderson, 2004, p. 191).

Throughout its history, glossolalia has set the Pentecostal movement apart and provided a boundary based on religious experience. However, most scholars of Pentecostalism would agree that the theological meaning of glossolalia has shifted over time.[19] During different periods in Pentecostal history, glossolalia has represented a separation of the holy from the unholy, a sign of the present Kingdom of God, a sacramental symbol of the indwelling Holy Spirit, an empowering force for evangelization, or an emphasis on the universalism of the gospel. Often, glossolalia is interpreted in multiple ways at once, and every interpretation fosters different religious boundaries for the individual Christian.

Pentecostal historians have described how early participants in the movement interpreted glossolalia as both a call to be set apart and a call to bring others into Pentecostal social and moral boundaries. Earling Jorstad has noted that Pentecostalism often isolated itself, "content that it alone through the visible proof of tongues had exclusive access to the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit" (1973, p. 15). As R.E. McAlister stated in the first issue of the *Canadian Pentecostal Testimony*, he and other early Pentecostals were certain that "no one can truthfully say they have received the Baptism according to God's word without speaking in tongues" (1920, p. 1). However, as Thomas William Millar describes, the early Pentecostals engaged in society, and did so primarily by proclamation of their tongues-speaking experience (Millar, 1994, p.28). Grant Wacker has suggested that the early Pentecostals invested so much energy in drawing boundaries because "the determination to make a mark on the world frequently outweighed the capacity for negotiation" (Wacker, 2004, p. 177). Experiencing

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[19] See Dempster, 1993, pp. 7-8.

glossolalia meant an indwelling of the Holy Spirit. This translated into empowerment for

holy living and evangelization that could contribute to the spiritual experiences of others

through proclamation.

The world has changed since the early 20th century beginnings of Pentecostalism,

and interpretations of Pentecostal characteristics have changed along with it. For

example, in response to the globalization of the modern world, Pentecostal theologian

Amos Young has put forth a pneumatological theology which interprets glossolalia as

representative of the universal nature of the gospel. He points out that, on the day of

Pentecost described in Acts, understanding is not achieved by the Holy Spirit blessing

everyone with the ability to speak in the one language. Instead, many languages and

tongues are spoken but everyone can understand. Therefore, the "doctrine of the Holy

Spirit can be used to affirm multiculturalism" (Yong, 2008, p. 58). Yong's interpretation

of glossolalia opens up the boundaries that are created by the experience, making it easier

to bridge Pentecostal faith with socio-cultural diversity. Whereas early interpretations of

glossolalia encouraged Pentecostals to separate themselves from society and draw others

in, interpretations such as the theology of AmosYong substitute separation for

universalism and attempt to bridge boundaries that exist between Pentecostals and people

of other faiths.

In "Apocalyptic Discourse and a Pentecostal Vision of Canada," Peter Althouse

makes the argument that eschatological meaning has been a major factor in how

glossolalia and the Pentecostal identity have been interpreted. Althouse claims that the

early Pentecostal identity was fundamentally eschatological, and the movement's

criticism of society was based in eschatological imagery; "the second coming, the

tribulation, the anti-Christ, Armageddon, the day of judgment, etc" (Althouse, 2009, p.

58). Although early Pentecostals criticized society and offered a "counter-cultural vision

based on their understanding of Biblical Christianity" (Althouse, 2009, p. 58), the

outpouring of glossolalia was a sign of the "latter rain." The Kingdom of God was at

hand. This expectation served to define Pentecostals in every aspect of life including how

identity is formed in relation to those around them. Althouse's work reveals that there

has been an apparent tension between two competing ideologies throughout the history of

the Pentecostal movement. The reality and immediacy of the Kingdom of God always

meant that proclamation and conversion were of utmost importance. However, the

importance of social welfare was a much more ambiguous issue. In the early Canadian

Pentecostal communities, there was always the idea that "the only real solution to

problems is the coming of the Lord" (Althouse, 2009, p.72). On the other hand, Althouse

claims that baptism of the Holy Spirit was understood to empower the Christian to work

for social holiness and "to transform the moral character of Canada" (2009, p.61). This

sets up an ambiguity toward social issues that has thus characterized the North American

Pentecostal movement.

Ambiguity within early Pentecostalism toward the issue of social responsibility is

found in the historical descriptions of other scholars as well. The strength of Peter

Althouse's argument is that he does not try to define Pentecostal identity as either

socially responsible or sectarian and eschatological. He develops the idea that there are

always alternate logics present, competing but not necessarily contradicting ideologies

within the movement which account for differences of opinion and action. The

continuous presence of alternate logics within the Pentecostal movement is an important

note for this thesis as a whole, and especially speaks to the dynamism of the movement. Whenever Pentecostals are characterized in any specific way, such alternate logics are inevitably present because of the influence of various social contexts and hybrid identities within each individual. For example one contextual influence which lent to the ambiguity of social responsibility was the reality of poverty. As historian Ronald Kydd comments, "We [early Pentecostals in Canada] did not have an outreach to the poor, we were the poor!" (Mittlestadt, 2009, p.135).

Whatever interpretive emphasis is put on glossolalia, it seems that the main boundary marker between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals is the occurrence of, or one's openness to, a pneumatological religious experience. Openness to this experience, and even more-so the occurrence of this experience, has been the primary line of purity and impurity within the Pentecostal tradition. Since the beginning of the movement, pneumatological religious experience has been understood to have absolved definitions of purity based on race, class, gender, or education level.

In *Heaven Below*, Grant Wacker explores the identity created by such religious experiences in more detail and attempts to explain how it affects the boundaries of everyday relationships. He also draws on Mary Douglas' theories, highlighting the ongoing question of "when and how is purity realized?" Like Althouse, Wacker implies an ongoing tension in the Pentecostal movement between creating utopia and waiting for utopia. His contribution to Pentecostal studies is that he describes this tension as a strength which draws people in. "The genius of the Pentecostal movement lay in its ability to hold two seemingly incompatible impulses in productive tension"(Wacker,

2001, p. 10). He calls these two impulses primitivism and pragmatism, but this is also

meant to indicate a tension between idealism and realism.

The use of the 'primitivism' to describe the Pentecostal movement is

questionable, as the word has developed a negative connotation meaning a backward,

old-fashioned, misinformed kind of spirituality. Even in Douglas' *Purity and Danger*

(1978), "primitive religions" are distinguished from "world religions"- the former found

in tribal, underdeveloped societies and the latter found in literate, developed societies.

However, it must be understood that the word primitive comes from the Latin word

primitivus meaning "first of its kind." Wacker is alluding to the Pentecostal's desire to

return to the origin or ideal state, especially in imitating the life of the early Christians.

Because early Pentecostals understood themselves to be the people of God, empowered

by the Holy Spirit and charged with setting a counter-cultural example, they wanted to be

seen as different and wanted to make a mark on the world by drawing boundaries that

made them distinct from everyone else. Relativism would not have been encouraged and

one's religious identity would have held supreme authority over other intersecting forms

of identity. As Wacker quips, "Pentecostal's ecumenism was the ecumenism of a

carnivore. Everyone was welcome as long as they were willing to be devoured" (2001, p.

178).

The question now becomes, in the contemporary Canadian context, is the

"ecumenism of a carnivore" mentality still dominant within the Pentecostal community?

The presumption that this mentality *is* still dominant is exactly what this thesis is arguing

against. Pentecostals still understand their world in terms of moral and theological

boundaries, and still see the main boundary marker between themselves and the wider

culture to be the power that comes from religious experience. However, the contemporary recognition and appreciation for hybrid identities form boundary-crossing points. This negotiates a reduction of the tensions that have led to the "ecumenism of a carnivore" persona in the movement's past.

2.2 Theories of Identity and Boundaries

In the previous section glossolalia has been interpreted as a means to draw lines of purity, bring others toward purity, and empower oneself to be morally and spiritually pure throughout daily life. At the same time, glossolalia represents the disintegration of traditional boundaries of purity and a bridge to those who were previously considered impure through the universalism it evokes. When referring to religious boundaries, there are few scholars who have not been influenced by the work of Mary Douglas, a symbolic anthropologist who authored the classic, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1978). Her work in this area is motivated by a structuralist and functionalist style of analysis, one which understands symbols as tools to bring order and cohesion to society. Douglas' work represents religious boundaries at their most basic level, namely the difference between what is clean and polluted, what is touchable and untouchable, and most importantly what is included and excluded in order to maintain a worldview.

Douglas draws out key aspects of human identity creation, and her association of boundary making with social order and cohesion is useful for the discussion of social relationships within religious groups. Although most theories of boundaries have moved away from themes such as purity and impurity, Douglas' influence toward making

boundaries a universal aspect of social life is definitely noteworthy. Within the context

of Pentecostalism, Douglas' theory is an important starting point as the ultimate boundary

between pure and impure can be translated into the ultimate boundary between saved and

unsaved. It is how this ultimate boundary is interpreted that is in question. Does the

contemporary Pentecostal maintain purity only through staying separated from impurity,

or is engaging with impurity a part of creating and maintaining purity?

The creation of such boundaries is a universal human condition, as all humans

organize their worldviews by categorizing different people and ideas into different

communal and personal identities. However, in the past identity has often been viewed

as a unified and unvarying island of characteristics. Although this fixed perception of

identity is a necessary starting point, it does not do justice to the reality of lived

experiences. In "The Ideal Community and the Politics of Difference," Iris Young

discusses how humans are compelled to form identity in order to form community.

Young is writing within the context of women's studies, and her critique of the ideal

community reflects feminist criticisms of the image of an all-encompassing woman's

identity. However, her assessment of hybrid identities can be applied to the identity

politics which occur in religious groups as well. Her work is also important for religious

identity because she claims that even the negative aspects of boundary formation are

influenced by a metaphysical yearning for understanding through categorization and

unification. She suggests that, "Racism, ethnic chauvinism, and class devaluation grow

partly from a desire for community, that is, from the desire to understand others as they

understand themselves and from the desire to be understood as I understand myself"

(Young, 1990, p. 311). Her point, one that is fundamental to the issue of Pentecostal

boundary markers, is simply that even if there is some characteristic that links subjects together, they are still never reducible to a single entity. Furthermore, whatever that 'link' is, there is also bound to be those who do not share that link and thus a politics of identity always creates a politics of difference (Young, 1990, p. 300-320). This is an especially important concept to keep in mind when looking at Pentecostalism as a unified religious identity in the multicultural mosaic of Canadian society.

Jeannine Hill Fletcher, a feminist theologian, provides an exploration of how religious identity interacts with the confusions of identity formation in *Monopoly on Salvation? A Feminist Approach to Religious Pluralism* (2005). In the chapter, "We are all Hybrids," Fletcher asserts that to claim to be Christian is not to claim one solitary identity, and that the human person is made up of hybrid identities of religion, race, class, ethnicity, gender, etc. The theories developed in "We are all Hybrids" are, unconsciously or not, a reflection of Mary Douglas' theories on pure and impure boundary markers. There is the sense throughout Fletcher's work that she is struggling to negotiate identity theory past the notion that to be two different things simultaneously is to be impure. For example, she references Morwenna Griffeth's statement that "The acceptance of fragmentation is the relinquishing of an inappropriate dream of purity" (as quoted in Fletcher, 2005, p. 90). By writing *Monopoly on Salvation* Jeanine Hill Fletcher aims to broaden the Christian understanding of religious pluralism by using contemporary feminist theories. Her emphasis on hybrid Christian identities is a valid one, especially in the Pentecostal church which has become a global and extremely diverse movement.

In his study of evangelical Christians in North America, Sam Reimer suggests that group identity is so powerful because it is both cognitive and emotive. It gives you knowledge of who you are and where you fit, and at the same time provides the benefits of emotional attachments (2003, p. 41-42). To follow this logic, it seems that the more a group can influence an individual's cognitive and emotive self, say through conservative religious faith and an inclusive community spirit, the greater chance it would become a strong reference group for the individual.

Sociologist John C. Turner suggests that the recognition of hybrid identities often fuels the need for a cohesive set of norms within a group. As he states in *Social Influence*, "where reality is ambiguous and fluid we develop and internalize shared frames of reference to introduce order, stability, and coherence into our relations with the stimulus world and each other" (1991, p. 9). Likewise, Mary Douglas continuously points out that our effort to regulate dirt and impurity really represents a more fundamental discomfort with chaos. Can these theories be applied to the desire for a unique and decisive behavioural norm that is found within the Pentecostal community? How has Pentecostalism dealt with that timeless, ever present tension between order and chaos?

Because of its pneumatological emphasis, Pentecostalism has developed a two toned approach to explaining and experiencing order and chaos. On the one hand, the PAOC and classical Pentecostalism as a whole have adopted a conservative moral ethic. There are certain "non-negotiable demands on behavior" (Starke & Finke, 2000, p. 142) and high expectations on the degree of commitment by church members. In his early work, theologian Harvey Cox theorizes that where there is an increasingly relativistic

mindset, or in Turner's words where reality is ambiguous and fluid, one becomes absurdly skeptical and cannot find meaning, solidarity, or dependability in any idea or identity (Cox, 1970, p. 53-63). He suggests that this is why the "order" constructed by conservative religious groups can be so appealing to the modern individual living in the "disorder" of a pluralistic society. On the other hand, Cox claims that one of the reasons Pentecostalism has expanded so rapidly is its ability to embrace chaos. "Pentecostalism confronted chaos, normlessness, and ennui by affirming and then transforming them. By joyous bodily movement, Pentecostal worship lured anarchy into the sacred circle and tamed it" (Cox, 1995, p. 120).

In summary, the evaluation of Pentecostal boundaries is intimately tied to categories of purity and impurity, and in the Christian worldview this translates into categories of saved and unsaved. Where the fundamental lines of purity are drawn has determined Pentecostal boundary markers in relation to society at large. Yet, the quest for purity is complicated by the chaos that comes from the realization that there is no such thing as a singular unified identity, for an individual or for a community. The tension between order and chaos is dealt with in classical Pentecostalism by embracing a theology of the Holy Spirit, which promotes both structure through non-negotiable moral demands and creative chaos through subjective pneumatological experience. In the next section, I will consider the work of scholars of contemporary Pentecostalism to highlight how these theories apply specifically to the context of present-day Canada.

2.3 Pentecostal Identity and Boundaries-Contemporary Canadian Interpretations

Since it began over a century ago, the Pentecostal movement has spread all over

the world and developed an impressive variety of geographical contexts. In spite of this,

I have kept the geographical focus of this thesis intentionally narrow, concentrating only

on the Canadian context, in order to leave room for an analysis of the various historical

and social factors of a specific country. The work of scholars such as Michael Di

Giacomo, Bruce Guenther, Sam Reimer, and David Seljak provide an overview of the

work that is presently occurring within the Canadian context. These scholars indicate

that the Pentecostal movement is at a stage of transition. Pentecostal churches,

particularly those incorporated into the PAOC, have experienced a level of growth and

bureaucratization that has moved them from sectarian to denominational status.[20] This

change in status has also been coupled with a new emphasis on critical engagement and

social responsibility. Also, in response to the growing ethnic and cultural diversity

within contemporary Canadian Pentecostalism and in the accommodation of various

stylistic differences, the identity of the PAOC is in the process of being reinterpreted.

In an essay entitled, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Canada: Its

Origins, Development, and Distinct Culture;" Michael Di Giacomo discusses the

Pentecostal movement's struggle to identify itself as a unique entity in Canadian religious

life. As mentioned before, identifying Pentecostalism by the use of glossolalia is

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[20] Although there is an ongoing discussion within the sociology of religions; sect and denomination are part of a continuum of religious group classifications A sect is characterized by voluntary membership often from a conversion experience, radical practices, ethical strictness, exclusiveness, and a relatively small group size The term denomination was at first used to describe the organization of such sects in moving from the European to North American context A denomination can now be characterized by generational membership, inclusiveness, highly organized and hierarchical structure, and more engagement with the secular world (Dawson, 2008, pp 527-528)

straightforward but problematic. Di Giacomo shows that as Pentecostalism

institutionalizes and a second, third, and forth generation emerges; a large proportion of

its adherents do not speak in tongues or at least do not practice it regularly. Also,

exuberant worship styles and the practice of glossolalia have been occurring in churches

outside of the Pentecostal network (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 15-16). This means that a

practice which used to be a significant boundary between denominations is no longer

such a clear cut marker of identity. Although this change allows room for bridge building

across denominational lines, it also alters a defining pillar of Pentecostal in-group

identity, exclusivity, and solidarity.

The work of Michael Di Giacomo contributes to the discussion because he not

only draws the Pentecostal boundaries along the line of religious/ non-religious and

Christian/ non-Christian, but also describes the ambiguous boundaries that are created

between Pentecostals and other Christian groups, especially those Christians who identify

themselves as evangelical. It is ultimately unclear whether Di Giacomo would classify

Pentecostals in the same group as evangelicals or even conservative Christians in general.

He implies that it is a question that has yet to be answered within the Pentecostal church

itself, and this is probably due to the desire to see Pentecostalism as a unique Christian

experience. Di Giacomo highlights the uneasiness between historical continuity and the

effort to adapt to contemporary ecumenical dispositions. As he says, "Pentecostalism, by

identifying itself with fundamentalism and accepting itself as a subgroup of

evangelicalism, defined its self-understanding within the framework of a brand of

Christianity it had originally critiqued" (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 24).

It seems that there is a discrepancy in the literature as to whether Pentecostalism

falls under the rubric of evangelicalism or whether it is a category on its own. As a group

finds ways to embrace hybrid identities and reach out to those outside distinct boundary

markers, it also struggles to hold on to a unique and clear cut sense of identity which

provides meaning within the more relativistic discourse of contemporary society. This is

an important part of the transition that Canadian Pentecostalism now finds itself within.

In "Ethnicity and Evangelical Protestants in Canada," Bruce Guenther writes with the

assumption that Pentecostalism is a form of evangelicalism, and this assumption

influences how Canadian evangelicalism is defined and interpreted as a whole.[21] Also,

because Guenther associates Pentecostalism with evangelicalism, the dynamic and

innovative nature of church life is brought to the forefront of Pentecostal identity in a

way that it is not found in other literature. To Guenther, this is one of the key strengths

of the movement, and the main reason why it continues to flourish in so many areas even

when numbers in other Christian groups are dwindling. "The capacity of evangelical

Protestants to adapt and adjust the presentation of their message to changing cultural

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[21]The meaning of Evangelicalism has changed over time. Its meaning is often relational, as denominations are frequently described as evangelical or not based on the denominations held in comparison. For example, Presbyterianism is evangelical in relation to Catholicism but is not considered thus in relation to the Southern Baptist movement. The term frequently conveys the impression of a structured movement as is found in usages like "the evangelical movement". However the reality behind such usage is at best a loosely connected network of churches and denominations from which certain similarities can be drawn. The main similarities are as follows: a high regard for the Bible, a focus on the centrality of Jesus' death and resurrection to God's plan for history, the necessity of a personal conversion, a strong emphasis on a transformed life after conversion, and the will to spread the Word of God. Pentecostalism fits this definition, but its unique characteristics and historic tendency to distrust ecumenism has meant that it is often considered to be a category outside of evangelicalism.

environments helped evangelicalism to become the prevailing religious orientation

among Protestants in North America during the 19th century" (Guenther, 2008, p. 368).

The work of sociologist Sam Reimer provides an extremely important piece of the

puzzle of Pentecostal identity. In 2003, he published a study on Canadian and American

evangelicals called *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*. Like Bruce Guenther, he

considers Pentecostalism part of the network of evangelical denominations, and has

researched extensively the characteristics of evangelical Christianity in both Canada and

the United States. Reimer's conclusions provide confirmation that contemporary

Pentecostal boundaries are motivated by religious experience which in turn influences

their interpretation of theology and morality. "Moral strictness maintains evangelical

distinctiveness. Evangelicals separate themselves from "worldly" influences in keeping

with biblical mandates to resist temptation and sin" (Reimer, 2003. p.72).

Relating theological and moral boundaries to the contemporary context, Reimer

introduces the concept of central and peripheral areas of orthodoxy[22] and orthopraxy.[23]

He says Evangelicals consistently emphasize areas of central and symbolic orthodoxy

and orthopraxy such as the proclamation that "Christ's work of atonement is the only

means for salvation" (2003, p. 73) or the moral taboo of homosexuality. However,

because of the absolutism applied to central areas of orthodoxy and orthopraxy,

peripheral areas such as playing pool or dancing are more likely to be de-emphasized or

ignored. Although Reimer says that conversion is the necessary first step, the ultimate

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[22] Theological understanding represented in an appreciation of the Biblical narrative.
[23] Expectations of religious behaviour and stances on moral issues such as abortion and adultery.

aspect of evangelical identity is a personal relationship with God (Reimer, 2003, pp. 43-44).

The fact that Reimer mentions the necessity of a personal relationship with God is significant, especially when relating his study to the recent work of Harvey Cox. This emphasis on a personal relationship with God is the ultimate example of the faith-based Christianity which Cox discusses in *The Future of Faith* (2009). It is something that is felt, something that one knows of simply because it is present in one's life. It is a source of absolute conviction and is physically as well as spiritually present in everyday life and worship. In a way, this "personal relationship with God" influences the creation of creeds and boundaries while at the same time bypassing them. This is part of what Harvey Cox has termed "the Age of the Spirit," a third phase of Christianity that is now underway throughout the world of which Pentecostals are playing a key part. Cox has referred to this transition toward faith-based Christianity as "the rediscovery of the sacred in the imminent, the spiritual within the secular…People turn to religion more for support in their efforts to live in this world and make it better, and less to prepare for the next" (2009, pp. 2-3).

The theories of Reimer and Cox can be aligned with the account of modern public religions given by Jose Casanova (1994) and David Seljak (2006). As these scholars have pointed out, modern public religions are present within public life and allow religion to be present within an individual's everyday activities without the individual actually being against secularization (Seljak, 2006, pp 39-41). While accepting the differentiation of cultural spheres, modern public religions still see "the sacred within the imminent, the spiritual within the secular." The secularization of cultural spheres does not have to limit

pragmatism in religious faith. Modern public religions assert that society should still be critically engaged from the viewpoint of spirituality, ethics, and moral and cultural values. Therefore, the work of Reimer, Cox, Casanova, and Seljak provides an outline for an analysis of Pentecostal critical engagement within Canadian society. The emphasis on a personal experience with God means that religion is continuously present in one's life, in both pragmatic everyday tasks and ritual spirituality.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the foundation for the thesis argument around the concepts of hybrid identities, the influences of reference groups over membership groups, and the unified but varied nature of group identity. The next step is to build on these concepts by expanding on the idea that categorizations, and thus boundaries, are more complex than they seem. The characteristics of Pentecostalism such as its "pneumocentric" understanding of the Bible and experience based, innovative style of worship will provide insight into how the complexity of categorizations and boundaries are dealt with within the Pentecostal identity group. Key features will be the ability to embrace paradox and ambiguity through the social legitimization of hybrid identities within group identity. When this diversity is recognized and embraced, it creates the experience of bridging boundaries to engage in society.

Canadian Pentecostal churches exist in a society which encourages relativism and ecumenicism. Group identity and individual identity are constantly being revaluated even as some aspects of the movement seem to stay relatively constant through time.

Thus, after building on the theories of identity and boundaries mentioned in this chapter,

the historical social context will need to be considered as well as the present day context.

In doing this, the influence of legacy and historical continuity will be recognized

alongside the importance of inspiration and innovation. Of particular importance will be

the notion that a successful negotiation of the changing times can come from holding two

seemingly opposing notions in productive tension. To recognize this success within the

Pentecostal framework means to relinquish categories of sacred and profane, pure and

impure, saved and unsaved; and at the very same time revitalize the importance of such

categories in faith and works.

CHAPTER THREE

IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS BOUNDARIES

In this thesis, I am arguing that Pentecostalism's pneumatological emphasis, combined with a hybrid approach to social engagement, provides a bridge for interaction with the wider Canadian society. The previous chapter established that notions of purity and impurity serve as foundational tools of boundary making and social organization. In the case of the PAOC as well as other Christian groups, the reality of hybrid identities existing within Christian identity provides an example of how social organization is never as simple as categories pure and impure. The PAOC is now in a stage of transition and is formulating a new identity in response to a diversified congregation and heightened social engagement. On this foundation, I want to now turn to focus on theories of religious identity formation and boundary maintenance.

This chapter will further examine how identities and boundaries overlap in redemptive interaction with secular Canadian culture. On the one hand it is essential for Pentecostals to have a secure sense of identity for the preservation of their religious community. On the other hand, as they inevitably cross over their community boundaries to participate in the Canadian public sphere, they make choices as to how to live faithfully in a secularized society. Pentecostal communities, like all communities, define themselves in relation to the world. Hence, identity is always created by the boundaries that the community draws between itself and the outside world. But this also means that complex and hybrid group identities bring about equally complex and hybrid group boundaries. Recognizing the complexity of a group's identity allows an understanding of

how boundaries can be creatively managed to preserve community ideals while engaging with others.

Pentecostalism presents itself within Canadian society as a community of a shared faith. Although these communities generally consist of members who live in the same geographical area, residential proximity is not the main tenet of community organization. The boundaries which distinguish the PAOC church communities from other social groups are not literal boundaries like those separating one country from another or one province from another. They are instead moral boundaries which are formed around Pentecostal experiences of faith such as speaking in tongues. Even the theological boundaries that can be attributed to Pentecostals are most frequently expressed as testimony of these experiences. Therefore, living out faith consistently in all areas of life, being open to religious experience, and providing witness to these experiences forms the basis for all Pentecostal boundaries.

The notion of community always implies that there is something people have in common and also that there is something which distinguishes them from those outside the group. Thus, identity and boundary formation occur in a complex system where group solidarity and inter-communal relations are always held in tension. In the case of Pentecostal communities, this manifests itself in the complexities of openly living out one's faith while at the same time being an active member of Canadian society.

This chapter aims to explore inter and intra-group dynamics. It will show that identity forming boundaries are of pivotal importance for the survival of any group. Therefore, engagement with those outside the group does not mean dissolving boundaries. Instead, engagement between groups with different boundaries should be

thought of as occurring across a bridge. For Pentecostals, the incentive to create this

bridge comes from their notion of redemption. However, the bridge itself is made from a

web-like network[24] of social relations that exist because of the hybrid forms of identity

which are present within the umbrella identity of "Pentecostal." Therefore, this chapter

will examine that bridge design and the boundaries that it must cross, and the following

two chapters will look at incentives to use that bridge in different historical contexts.

3.1 Community Formation

The purpose of this section is to emphasize the importance of order, both in

metaphysical perception and pragmatic social situations. Harvey Cox has claimed that,

"In the history of religion, beginning with the Babylonian epic of Gilgemesh, the conflict

between Order and Chaos is deeper than the rift between Good and Evil" (1995, p 120).

Yet, at the same time, it is impossible to create a perfectly ordered worldview and

translate it into action and experience. Although the conflict between order and chaos

drives social formation, it is never fully resolved. Pentecostalism has the ability to deal

with this reality through its pneumatological theology which emphasizes subjective

experience and symbolic use of the body in ritual.

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[24] The term "web-like network" will appear often and is used for a particular purpose The bridge, or connection, between Pentecostals and the wider society is not unilinear, and only connects at all through small connections intersecting with each other to create a whole These connections may come from personal experience, ethnicity, gender, age, class, etc A multiplicity of partial connections to those outside one's boundary group make a complicated, web-like connection from which boundary negotiation can occur

As a community is formed, it needs to establish a unique and defining identity in order to allow each member to relate his or herself to the group as a whole. A meaning system is created which serves to explain the reason for the group's unique existence, gives individuals a reason for being part of the community, draws out normative ways of acting within the community, and provides a general sense of order and cohesion. The formation of group identity coincides with the creation of legitimation of meaning and actions. This legitimation explains why a community has developed its defining characteristics, and at the same time provides a prescription for the ideals and actions that are expected of community members in the future (McGuire, 1987, p. 25). The process of legitimation often includes an emphasis on categorization. "The yearning for rigidity is in us all. It is part of our human condition to long for hard lines and clear concepts" (Douglas, 1978, p.163). As seen in the work of Mary Douglas; order, authority, and group security are created by categorizing objects, actions, and ideas into the realm of pure and impure (Douglas, 1978, pp. 114-126). Thus, the creation of a meaning system which provides a group with their unique identity also produces boundary markers between accepted and unaccepted objects, actions, and ideas.

It is important to note that these boundary markers do encompass all three: objects, actions, and ideas. They are not just intellectual boundaries but also include physical, emotional, and ritual aspects of everyday life. In the case of religious communities, these boundary markers are often of a metaphysical nature.[25] Being metaphysical, the claims of legitimation and the identity developed can be much stronger

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[25] By using the word "metaphysical" I want to emphasize that these boundary markers are concerned with concepts of ultimate and overarching reality such as the boundary between good and evil or saved and unsaved.

than those of other communities because it is seen as a higher, ultimate authority being referred to. Pentecostals do not see their meaning system as one which has been created by geography, culture, or history. To them, God, the ultimate authority and ultimate truth, has legitimized their identity, community dynamic, and system of boundaries. As the social theorist Hans Mol has pointed out, religion can be seen as "the sacralization of identity" (1977, p. ix). Likewise, in discussing conservative Christian groups, Dean M. Kelley has pointed out that one of their main strengths is the ability to "make life meaningful in ultimate terms" (1987, p. 89). The ultimate and authoritative nature of conservative churches' language of legitimation, which has a certain quality of seriousness to it, is part of the reason that they have become attractive as community choices (Kelley, 1987, pp. 89-92).

Pentecostalism has unique characteristics which encourage the development of a community identity and define community boundary markers. Experiences of the indwelling Holy Spirit, and the faith in the redemptive nature of Christ that comes from these experiences, are defining features of Pentecostal identity. Such markers of unification cause Pentecostal communities to form and create group cohesion and solidarity. They provide an ultimate reference of meaning from which the ambiguity that is also present in social organization can be dealt with in a positive way. Ironically, the emphasis on experience is also a major factor in the ambiguous lines of classification within the Pentecostal tradition. As Douglas has acknowledged, "the final paradox of the search for purity is that it is an attempt to force experience into logical categories of non-contradiction. But experience is not amenable and those who make the attempt find themselves led into contradiction" (1978, p. 163).

3.2 Complexities of Community Dynamics

The experience of Spirit Baptism is essential to Pentecostal identity. Glossolalia has been a central aspect of Pentecostal worship since the beginning of the movement and is often considered to be the defining difference separating Pentecostalism from other Christian movements.[26] Classical Pentecostals have not always agreed on whether one *must* experience speaking in tongues to be considered baptized in the Holy Spirit, but nevertheless, a theological acceptance of the legitimacy of glossolalia is a vital marker of membership. This emphasis on glossolalia represents a confidence in the historical connection to the account of Pentecost described in Acts. To the Pentecostal, the miracles of the New Testament are no less available for Christians today.

This worldview can be considered a re-enchantment of the world, both in worship and everyday life. The world is no less holy than it was in biblical times, and therefore Christians should be no less holy and spiritually gifted, in all areas of life, than those of the early Christian church. The expectation of a physical and definite experience of the indwelling Spirit is a symbolic marker of the presence of God in one's life. Such an experience is understood to be an empowerment for service. Because of the power brought forth by the Holy Spirit, the individual is able to live a more holy and redemptive life, resist the temptation of sin, find the skill and wisdom for evangelization, and find the compassion to engagement in society. This in turn influences how the Pentecostal community's meaning system interprets normative actions in relation to society as a whole.

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[26] Although a well known characteristic of classical Pentecostalism, glossolalia has occurred in other traditions, especially since the Charismatic revival of the 1960's and 1970's.

The creation of identity is always relational. In seeing that the defining characteristic of Pentecostalism is a certain form of Christian experience, faith, and practice; those outside the group are obviously distinguished by their lack of Pentecostal experience, faith, and practice. Thus, there is always a boundary marker with which a bridge of engagement must deal. An obvious example of this tension can be found in the community marker of the "saved" or "redeemed" individual.

At its most drastic the boundary between the Pentecostal community and society is expressed as those who have been redeemed versus those who are evidence of these "terrible times," (Toulis, 1997, p. 175). At this level, Pentecostals are redeemed through being set apart from the evidence of these "terrible times." Although eschatology is less emphasized today than it was a century ago, the division between Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal, or saved and unsaved, is still a boundary marker that a bridge of engagement deals with. My intention in pointing out the binary between redeemed and unredeemed is to recognize Pentecostal boundaries at their most black and white. At the most basic level this distinction can be conceived of as an example of the categories of pure and impure described by Mary Douglas (1978).

Indeed such categorization does exist within Pentecostal theology, but to say that it translates directly to actions of daily life is to underestimate the complexity of boundaries and to mistakenly categorize evangelical Christianity with fundamentalism. There is far more complexity in the reality of everyday relations than this categorization of sanctity suggests. As Fredrick Barth, a founder of identity studies, has described,

> Acts and comprehensions are tested against the acts of others and the resistance of the environment. There is a constant creativity in this; and people may use

multiple images and perform a multiplicity of operations as they grope for an

understanding of the world, fallibly exchanging, adjusting, and reconstructing

their models as they harvest the experiences that ensue (1999, p. 31).

This is not to say that communities think one way and act another, but that social

dynamics and values systems are so complex and open to multiple interpretations that

many factors come in to play. Compromise and innovation are always part of the

process.

A perfect example of this complexity is in the evolving idea within classical

Pentecostalism of what it means to be holy.[27] Although it is commonly acknowledged

that to be holy is to be set apart, as the origin of the word implies, the actual everyday

meaning of being set apart has historically been debated. The simplest interpretation is to

see it as being physically separated from those who do not share in the Pentecostal

worldview and moral standards. However, at other times it has meant portraying oneself

as distinct while taking part in secular society (Milley, 1999, pp. 14-40). In addition,

although the outside world is to be looked at as corrupt, it is at the same time redeemable.

The need to be set apart is always held in contrast with the need to reach other people

with the Pentecostal message. This is the fundamental relationship of those within the

community toward those outside the community: the ability to be redeemed personally

through holy living amidst a world of temptation and to redeem others from that world of

temptation. Therefore, although the importance of being holy constitutes a main

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[27] The importance of holiness is directly related to the influence of the 19th century Holiness Movement on early Pentecostalism. Drawn from Weslyan notions of experiential sanctification, the Holiness Movement claimed that freedom from sin was possible through an immediate experience of Grace. Divine experience made it is possible for a person to live a completely holy life, and thus the Holiness Movement emphasized high standards of more conduct. See Synan, 2004, pp. 155-158. See also Chapter Four, p.61.

principle in classical Pentecostal identity, the actual boundary that this notion draws is allowably varied.

To complicate matters further, the emphasis of a community's identity depends on the cultural and historical context around them and can change when held in relation to different surrounding groups. For example, the emphasis of the Pentecostal identity may be portrayed quite differently when relating to a Lutheran than to a Roman Catholic, than to a Buddhist, than to an atheist. As pointed out by Anthony Cohen, this means that identities are naturally transient and ephemeral. This being so, Cohen questions whether it is possible to identify an authentic identity (1999, p. 3). His question is quite similar to that being raised about Pentecostal identity: in a social context of pragmatism and complexity, can there be a definite, authoritative, and authentic identity born out of the strict binaries of conservative Christian faith? As Barth has stated, "social processes determine cognitive models, as much as cognitive models determine social processes- but with a degree of complexity in the connections so the two never become mirror images of each other" (1999, p. 31).

Although Pentecostalism is structured by theological convictions, scholars such as Michael Wilkinson have pointed out that "Pentecostalism is rooted in particular local cultures," and that, "one can speak of a variety of Pentecostalisms" (Wilkinson, 2009 p. 7). This variety and complexity within the Pentecostal movement will be examined in the following section in order to understand how the politics of difference, as well as the politics of similarity, are negotiated within the movement as a whole. It is through addressing the politics of difference within Pentecostal communities that the politics of difference between it and other communities can be addressed.

3.3 Hybrid Identities and Experiential Centers

The differences that provide reference for identity do not just exist outside of the community, and there is always a politics of difference occurring among the community's individual members. This fact further solidifies the notion that, even if we ultimately strive for clean, authentic, and immobile categorizations of identity, they never actually occur in the reality of community dynamics. Yet it is this reality that allows the web-like network of relationships to form a bridge to those outside an identity group.

The idea of hybrid identities has become influential in women's studies and other social sciences in the attempt to portray identity as more of an interconnected web of ever-evolving features than a static entity. These differing features- for example gender, class, ethnicity, profession, etc.- often influence how Pentecostals, or members of any religious grouping, respond to other members of Canadian society (Hill, 2005, pp. 82-95). The hybrid identities which exist in individuals and groups serve to create connections outside the community. For example, Pentecostals of a certain ethnicity may be able to connect with people of similar ethnicity who are not Pentecostals, regardless of differing theological convictions. A particular profession, especially one in the public sphere, may influence the specific ways in which a Pentecostal emphasizes their religious convictions while outside of the church environment. The process of redemption, whether in one's personal life or for the sake of others, may be interpreted in more or less evangelizing terms depending on a person's cultural background and yet still be part of the same Pentecostal meaning system.

Although such hybridity is a fact of life, it can also be an uncomfortable notion, particularly because this sense of roving identity inevitably implies ambiguity. If ambiguity is interpreted as a liberal application of boundaries, it often causes a revival in conservative religious meaning systems in an attempt to secure the perceivably concrete categorizations of the past. Sociologist John Turner has theorized, "When reality is ambiguous and fluid, we develop and internalize shared frames of reference to introduce order, stability, and coherence into our relations with the stimulus world and each other" (Turner, 1991, p.9). Many scholars have pointed out that the post-modern focus on ambiguity, paradox, and uncertainty is part of the reason that conservative faith systems have been so successful. A perfect example is Sam Reimer's theory on central and peripheral areas of orthodoxy and orthopraxy which has been mentioned in Chapter Two. By allowing for a black and white binary code in certain areas of meaning and morality, such as the necessity of redemption and an absolute certitude in Christ as the only redeemer, there is room for ambiguity and paradox in the "peripheral" areas of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. For Pentecostals, the space between central and peripheral areas is buffered by the empowerment and certitude that comes from religious experience. Thus, Reimer's theory emphasizes the tension that has been discussed throughout this chapter. To thrive, a community needs both a clear-cut, exclusive sense of identity and meaning, and a comfort with ambiguity and paradox when it is necessary for the promotion of inter and intra-group connections.

Theologian Harvey Cox has spent over forty years studying secularization theory and the overall phenomenon of secularization in North American society. His research supports the above theory on conservative belief systems. He relates secularization to the

urban, industrial nature of modern Western life, and has proposed that in recognizing the validity of multiple meaning systems within society, as North American culture is now expected to do, there has been a crisis of meaning for the individual. This has led many people to look for an alternative even if the cost is alterations to the form pluralism takes within a community setting (Mol, 1977, p. 54-58).

To Cox, Pentecostalism is a key player in the apparent upsurge in religious participation that is bringing into question the assumption that modernization will bring about the end of religion (1994, p.1). In this respect, the secularization of modern society has not occurred as secularization theorists, along with Harvey Cox himself, thought it would. However, it cannot be doubted that Canadian society is still secularized in many respects, and David Martin has described the reality of secularization in modern society as a "differentiation of spheres" more-so than a demise of religion. "This process encourages agents and institutions to operate in their own specialized spheres according to the logic of their own rational operations, free from barriers imposed by "irrational" religion, custom, and tradition" (Seljak, 2006, p. 39). Secular spheres are differentiated from the spheres of religious faith and affiliation.

In this thesis I do not mean to suggest that by engaging in society, modern Pentecostals aim to reverse the clock of secularization to a time where there is no differentiation between spheres of culture. Within the rhetoric of the PAOC, there is recognition of the reality of separated social spheres.[28] However, since the beginning of the movement, Pentecostalism has understood the Kingdom of God to exist in the present, and that is why the re-enchantment of the world through tongues, healings, and

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[28] This point will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

other miracles is so pivotal to Pentecostal faith. Because the Kingdom of God is present,

faith cannot be left out of any area of life. Boundaries between the "religious" and

"secular" spheres cannot be absolute, within the individual or within society. This is the

ultimate dichotomy that must be worked out for the PAOC to move forward with a

strategy for social engagement. My suggestion is that Pentecostals have already created

bridges across social spheres in order to engage in public society without abandoning the

notion that faith should influence all aspects of life. They do this through the negotiation

of their religious boundaries. The following section turns to the practical aspects of

boundary management, namely the strategies which are employed by those navigating

between the perceived private sphere of individual faith and the public sphere of work,

school, politics, and everyday living.

3.4 Strategies of Boundary Management

Thus far, this discussion has focused on how identity is formed, the universality

of boundaries, and the complexities that are always involved in the pursuit of clean lines

of categorization. It has been determined that community identities are not always as

unified or static as they have often been assumed to be. In addition, community identities

and boundaries are always influenced by the cultural milieu and life experiences of every

individual within the community. In the case of the PAOC, church communities have

been influenced by the political values of democracy, pluralism, and secularism; as well

as by the popular culture of both Canada and the United States. Therefore, using these

theories of identity and boundary formation, what methods do Pentecostals use to go

about maintaining the tension between the pragmatic and the primitive, between

theological convictions and the everyday responsibilities of the Canadian citizen in life's public sphere? What mental processes and methods of compromise go into everyday social dynamics?

At the outset it is important to negate the notion that religious people merely say one thing during church hours and say and act differently, possibly immorally, during the secular work week. This theory has been called 'doubling:' when an individual or group is able to avoid feeling responsibility for their actions because of certain circumstances in which they were under a dominant authority. Darrell J. Fasching and Dell Dechant, use the term 'doubling' in *Comparative Religious Ethics* (2001). Fasching and Deschant provide extreme examples of this phenomenon, such as Nazi war criminals who have claimed they were not responsible for acts done under the command of military authority (2001, p. 58).

The phenomenon of doubling can be related to the mindsets of many theologians and religious observers, Martin Luther being one of the most influential within Protestant thought. To Luther, life could be divided into realms of the religious and the secular, much like the public and private realms our society envisions today, and religion was to be under the authority of the secular while in the secular sphere and vice versa. Defying one's religious convictions is permissible in a situation in the secular realm where one was merely following secular authority. For example, defying the commandment "thou shall not kill," was permissible if performing an execution under state authority (Fasching & Deschant, 2001, p. 58-59). Although this kind of legitimation may occur within the Pentecostal community, it is important to note that in classical Pentecostal theology, no authority is greater than God. There is no area of life where faith is not relevant.

Therefore when Pentecostals enter the public sphere, it is not correct to imply that they leave their faith at the door because of the state's authority in the public sphere.

Another, albeit less harsh, term associated with doubling is compartmentalization. Many people identify with this term when they protect their private life from entering their professional life. In the instance of compartmentalization, religious individuals do not so much relieve themselves of moral duties as they push religious sentiment to the background in order to emphasize their secular commitments. John Schmalzbauer uses the terms 'bracketing' and 'passing' to discuss strategies of compartmentalization. In 'bracketing,' religious language is confined "to areas of life that, on the surface, have little to do with the content of their work, such as individual moral character, spirituality, and personal relationships" (Schmalzbauer, 2002, p. 169). Likewise, 'passing' is a term for when, in social situations, individuals skip over parts of their identity which may be potentially stigmatizing and emphasize other parts that may foster relationships and inter-group inclusion (Schmalzbauer, 2002, pp. 169-170).

Compartmentalization is not necessarily a negative term but its definition seems too clear cut, operating with the assumption that it is possible to separate aspects of our identity in order to fit specific social situations. The theory of compartmentalization operates under the understanding that religious conviction is motivated by *belief*. One can intellectually choose to hold a belief and also choose to closet the belief when necessary. It is when looking at religious conviction through the perspective of *faith* that such theories of compartmentalization become too simplistic. Rather than an intellectual choice that is carried into life, faith is a lived experience in itself. As Elizabeth Spelman points out, "compartmentalization, although a tempting strategy, does not do justice to

the lived experience that our identity features are mutually informing. Identity categories are not separable" (Hill, 2005, p. 87). It is more possible that compartmentalization, bracketing, and passing are just part of the many strategies that are employed and assimilated together in inter-communal relationship dynamics, and that there also more positive and identity affirming strategies taking place as well.

The term 'bridging' may be the unidentified factor in how those influenced heavily by religious practice interact with the secular realm of society. In 'bridging;' terms, ideas, actions, objects, and emotions which can be related to in both realms are used to smooth the boundary lines between religious and non-religious spheres without having to actually relinquish those boundaries. The beauty of bridging is that it is done every day by most people without any conscious thought or effort. It is in finding what one has in common with another individual and communicating in language that can apply to both sets of meaning systems and yet neither at the same time. This is often done in the discussion of sports team. One individual may appreciate-possibly because of their religious or cultural background- the hard work and dedication which goes in to athletics, and another person may appreciate competition and victory over a weaker opponent, yet both can find a bridge of language to communicate on the topic of sports.

In "Religion, Boundaries, and Bridges," a study of religious particularism in the United States, R. Steven Warner makes the claim that this concept of bridging is responsible for how religious pluralism can coincide with religious particularism. He points out that bridging often focuses around food. Communal meals create religious solidarity, within the community and also as a means of reaching out to those outside the community (Warner, 1997, pp. 221-222). A great many religious communities include

food in worship services as well as social events and community outreach such as the sponsorship of soup kitchens.

Warner also makes the case that the body itself, and the symbolic motions which a body makes, act as bridges and means of working out tensions in identity and boundaries. Similarly, Mary Douglas has suggested that,

> "The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious. The body is a complex structure. The functions of its different parts and their relation afford a source of symbols for other complex structures" (Douglas, 1978, p. 163).

This statement relates to Cohen's hypothesis that ritual is a way to symbolically work out the tensions and complexities of identity formation. For example, Warner sees music and dancing as "emotional bonding through rhythmic muscular movement" (1997, p.229). It is, "a strange sense of personal enlargement, a kind of swelling out" (1997, p. 229) which allows the individual to symbolically become or connect to the whole. With regard to inter-communal relations, bodily actions such as music and singing may also be a way to draw on commonalities symbolically, even if the words and music have different meanings for different religious groups. There is no doubt music will play an integral part of ecumenical initiatives that take place within the Pentecostal community.

The body seems to play a bridging role between what Grant Wacker calls the "primitive and pragmatic" (2001, p. 10) tendencies of Pentecostalism. This bridge expresses itself in the Pentecostal connection between spiritual experience and the bodily driven actions of everyday life. Pentecostalism places a great deal of emphasis on faith rooted in experience, and although this is first aimed at spiritual experience within

worship, the emphasis also extends to interpreting and appreciating the experience of body, action, and emotion in every area of life.

3.5 Conclusion

The concepts of identity and boundary formation that have been discussed in this chapter; specifically the tension between defining markers of identity and inclusive social relations, the presence of hybrid identities, and the use of bridges to cross differentiated cultural spheres; provide the foundational materials with which a to look at the boundaries between the PAOC and the wider Canadian society. Diversity within the movement creates a positive outlook on difference from which inter-group relations can be addressed. Strategies of boundary management such as passing, bracketing, and bridging are all part of a complex process of interpreting our world and allowing different parts of identity to be mutually informing. These strategies do not take away from the central areas of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Instead, they draw on the peripheral areas that can be negotiated through the hybrid identities present within the Pentecostal group. These various identities allow for a sense of ambiguity and paradox, but are held together by an overall shared frame of reference that is the Pentecostal religious experience of the Holy Spirit.

This dynamic will play a key role in the following chapters. It can be tied into the successful paradox of Pentecostalism as a whole, specifically to the productive tension between primitivism and pragmatism. As the PAOC transitions into a new stage of social concern and engagement, the productive tension between primitivism and pragmatism will need to be used in the Assemblies' favor, and likewise a productive tension between

conservative and liberal tendencies will have to be drawn upon. An overview of the

Canadian Pentecostal history and social context, found in the next two chapters, will

illustrate the qualities of primitivism, pragmatism, liberalism, and conservatism that are

present within the PAOC. Canadian Pentecostals' perception of Canadian society is

created both by theological narrative and social context, and interpretations of redemption

in the Pentecostal worldview have created the incentive toward social engagement.

However, although the essential meaning of redemption has stayed consistent, the

process for redemption of the "other" has been reinterpreted over time.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN AND EARLY SOCIAL CONTEXT OF

PENTECOSTALISM

Thus far we have explained the importance of group-defining identity markers,

the tendency for these markers to become social boundaries, and the possibility of

bridging boundaries through particular perspectives and practices. In this chapter we

elaborate the markers of Pentecostal identity by examining the early history of Canadian

Pentecostalism in the social context of Canadian society in the early 20th century. The

explanation of the Pentecostal identity can best be shown by comparing it with a

contemporary Christian movement. The social gospel represents one of the movements

which played a major role in mainline[29] Christian thought in this time period, and will be

compared to Pentecostal social thought in order to highlight the interplay between social

context and theological perception. While it is not the only mainline movement at the

time, for the purposes of this thesis, we are comparing these two movements because they

both highlight the interplay between social context and theological perception and do so

from quite opposite sorts of Christian conviction. One focuses spiritual and theological

attention on personal experience of faith while the other focuses on the application of

faith to social well-being and social reform.

As was described regarding the work of Harvey Cox (cf. pp. 8-9) experience is a

central part of faith-based Christianity. Early Pentecostals understood their religion by

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[29] When speaking of mainline denominations, I will be referring mainly to Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist churches before 1925; and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church of Canada after 1925.

living through it. They *felt* their religion, physically and emotionally, through the infilling of the Holy Spirit and the spiritual gifts bestowed on them. Even today, when intellectualism and theological training have found a place in Pentecostal communities, Pentecostal faith is still fundamentally understood as something you *do,* something you live out, and not something you accept yourself to be. The ways that the experience, emotional, and faith-based nature of the movement caused Pentecostals to relate differently to their social context will be a topic of focus in this chapter.

The moral boundaries of early Pentecostals were based on many of the same Victorian moral standards of the wider culture. The difference was that for Pentecostals, morality was not driven by a dream of social perfection but by an experiential style of theological reflection. This is of pivotal importance for understanding the critical engagement that is employed by contemporary Pentecostals. An experiential style of theological reflection continues to permeate the moral choices made in the contemporary context. What has changed over the last century is the method of social engagement. The early Pentecostal method of engagement was a form of "convert by example," an attempt to create a standard of holiness that would draw others in. Pentecostals set themselves apart from society, both physically and spiritually, because the validity of their movement depended on the empowerment for pure living that Spirit baptism gave them. Society was engaged with primarily through proclamation of the power and importance of baptism in the Holy Spirit. In contrast, although still inspired by an experiential style of theological reflection, contemporary Pentecostal social thought has downplayed the role of proclamation. Boundaries between purity and impurity still exist, but bridges between the two can be seen as creating a new standard of holiness that

reflects the nature of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, many contemporary Pentecostals have

emphasized participation in the public sphere and a constructively critical analysis of

society.

4.1 The Importance of Experience in Faith-Based Christianity

There is no doubt that the central feature of the Pentecostal historical narrative is

the emotional, experiential nature of the movement. Harvey Cox has suggested that the

movement has been so successful because it taps into a primal spirituality found at the

core of every "homo religiosis:"

> It [Pentecostalism] has succeeded because it has spoken to the spiritual emptiness
>
> of our time by reaching beyond the levels of creed and ceremony into the core of
>
> human religiousness, into what might be called primal spirituality, that largely
>
> unprocessed nucleus of the psyche in which the unending struggle for a sense of
>
> purpose and significance goes on (Cox, 2003, p. 81).

The dynamic between experiential ritual and doctrine is one that has been played out

throughout the whole history of Christianity. After years of studying worldwide religious

trends, Cox has pared this dynamic down to faith-based Christianity versus belief-based

Christianity.[30]

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[30] It must be noted that Harvey Cox's theories on faith-based Christianity have come under criticism by some scholars for being too simplistic and endorsing a selective overview of Christian history Critics point out that creedal statements are unavoidable and are always intertwined in the nature of Christian life Even experience-focused movements such as Pentecostalism hold certain beliefs, for example, the theological significance of glossolalia My only caution against such criticisms is that they often use arguments of particularism when Cox is making general, universal observations For a review of *The Future of Faith*, see Clanton, "Review of the Future of Faith," 2010 and Palmer, "Review of the Future of Faith," 2009

As Cox describes it, faith is a deep seated confidence which is played out in actions, rituals, and hopes for the pragmatic aspects of life. "We place our faith only in something that is vital for the way we live" (Cox, 2009, p.3). Belief, on the other hand, is more like an opinion. "We often use the term in everyday speech to express a degree of uncertainty" (Cox, 2009, p.3). Doctrine is formed from clusters of beliefs that the congregation is expected to attest to, and can seem like a game of mental gymnastics where one tries to force out all natural doubts in order to adhere to the teachings of the church. Cox points out that faith-based Christianity has dominated at certain times in history, especially in early Christianity before Constantine made it an official, regulated religion. He predicts that Christianity is again moving towards this faith-based nature, and that the spread and popularity of Pentecostalism will play a significant role in this phenomenon[31] (Cox, 2009, pp. 206-209).

When the pragmatic aspects of life, such as the choice to consume alcohol, observe Sabbath, or live honestly, are based on subscribing to doctrinal beliefs, room for doubt also leaves room for moral backsliding. But when the focus of Christianity is turned toward the rhythm of ritual that provides an absolute certitude grounded in an 'undeniable' religious experience such as baptism in the Holy Spirit, it stands to reason that faith becomes a character-defining aspect of life. This may account for the early Pentecostals' lack of social activism in relation to that being undertaken by mainline churches involved in the social gospel movement. In their view, big picture change alone could not improve society without a character-defining faith to follow it through.

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[31] Cox is referring to world Pentecostalism as a whole, and not specifically to classical North American Pentecostalism

Contemporary Pentecostals are looking for a way to hold on to that faith-based center of

their movement, yet at the same time expand into new forms of social engagement,

hoping that there is a way to include both. Whether this will be possible for classical

Pentecostalism is still be seen, but it seems that the answer is being sought by revisiting

the historical narratives of the Pentecostal movement, and drawing out the wisdom of the

Holy Spirit's actions from the collective memory of Pentecostal events. In the next

section, I will outline the historical narrative that has been popularized in the collective

memory of Pentecostalism and how it has contributed to the boundaries and bridges of

the movement throughout the last century.

4.2 The Historical Narrative

The perceived history of a group provides a narrative through which identity is

affirmed and characteristics are accorded the value of tradition. In the case of the

Pentecostal heritage, there is not one definite starting point or one charismatic figure that

members look back to as the founder.[32] It was essentially influenced by the Holiness

movement[33] and the evangelical Protestant revivals which were taking place in both

Britain and the United States at the turn of the 19th century, and whose influence made its

way to Canada through immigration and travelling evangelists (Millar, 1994, p. 23).

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[32] There is a disagreement between classical Pentecostals over who founded the American Pentecostal movement, with black Pentecostals generally attributing it to William Seymour and white Pentecostals to Charles Parham See Rosenoir, 2010, pp 75-77 In addition, it is probable that Canadian Pentecostalism began at the Hebden Mission with little or no influence from either Seymour or Parham

[33] The Holiness movement was inspired by John Wesley's doctrine of sanctification, which claims that it is possible to achieve salvation from sin through faith in Christ and an experience with the Holy Spirit The movement spread throughout evangelical Christian denominations through the revivalist circuits in the late 19th century Divine healing, the ability to maintain purity, and enthusiastic style of worship were emphasized and would be carried into the heart of the Pentecostal movement

Within the Canadian context, the Hebden Mission[34] in Toronto is known as the

first hub of Pentecostalism in the country James and Ellen Hebden started the mission as

a healing home in 1906, the same time as the Azusa Street legacy was unfolding to the

south In November of that same year, while praying for more power for her missionary

efforts, Ellen experienced baptism in the Holy Spirit and was urged by God to speak in

tongues (Sloos, 2010, p 191) She is considered to be the first Canadian to speak in

tongues, and within two months her husband and seventeen others had received baptism

in the Holy Spirit and the gift of tongues (Sloos, 2010, p 192) For three and a half

years, the Hebden Mission hosted a Pentecostal revival which drew people from all over

North America The Hebdens published a monthly periodical called *The Promise*,

travelled through Ontario proclaiming their message and experiences, opened the first

Pentecostal camp near Lake Erie, and held the first Canadian Pentecostal convention at

the East End Mission (Sloos, 2010, p 195)

Toronto and Winnipeg became "resorts for hundreds of clergy, lay workers, and

spiritually thirsty believers who were seeking more power for their lives and worship"

(Millar, 1994, p 39) Although there were preachers and lay Protestants from Ontario

who travelled south to witness the Azusa Street revival, the Hebdens' movement was

independent of that which was unfolding in the United States [35] As the numbers of those

who identified themselves as Pentecostal grew, the Hebdens' leadership of the movement

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[34] Also known as the East End Mission

[35] There have been disagreements within Pentecostal Studies as to how much influence the preliminary events of Azusa Street and the Hebden Mission had on each other However, there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that the Hebdens' revival emerged independently of Azusa See Stewart, 2010, p 24

waned[36] and the reigns were taken over by a group of men[37] who would go on to found

the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Millar, 1994, pp. 39-44).

Along with the Hebdens, Robert E. McAlister was an influential figure in the

early Canadian movement. After travelling to the United States and experiencing the

Holy Spirit's work in the Azusa Street movement, he became a promoter of

Pentecostalism in Eastern Canada. McAlister is a notable figure, especially because he

was the founder and editor of the *Canadian Pentecostal Testimony.*[38] This newsletter was

sent all over Canada, and was a key element in uniting the Canadian Pentecostal

movement under one identity and synchronizing the key characteristics of Pentecostal

church life (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 18). Newsletters and newspapers were a significant

medium from which Canadians could receive accounts of the Pentecostal revivals in the

United States and interpret them in relation to their own experiences. No doubt such

accounts only solidified Canadian Pentecostals' conviction that the phenomenon of

tongues was part of a widespread outpouring of the Holy Spirit that signified the Latter

Rain.

The most famous of the accounts of Pentecostal activity that made their way to

Canada were those from the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, California. The Azusa

Street revival officially began in 1906 but the seeds for such a phenomenon had been

planted five years earlier with the ministry of Charles F. Parham. An advocate of

Holiness thought, Parham encouraged students at his bible school in Topeka, Kansas to

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[36] Sloos has suggested that the Hebden's loss of influence within the Pentecostal movement was largely due to their refusal to collaborate with other assemblies for fear that organization would stifle the "free leading Holy Spirit" (2010, p. 196) as well as extended leave for mission work and financial controversy.
[37] Such as R.A. McAlister, A.G. Ward, A.H. Argue, and G.A. Chambers.
[38] Founded in 1920, the *Canadian Pentecostal Testimony* was later changed to the *Pentecostal Testimony.*

determine what evidence there was in the Bible for baptism of the Holy Spirit. Their

prayer and biblical study determined that evidence came through speaking in tongues,

and a student of Parham's named Agnes Ozman received the gift of glossolalia in 1901.

This experience lasted three days, and was soon joined by the similar experiences of

fellow classmates (Jorstad, 1973, p. 12). Parham is generally attributed with defining

tongues-speaking as a non-negotiable marker of baptism in the Holy Spirit:

> The claim, unique in the history of Christianity, defined a relatively rare,
>
> relatively difficult physical activity or skill as a non-negotiable hallmark of a fully
>
> developed Christian life. Not incidentally, it also defined believers who did not
>
> speak in tongues as second class Christians (Wacker, 2001, p.5).

Parham and his pupils began to travel around neighboring states, sharing

testimony and gaining support for their theological convictions (Millar, 1994, p. 28).

After spending time as a student of Parham's, an African American preacher named

William Seymour began to proclaim the importance of baptism of the Holy Spirit and

speaking in tongues to an assembly of Christians in Los Angeles. A converted livery

stable on Azusa Street was rented in order for Seymour to lead prayer meetings, and it

was at this location that a great outbreak of speaking in tongues, singing in tongues,

miracles of healing, and prophecy occurred. These prayer meetings turned into the three

year, full blown Azusa Street revival, converting thousands to Pentecostalism and

attracting the attention of religious people, curious spectators, and public media from all

over the country (Jorstad, 1973, p. 22). As Frank Bartlemann, a witness and participant

in the revival described;

It was soon noised abroad that God was working at Azusa. All classes began to

flock to the meetings. Many were curious and unbelieving, but others were

hungry for God. The newspapers began to ridicule and abuse the meetings, thus

giving us free advertising. This brought the crowds…Soon meetings were

running day and night. The place was packed nightly (Bartleman,1925/2004, pp.

14-15).

The Azusa Street Mission was not only open to all classes but all races as well, and this is

particularly notable because of the segregated atmosphere of the United States at the

time. William Seymour preached that baptism in the Holy Spirit made all men equal,

regardless of race, gender, class, age, or education level. In the Apostolic Faith, he

claimed, "No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack

of education" (Seymour, 1915, p. 1). Although Parham established the importance of

speaking in tongues, it was Seymour who was responsible for the multicultural legacy of

early Pentecostalism and the emotional, expressive form of worship that came to

characterize the movement.[39]

The interracial quality of the Asuza Street revival has been a heavily emphasized

aspect of the historical narrative of Pentecostalism.[40] In addition, the identity of 'outcast'

has been a significant aspect of Pentecostalism's historical narrative. Many outside the

movement were suspicious of their all night worship sessions, outbursts of tongues, and

claims of miraculous occurrences. For example, Alma White, one of the earliest and

[39] Because of its multicultural origins, American Pentecostalism was influenced by the religious culture of African American slaves and their descendents, or as Harvey Cox put it, "the distinctly African American experience of resisting oppression through exuberant worship" (2003, p 145)
[40] It must be noted that, although Azusa Street is known for its acceptance of different races, Pentecostal churches in the United States became segregated after the formation of the Assemblies of God in 1914 (Synan, 1971, p 153)

most well known critics of Pentecostalism, "called Seymour and Parham revelers of spiritual Sodom and Pentecostal services the climax of demon worship" (Synan, 1971, p. 143). This negative view of early Pentecostalism in popular culture often alienated them from the wider society. The clear boundaries between themselves and the rest of society served to confirm their self-proclaimed identity as God's end time people.

Although this is merely a brief overview of the legacy of Azusa Street and the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement in Canada, it provides a necessary background to consider the historical changes and continuations of the movement in the time since. As noted by William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer, most Pentecostal churches trace their origins to the Azusa Street revival in some way (2004, p. xxi), and the event has been held up as an example of the original fervor of the movement and the power of the Holy Spirit in history. It serves as a grand occurrence in the Pentecostal narrative, and is a valuable collective memory[41] for the creation of a Pentecostal theology of religions, especially because of the movement's humble and multicultural beginnings. However, to obtain the whole picture of the early Pentecostal identity and how its characteristics influenced the early Pentecostal's outlook on society, it is also necessary to understand the basic theological and moral tenets through which they identified themselves as a distinct group.

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[41] For an analysis of the collective memory of American Pentecostals, see Rosenoir, 2010, pp. 75-82.

4.3 The Basic Tenets of Early Pentecostal Identity

Through his investigation of evangelical subculture in Canada and the United

States, Sam Reimer determined that there were four key characteristics of evangelical

Christians, or as Reimer puts it, "Evangelical identity rotates around four historic

emphases of evangelicalism." These are; 1) the experience of conversion and salvation,

2) Biblicism, or emphasis on scriptural authority, 3) an emphasis on "the redemptive

work of Christ on the cross," and 4) activism (Reimer, 2003, p. 153). Pentecostalism

shares these characteristics with the evangelical community, but in addition to Reimer's

list, scholars of classical Pentecostalism would add the practice of speaking in tongues as

evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit. In the first edition of the *Canadian Pentecostal*

Testimony, Robert E. McAlister began his editorial with what he saw as a standard

Pentecostal statement of faith: "We believe speaking in tongues to be the Biblical

evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost. No one can truthfully say they have received

the Baptism according to God's word without speaking in tongues" (1920, p. 1).

Thomas William Millar has identified tongues as the most misunderstood and

condemned feature of early Pentecostalism (1994, p. 102). Those outside Pentecostalism

questioned the validity of the practice of speaking in tongues; and saw it as part of a

sensationalized, overemotional form of worship. This perception was no doubt part of

the reason for the amount of media coverage and public interest, both positive and

negative, the early movement received. Within Pentecostal communities, speaking in

tongues was seen as a visible and definite sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the

world. Experiencing it made one a witness to the true Christian message for all those

who had not yet been exposed to it, and served as a boundary marker between themselves

and those Christians they saw as lacking devotional fervor. Earling Jorstad has

commented that, "[early] Pentecostalism had drawn into itself, content that it alone

through the visible proof of tongues had exclusive access to the indwelling power of the

Holy Spirit" (1973, p. 13). The conviction that glossolalia was a central part of Christian

life served as a solidifying boundary marker for the early Pentecostals, but it was also

why they were often perceived as exclusivist and unecumenical.

Another important characteristic was the early movement's focus on eschatology,

and the view that the outpouring of the spirit unique to the Pentecostal experience would

play a role in establishing the reign of God. Eschatology influenced the creation of a

boundary between Pentecostals and those who were contributing to the demise of the

world through their immoral actions. For example, in the *Canadian Pentecostal*

Testimony Zelma Argue, a prominent early Pentecostal in Western Canada, stated that,

"We have known of course, from this passage [Acts 2:17-18] that this wonderful

outpouring of the latter rain,[42] falling the last fourteen or more years, is a sign of the last

days just as truly as modern inventions, or the troubled times, or the return of the Jews"

(1920, p. 3). Acts 2:17-18 states, "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will

pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,

and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams" (King

James Version). Zelma Argue wrote the previous statement in 1920, which means that

by "fourteen or more years" she was referring to the time when both the Hebden Mission

and the Asuza Street revival began.

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[42] The term "Latter Rain" refers to Biblical passages such as Joel 2 23 which promise a former and latter rain This is interpreted symbolically to represent the outpouring of the Spirit at the Pentecost after Jesus' death (former rain) outpouring of the Holy Spirit which will signify the reign of God (latter rain).

Although glossolalia was the primary evidence of Spirit Baptism, the Spirit could empower people through other experiences as well such as healing, prophecy, interpretation of tongues, and infilling of divine wisdom. In Pentecostalism, such experiences bring about a sense of absolutism which leads to holy living, and thus divides a person chronologically between unsanctified and sanctified. The emphasis on an experiential religious faith shaped Pentecostal identity by encouraging emotionality, spontaneity, and a Holy Spirit-centered style of worship (Wacker, 2001, pp. 40-42). But it also developed the sense of certitude that characterized so many early Pentecostals. Their understanding of the Biblical narrative was confirmed through their own experiences and by being a witness to the life changing experiences of others.

In contrast to this emotionality and sense of absolutism, in the early 20th century modernism, relativism, and intellectual assessment of the Christian faith were infiltrating most mainline Protestant denominations. Services were structured, sermons were infused with rational arguments, and faith was generally seen as an intellectual choice made with an awareness of alternative options (Jorstad, 1973, p. 47). Pentecostalism was an exception to the status quo because its adherents did not see themselves as *choosing* to believe in the Christian message, but instead were so overcome with the Holy Spirit that they had no choice but to believe the evidence they had experienced personally.[43]

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[43] The rise of Pentecostalism was partly a response to the modernistic, rationalistic perspectives that were infiltrating mainline churches. Also developing at this time in response to modernism was the fundamentalist movement. The movement's name came from a set of twelve volumes published by Protestant laymen called, *The Fundamentals*, which outlined the fundamental principles of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Although it is true that evangelicals and fundamentalists share certain characteristics, fundamentalism must be differentiated from the Pentecostal movement. Fundamentalists place a strong emphasis on the infallibility of the Bible and literal Biblical interpretation. They have displayed a higher degree of separation from the wider culture, are less likely to engage with religious differences, and have traditionally been anti-intellectual in comparison with other churches.

On the other hand, early Pentecostals fit the status quo when it came to many

standards of ideal moral behavior. They abstained from the use of tobacco, alcohol, and

cola beverages; and did not participate in events of social frivolity such as theatres, sports

games, picnics, circuses, or parties (Wacker, 2001, pp. 40-41). Although these

regulations seem like strict boundary markers when compared to present-day Canadian

society, they would not have been nearly as unheard of in the context of other early 20th

century Protestant denominations. "The social agenda of earlier Pentecostals, both north

and south of the border, was a continuation of the social agenda of the broader

evangelical culture" (Althouse, 2009, p. 59). This is why the early Pentecostal movement

must be Pentecostals adopted certain standards of their cultural context, but executed

these standards through methods inspired by a theology of the Holy Spirit and a faith-

based, experience focused Christianity.

To illustrate this point, the following section will address early Pentecostal

identity with regard to a variety of societal issues such as the results of industrialization,

racism, and the temperance movement. It is not that Pentecostals denied the validity of

social causes, but they were not the focus of engagement efforts outside the community.

"While Pentecostals believed in personal transformation, their views of social

transformation are nuanced within the context of the role of unions and politics in

Canada" (Althouse, 2009, p. 59). The social gospellers saw redemption as connected to

the overall restructuring of society. Pentecostals saw redemption as an individual

experience that could be communicated to others, and would lead others to a character-

changing empowerment in the Holy Spirit. The most illustrative description of these

alternate points of view can be found in the introductory chapter of Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven* (2001). Cox contrasts the Azusa Street prophets' take on social construction with that of the creators of the Chicago Expo's White City.[44]

The White City represented the mindset that society can be transformed from the outside in, "that carefully contrived cities would produce useful citizens who would display the proper norms" (Cox, 2001, p. 33). This line of thinking can be paralleled with that of the social gospel, that large scale change, amendments to law, and the institutionalization of social services will transform society on an individual as well as collective level. Although sympathetic to social concerns, early Pentecostals emphasized spontaneity and a purifying awakening of the individual first. "They [Pentecostal prophets of Azusa] believed in sin. Rather than beginning from without and hoping that the newly burnished surroundings would transform the heart, they insisted on beginning from within" (Cox, 2001, p. 33). This difference can be connected to what Cox sees as the faith-based nature of Pentecostalism. Change comes with certitude, and certitude comes from the confirmation of experience. An intellectual choice, whether for social change or the acceptance of doctrine, would not bring redemption as would an individual experience with the Holy Spirit. For early Pentecostals, the main emphasis of engagement with society was to bring others into their fold by encouraging a similar experiential conversion in them.

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[44] The White City was a set of buildings and structures constructed for the World's Fair Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 Made of white stucco, the temporary neo-classical structures were designed to reflect what a perfect city would be like

4.4 The Social Context: Industrialization, Urbanization, and the Social Gospel

The following section will attempt to place the early Pentecostal movement within the context of Canadian society, and provide a comparison between Pentecostal social thought and the dominant mainline Protestant social thought at the time. Their confidence in individual subjective experience made Pentecostals wary of programs that focused on societal reform before individual reform. The sense of conviction and empowerment for pure living that Spirit Baptism was understood to bring about meant that the improvement of social ills was taken for granted as an inevitable feature of the present Kingdom of God.

In the early 20th century, Canadian society was dealing with the changes resulting from new nationhood[45] and a shift to an industrialized economy. The country was receiving a large influx of immigrants, and settling the rural areas of the West was a major political priority in order to unite the nation from coast to coast and increase agricultural output. A successful immigration campaign aimed at populating the prairies was launched, yet there was still a great many immigrants that settled in cities and added to the urban population density. It has been documented that between 1901 and 1911, Toronto doubled in population size, Winnipeg tripled, and Vancouver multiplied four times (Allen, 1973, p. 10). Understandably, Canadian cities were not equipped to handle such massive changes in population, and this lead to low quality living conditions and poor social structures. Living conditions in the rural areas were also problematic. The settlers faced a combination of a harsh climate, hard physical labour, sparse policing, and

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[45] Canada became a nation in 1867.

a 'tavern culture' brought from European homelands. This caused excessive alcohol consumption among prairie men and often led to the denigration family life (Noel, 1995, pp. 12-18).

These economic and social conditions inspired the theological direction that mainline Protestant denominations would take in the 20th century. The emphasis on individual-centered Christian redemption waned as members of mainline denominations such as the Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, and Congregationalist churches began to suspect that the problems of society had to be addressed through social structures. If the individual was expected to be "healed and renewed" through conversion, the social institutions which supported individuals must first be "healed and renewed" (Clarke, 1996, p. 324). Their "disenchantment with the inequalities of the industrial revolution" (Wiseman & Isitt, 2007, par. 14) led to the formation of the social gospel movement, which used a Protestant Christian standpoint to attempt to reform Canada at the societal level.[46]

Social gospellers lobbied for the political implementation of prohibition, free trade, private property rights, the single tax, fair working conditions, direct legislation, etc. (Wiseman & Isitt, 2007, par. 19). However, these were part of a wider goal to create a unified, uniform Christian nation, where Christian moral standards and values would have cultural hegemony and lead to an improved quality of life. Those involved in the

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[46] Although there did exist opponents to the social gospel within mainline churches, overall the movement played a major role in Canadian Christianity in the early 20th century. It provides a helpful comparison with the developing Pentecostal identity of the time because they display opposite forms of Christian social thought. Pentecostals approached social concern by emphasizing a personal experience of faith and social gospellers approached social concern by emphasizing a theologically inspired reform of social structures. Today, Pentecostalism is attempting to fall somewhere in between social gospel thought and early Pentecostal social thought, improving the structures of society without losing the emphasis on individual experience and redemption from within.

social gospel movement felt that there was an "increased worldliness in Canadian life"

(Draper, 2001, p. 293) due to the poor social conditions, the prominence of alcohol, and

the large immigrant population.

The temperance movement in Canada, organized to combat the destructiveness of

alcohol, was closely related to the women's movement and was led and supported by

members of the growing urban middle class. It was an attack on what was called the

'male culture' or 'tavern culture' which kept men at the taverns spending money instead

of home with their families. It was the belief of those in the temperance movement that if

the root of societal problems, namely alcohol, was removed society would begin to fall

into its proper order (Warsh, 1993, p. 5).

The early Pentecostals were strongly opposed to alcohol consumption as well, and

no doubt would have supported the intentions of this movement. However, the

Pentecostals did not seem to be involved in the activities of the temperance movement

themselves. The newspapers and letters of the early church do not mention attempts at

campaigns to eliminate alcohol consumption. There did not seem to be mention of a

continuous struggle to keep Pentecostal men from drink once they were converted, as if it

was simply assumed that those who had received blessing of the Holy Spirit would

naturally abstain.

The narrative of the social gospel movement demonstrates how social context

influences the focus of Christian perspectives and practices. An example of such

influence can be found by examining the term 'redemption' in the early 20th century

Canadian context. The word redemption is, at its most basic, considered to mean "the act

of delivering from sin or saving from evil."[47] However, the actual form and emphasis

which acts of redemption take has shifted throughout the history of Christianity. In the

context of evangelical revivalism, redemption was generally seen as the act of giving

oneself over to Christ. It meant allowing Him into one's heart and therefore being

converted. However, at the turn of the century, "In an attempt to find new wineskins for

old evangelical wine, key members of the denomination's elites began to articulate an

altered evangelicalism-one that downplayed traditional conversionism and placed

emphasis on "the spread of scriptural holiness by reforming the nation" (Rawlyk, 1997, p.

xvi).

Evangelical Christians have always appreciated the correlation between being

charitable and being a good Christian. However, the Social gospel emerged from the

conviction that charity alone could only meet immediate needs, and therefore could not

create "God's Dominion" without an overall "Protestantization" of the social structure

(Draper, 2001, p. 266). Redemption had to be an act of looking at and acting on society's

'big picture.' John G. Shearer, a participant in the social gospel movement, represented

this sentiment well when in 1913 he proclaimed, "At the peril of the kingdom of Jesus

Christ in Canada, at the peril of the very life of the church in Canada, shall we neglect to

redeem our cities" (Fraser, 1988, p. 80).

The social gospel was not a reaction against the Holiness movement, but in a

large part emerged out of it. Many people saw the reformation of society as an extension

of the radical change which the revivals proved could occur in an individual life (Allen,

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[47] Princeton Wordnet. Retrieved from http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=redemption).

1975, p. 8). The act of working for a redeemed society was to an extent evidence of a redeemed individual. When Pentecostalism emerged in Canada, it was within this redemptive discourse that the movement's identity was formulated. A perfect example is the fact that the first Canadian occurrence of Pentecostal tongues-speaking took place in a healing home, a house of charity which tended to members of society who may not have received care and rest otherwise. The increasing demands on social systems and charitable organizations to meet the needs of overpopulated cities, the controversies over the best methods of healing, and the desire for an alternative, supernatural solution must have weighed heavily on the minds of mission leaders such as James and Ellen Hebden.

Although emerging in the same cultural milieu as the social gospel, early Pentecostalism continued the emotional and experiential emphasis which was characteristic of Holiness revivals. Pentecostals considered other denominations' emphasis on church and social structure to be stifling to the movement of the Spirit (Stackhouse Jr., 1997, p. 293). Likewise, organizing into a collective was met with opposition and fear that too much organization and ecumenism would also stifle the Spirit. As George Rawlyk has noted, such movements as Pentecostalism were a reaction to the "orderly faith" of the mainstream denominations such as Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, which emphasized "consistent doctrines, decorum of worship, and biblical interpretations through well educated ministry" (Rawlyk, 1997, p. xv).[48] They

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[48] It is useful to note James Carse's theory on the different forms of ignorance, which can be connected to Harvey Cox's theory of faith-based and belief-based Christianity Carse suggests that belief is often an expression of willful ignorance- that which we choose not to know In contrast, higher ignorance is an understanding of the fallibility of human knowledge and an appreciation of the sense of wonder that drives all religion (Carse, 2008, pp 13-14) Reactions against "orderly faith," especially nonsensical reactions such as glossolalia, are appealing to the concept of higher ignorance They are a protest against the idea that wonder can be answered through human knowledge, doctrine, church structure, etc

were an attempt to go back to what Harvey Cox has called a "primal spirituality" (2003, p. 81). In fact, although the Hebden Mission began as a healing home where the ill and injured could come for long term recovery, with the occurrence of glossolalia the nature of healing changed.

As William Sloos has described, divine healing became central in the services held at the Hebden's. Instead of extended care, healing was miraculous and immediate (Sloos, 2010, p. 194). The struggle between structure and spontaneity, the fear of stifling the Spirit held in contrast to the desire for a consistent identity and manageable organizational structure, still haunts the PAOC, and all other Pentecostal denominations, today. Pragmatism demands a set of regulations and boundaries to define the group, to make daily operations run smoothly, and to achieve a stable sense of continuity. However, the attraction and power of "primal spirituality" comes from its ability to shake off conventions and create a disposition that is open to extreme, unexpected possibilities of any kind.

The dynamic of strict moral guidelines and an unregulated style of worship is part of the two-toned appearance that has made Pentecostalism so popular. For early Pentecostals, moral purity was expected in everyday living as a sign of redemption and as a moral exemplar for those who were not yet redeemed. Those who represented the degradation of the world, namely the rest of society, were meant to be evangelized or avoided. There was always the two-toned desire to be imbedded in this world in order to help redeem it and set oneself aside from the world to be an exemplar of Holy Spirit-inspired living. This ambiguity is indicative of the multi-influenced, hybrid nature of that identity. Early Pentecostals were at once reacting to the changes in other denominations,

reaching for the tenets of historical evangelical theology, and trying to create a new wave

of inspiration that could be a defining sign of Christian absolutism.

Peter Althouse (2009, p. 59) has pointed out that early Pentecostals criticized the

social situation they lived in, but responded to it by creating a "counter-cultural vision"

which provided an alternative for those who listened to its call. Most historians would

agree that there was always the notion of a grand boundary, an emphasis on being set

apart from the world which made early Pentecostals ambivalent about political activity

and social activism in the secular sphere. But it was also their faith in the experience of

Spirit Baptism that made them ambivalent. Baptism in the Holy Spirit, expressed

primarily through the speaking of tongues, was the solution to moral weakness,

theological doubt, and physical corruptions. "Early Pentecostals did not embrace an

apocalyptic vision of world destruction prominent in fundamentalism, but a more world

affirming vision of reconciliation under the reign of God, in which their Latter Rain

eschatology, Spirit Baptism, and healing played a role in the redemption of the world"

(Althouse, 2009, p. 70).

4.5 Conclusion

It has been established that because of the early Pentecostal movement's emphasis

on religious experience, emotional expression, and the spontaneity of gifts given by the

Holy Spirit, the founding members recognized that the Holy Spirit could work through

any person. This translated into a "classless community" where race, gender, class, and

education level were overlooked, and openness to the experience of Spirit Baptism

expressed through worship was the main religious boundary marker. This is a counter-cultural ideal of inclusion that has always been present in the collective memory of the Pentecostal movement. Boundaries were not meant to be based on such categories, but instead on openness to the experience of Holy Spirit baptism as evidenced by speaking in tongues and certitude in faith and pure living afterwards. However this ideal has been played out in the reality of the movement, the collective memory of such an ideal has been an important part of the adaptation of Pentecostalism in multicultural societies.

Sam Reimer has suggested that Pentecostalism shares many tenets with the wider evangelical community, the four most basic being an emphasis on conversion and salvation, Biblicism, redemption through Christ on the cross, and activism. However, this analysis of the Pentecostal historical narrative has shown that in classical Pentecostalism, these tenets have been uniquely interpreted through the experience of signs and wonders such as glossolalia and expressed through exuberant, spontaneous worship. Primal spirituality is a current that runs through the whole history of Pentecostalism, as denominations frequently feel they have found the energy of the early church and risk losing it in organizational endeavors. At the same time as adjustments are being made to keep up with the changing cultural context, the PAOC is also trying to draw back the energy of the early movement. This energy is not characterized by theological tenets but by the rhythms of ritual action. It lies in the feeling of absolute certainty that comes from the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit, an evidence of Christian righteousness that cannot easily be shaken off once it is felt.

In the next chapter, the themes of redemption and engagement will be again examined in relation to religious identity, this time regarding the contemporary context. Just like in the case of early Pentecostals, the perceptions and practices of contemporary Pentecostals are influenced by their social context. At the same time, perspectives and practices that have been formed by their sense of identity and historical narrative influence how they perceive their social context. Throughout the examination of contemporary Pentecostal engagement, Harvey Cox's notion of faith-based Christianity is still present. Also prevalent is the notion that an awareness of hybrid identities provides tools for engaging with others in a critical and redemptive way.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY PENTECOSTALISM

"To close our eyes to the impact of globalization, technology, or the changes created by

urbanization and post-modernity will hinder our effectiveness in being the people of God.

Sometimes believers respond by separating themselves entirely from the institutions and

activities of the society in which they live. Generally, Christians who have disengaged

with the culture and denied the realities of their day have failed to be redemptive

influences in their generation."[49]

- David Wells, General Superintendent of the PAOC

The objective of this thesis is to show that Pentecostalism's emphasis on the

experience of the Holy Spirit, combined with a hybrid approach to social engagement,

provides a bridge for interaction with Canadian society. Thus far, we have established

that, although religious boundaries will always exist in order to sustain meaning systems

and group solidarity, it is possible to create bridges across religious boundaries and co-

exist in a pluralistic atmosphere. This has and will continue to be an important aspect of

Canadian Pentecostalism as it has reached maturity within a cultural context that prides

itself on tolerance, relativity, and pluralism.

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[49] Wells, David. (2009), "Deify, Deny, or Discern?" Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Retrieved July 10, 2010 http://www.paoc.org/about/news.aspx?nID=400

In many respects, classical Pentecostalism has been changed by its growth and bureaucratization, the globalization of ideas and relationships, and the changing social context of Canadian society. Its boundaries are ever evolving. It is constantly influenced by the web-like system of relationships that is created through the hybrid identities present in every individual and group. The tenets of Pentecostal faith are still interpreted through the occurrence of signs and wonders and expressed through exuberant, spontaneous worship. However, the way that this translates into social boundaries has been more ambiguous and has shifted between attitudes of exclusivism and ecumenism, proclamation and engagement, passivism and activism, and conservatism and liberalism. Yet, it is possible for ambiguity to translate into productive tension. The course that the movement has taken over the last century shows that Pentecostalism is adaptable. The question is, will it be adaptable to the conditions of North American society in the years to come? Can it be adaptable in a way that adheres to the characteristically Pentecostal pursuit of a "primitive religion?"

What remains from the early Pentecostal movement is the conviction that social activism must still be related to the empowering religious experience of Holy Spirit baptism. At the same time, Pentecostal methods of evangelization have come to include an aspect of critical engagement that was not necessarily present before and rhetoric of "holistic mission"[50] has developed as a result. Churches and mission groups are embracing a holistic mission strategy that takes into account the range of needs of the individual; the social, political, and material needs as well as the spiritual. To address these needs and become a redeeming influence in society, Pentecostals must not only

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[50] See Wilkinson, *Faith-Based Social Services*, 2007.

observe society from its borders, but be fully engaged within it Thus, Pentecostal

denominations are faced with the challenge of participating in contemporary Canadian

culture without being consumed by that culture and without losing the ability to look at it

from a perspective of faith

The PAOC will be most successful if it can manage to uphold the tradition of

"two-toned appearances " It must retain the sect-like quality of energy at the borders of

society[51] and at the same time become a modern public religion that can function within

and constructively influence Canadian society The contemporary world is characterized

by a unique phenomenon that may allow for such ambiguity to subsist, and that

phenomenon is globalization "Globalization is defined as the increased

interconnectedness of the world's societies into a single socio-cultural reality (Wilkinson,

2010, p 215) "[52] It has occurred as a result of advanced modes of communication and

travel, an increase in global migration, and the development of a world economy

Because globalization has resulted in many diverse cultures, nationalities, and religions

together, it has created a heightened awareness of the hybrid identities present in

individuals and communities The evolution of distinctly local cultures in response to

global influences, or "glocalization,"[53] provides both worldwide scope and individual

agency, which is exactly what the Pentecostal movement needs to fulfill the potential of a

Holy Spirit inspired theology

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[51] This concept is taken from Mary Douglas' observation that, "The idea of society is a powerful image It is potent in its own right to control or to stir men to action there is energy in its margins and unstructured areas" (1973, p 115)
[52] Referencing Robertson, Globalization and "Globalization Theory 2000+" 458-71
[53] See Roland Roberston, "Glocalization Time- Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in Global Modernities, ed Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson (London Sage, 1995) 25-44

In this chapter I will examine contemporary Canadian Pentecostalism and the

social context it exists within. I will begin with an outline of the themes that characterize

contemporary Canadian society in contrast to those that characterized society in the early

20th century. Then, using the PAOC as a case study, I will explore whether it is possible

for churches within the Pentecostal tradition to uphold such "productive tensions" or

"two-toned appearances," which would mean balancing various approaches to social

action while maintaining an ultimate life-directing meaning system for its adherents.

Looking at these questions through the case of the PAOC, I will highlight two aspects of

Pentecostalism that have appeared repeatedly throughout this thesis and that ultimately

make such a balancing act plausible: the movement's pneumatological emphasis and the

presence of hybrid identities that can act as a catalyst for bridging boundaries.

5.1 Themes of Contemporary Canadian Society

In Chapter Four, century we discussed how Pentecostalism arose in a society that

was undergoing changes primarily due to urbanization, industrialization, modernization.

It developed within a discourse of societal redemption through Victorian moral values.

In contrast, contemporary Canadian Pentecostalism is developing within a national

discourse of liberal values promoted through secularism,[54] pluralism, and

multiculturalism. As sociologist of religion Roger O'Toole explains, "Overall prosperity

combined with massive expansion of the welfare state, liberalized immigration policy and

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[54] The "secular" that has so characterized modern society can be described as a shift in the perspectives and orientations of society, manifesting itself in an "uncoupling of the church and state," "the loss of religious referents in cultural and political life," and the concept of separated public and private spheres (Lyon, 2000, pp. 10-11).

an official federal goal of multiculturalism has changed the national social profile of

Canada" (2006, p. 8). In this social atmosphere, religion is generally understood to be a

private aspect of life and therefore is often relegated to the private sphere. The public

sphere including the government, businesses, education system, healthcare system, and

universities claims autonomy from religiously prescribed regulation. Institutional

religion lost social influence not merely because modernity made people more sceptical

of religion, but in a large part because areas of culture that were once controlled by the

church were increasingly being controlled by the Canadian state which was officially

separated from any religious affiliation.[55]

In Canada, Christianity has gone from being an established institution of the

state,[56] to having cultural hegemony, to being relegated to the private sphere of individual

choice. The Canadian state began to take responsibility for social support structures[57]

from mainline denominations: "Once the demand for religion was no longer supported

by its implication in this social project, Canadians shifted in a large number to a

preference for non-denominational, occasional, and less organized religious

competition..." (Beyer, 2006, p. 73). Mainline denominations are "no longer as

institutionally vigorous as they once were; nor are they as intimately involved in secular

arenas of power as they once were" (Bramadat, 2005, pp. 3-4). Still, this does not mean

that Christianity in Canada is disappearing, but rather it is changing form and facing new

challenges in how to relate with the rest of society. As stated by Reginald Bibby,

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[55] This line of thinking comes from Peter Beyer's discussion of David Martin's work on secularization which defines it not as a religious decline in the age of modernity but the differentiation of religion from other spheres of social life (Beyer, 2006, 79).

[56] *The Anglican Church of Canada was the legally established church from 1791 until the Clergy Reserves Act of 1854.*

[57] Such as hospitals, schools, orphanages, and homeless shelters.

"Though secularization has not entailed its destruction or abandonment, [Christianity] has come adrift from its former points of anchorage and has been transformed from a social institution into a cultural resource in a manner typical of advanced industrial societies" (2006, pp. 19-20).

Through the 1940's and 1950's, the "big three" of Canadian Christianity- the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United Church of Canada- still accounted for 78% of religious affiliation (Beyer, 2006, p. 81). However, from the 1950's on these numbers began to decline. One explanation for this occurance is that these denominations became uncompetitive in the religious market. Because of their power and social status, many churches had put aside their emphasis on the supernatural, or the "religious," part of church in order to focus on social projects, and thus were not as attractive when they became "cultural resources" of the private sphere instead of social institutions that were the sole providers of needed services (Beyer, 2006, p. 85). Perhaps this brief synopsis of mainline church decline provides some insight into why Pentecostalism was able to grow while other Christian denominations were declining. In an article for *Pneuma*, Terry Cross makes the claim, "of all the contemporary Christian religious groups in the world, we [Pentecostals] place the most emphasis on the fact that we have experienced the God of the universe....We confess a radical openness to the invasion and intervention of God's Spirit in our daily lives" (2009, p. 6). I suggest that this "radical openness" to God's intervention in everyday life is the emphasis on the supernatural that many people are

looking for in the "religious marketplace."[58]

In addition to the differentiation of social spheres throughout the 20th century,

Canadian federal policy would have an enormous effect on the nature of Canadian

religion. In the 1960's, Parliament liberalized policies around immigration. In 1962, an

immigration policy was introduced that represented an attempt to be less discriminatory

and emphasized education and skill over ethnic background. In 1967, the Canadian

government adopted a point system for accepting new immigrants which depended on the

needs of the labor market and was largely based on skills or resources that could be

brought to the Canadian economy. The point system for immigrant acceptance resulted

in an intensification of immigration, particularly from non-European regions such as

India and China (The Applied History Research Group, 1997, para. 2-8). In the same

time period there occurred worldwide travel and communication intensified with, "the

creation of an ever thickening network of regularly scheduled air travel, the emergence of

television and then satellite television, and sharply increased efficiency in already

existing technologies like telephone and radio (Beyer, 2009, p. 267).

An increase in immigration, particularly an increase that included a significant

number of non-Christian immigrants, combined with an increase in worldwide

communication contributed to the necessity of a public policy which stressed tolerance

for multiculturalism and religious pluralism. In 1971, the Canadian government under

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[58] David Martin suggests that secularization is the differentiation of religion from other social spheres (2005, p. 3). If this is so, in a secular society religious movements will not attract adherents through social services such as healthcare and education alone because they are also available outside of the Church. Therefore, the movements that will attract "shoppers in the religious marketplace" will be those that offer something that secular society cannot: an ultimate sense of meaning (Kelley, 1987, p. 89), a sense of the supernatural, and a radical openness to that which is unproven. This theory helps account for Pentecostalism's popularity in a relatively secularized society.

the leadership of Pierre Trudeau established an official policy of multiculturalism in an attempt to ensure that cultural minorities, including religious minorities, could participate in Canadian public life. In 1982, religious freedom was defined as a fundamental human right in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. In 1988, the government produced "The Multiculturalism Act," which reinforced cultural diversity as a government-protected aspect of Canadian society. Canada now aims for a pluralized society where each position is given a voice and is reasonably accommodated in public policy. With that said, "Pluralism greatly effects the situation of religion. Where worldviews coexist and compete as plausible alternatives to each other, the credibility of all is undermined" (Peter Berger, as quoted in McQuire, 1987, p. 226). How does a religious worldview that makes an exclusive claim to truth exist within this milieu?

Throughout the late 20th century, conservative evangelical culture has made an attempt at solving this dilemma by re-emphasizing boundaries of purity and morality that, at least on the surface, seemed to re-establish clean lines of categorization. Particularly beginning with American rise of the "religious right" in 1970's, conservative evangelicals increasingly focused on issues of body purity such as abortion and homosexuality, and Pentecostal denominations such as the PAOC followed suit. Debates over the legalization of abortion and gay marriage have arisen with the secularization of society, gay liberation and second wave feminism movements of the 1960's and 1970's, and the developing liberal attitudes of many Christian and non-Christian groups. As Mary Douglas has pointed out, the human body is the most direct form of symbolism. "The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious" (Douglas, 1973, p. 116). The rise of

such issues represents an attempt to re-establish boundaries of purity at a time where

relativity and pluralism seem to threaten the destruction of ultimate meaning systems.

Although throughout its history Pentecostalism has been influenced by the social

agenda of conservative evangelical groups in Canada and the United States, this influence

has waxed and waned in relation to other socio-cultural factors. Today, Pentecostalism is

shifting away from the influence of the "religious right" and is turning toward a more

critical engagement with the Canadian and international society. To illustrate this point

and to highlight how changes in organizational development and social context impact

social thought, I will now turn to a case study of the PAOC's development within the

context of a changing Canadian society.

5.2 Social Engagement in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

5.2.1 Beginnings of the PAOC: 1919-1950's

From the organization's beginning in 1919, members of the Pentecostal

Assemblies of Canada committed themselves to worship and to proclamation of their

religious experiences and conviction of faith. Many members were also committed to

charitable endeavors such as healing homes, soup kitchens, and orphanages.[59] With that

said, the overwhelming emphasis of any such outreach was always evangelization. In

contrast to the agenda of the social gospel movement which focused on big-picture social

change, early members of the PAOC focused on reforming the individual from the inside-

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[59] It is important to note that although the social gospel movement was known for its emphasis and involvement in charitable social structures, charitable organizations have always been an aspect of church life for most Christian groups. Likewise, Pentecostal churches have always been involved in charitable endeavors. However, it is the emphasis on the nation as God's Dominion, and the resolution to evoke socio-political change as a result, that differentiates the social gospel from other Christian movements. See Clifford, 1977, pp. 23-42

out by drawing them toward a life-changing experience of Spirit Baptism. This individualized, experiential approach to social change was a way to draw outsiders in to their realm of purity, effectively redeeming society one member at a time without having to fully engage in the public arena of political social reform. It is for this reason that historians describe the early years of the PAOC as politically ambivalent.

Early members of the PAOC understood their movement, and the tongues that poured from the mouths of the faithful, as a sign that the Kingdom of God was at hand. Their eschatology was world affirming, and thus must be differentiated from the world-denouncing postmillennial eschatology that had established itself in Christian fundamentalism. To early Pentecostals, the improvement of society was a positive indication of the immanent Kingdom of God, but it would not come through secular political and social action. As explained by Peter Althouse, "The eschatological impulse in Canadian Pentecostalism led early Pentecostals to criticize the social situation in Canada, offering a countercultural vision based in their understanding of biblical Christianity, but their political ambivalence delayed political activism and the transformation of Canadian society" (2009, p. 59). Material welfare and social justice would be a side effect of the Latter Rain,[60] and empowerment of Christians would occur through baptism in the Holy Spirit. From the 1920's to 1950's, the PAOC continued to grow through evangelization. Membership increased significantly, PAOC churches moved into larger facilities, a national network of leadership was developed, and a bible

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[60] The term "latter rain" refers to Biblical passages such as Joel 2 23 which promise a former and latter rain. This is interpreted symbolically to represent the outpouring of the Spirit at the Pentecost after Jesus' death (former rain) outpouring of the Holy Spirit which will signify the reign of God (latter rain)

college was opened.[61] With this expansion came institutionalization, and out of necessity

the PAOC grew out of its categorization of "sect" on the church-sect continuum and grew

into the categorization of "denomination."[62] Although this is an inevitable consequence

of growth and longevity, it also raises new issues such as the risk of stifling the Spirit

with institutional structure and power. Michael Wilkinson has said that, "the

institutionalization of Pentecostal denominations such as the PAOC reflects a cycle of

emergence, bureaucratization, stabilization, institutional dilemma, and renewal" (2009, p.

8). For the PAOC in particular, such a cycle reflects a constant effort to reach back to the

energy of the early movement and to always be able to draw on the "energy at the

margins" that motivated early Pentecostals.

5.2.2 Charismatic Stirrings, Ecumenism, and Political Involvement: 1950's- 1970's

Bruce Guenther has noted that, "As the strength of their numbers grew, and as

they became more educated and affluent, so too did their desire for recognition,

respectability, and influence within Canadian society (2008, p. 373).[63] This desire

manifested itself in two ways: a new involvement in the political realm and a heightened

sense of ecumenism with evangelical Christian groups. In 1957, E.N.O. Kulbeck,

editorof the Pentecostal Testimony, encouraged members to become involved in

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[61] The first Canadian Pentecostal bible college was the Central Canadian Bible Institute, opened in 1925Winnipeg (Guenther, 2009, p 100)

[62] On the church-sect continuum, a denomination is generally characterized by generational membership, inclusiveness, highly organized and hierarchical structure, and more engagement with the secular world (Dawson, 2008, pp 527-528)

[63] Guenther was referring to evangelical Protestants in Canada as a collective but he would include Pentecostal Protestants in this category

government, and in the next few years Pentecostals began to appear in politics[64] (Kydd, 1997, p. 293).

By the 1960's Charismatic revivals began to occur in mainstream Catholic and Protestant churches. In addition, the 1980's saw the rise of a third wave of Pentecostalism which came out of conservative, often non-denominational, Protestant churches and embraced a charismatic style of worship and the validity of spiritual gifts.[65] One important difference to note between these "Third Wavers"[66] and classical Pentecostal denominations such as the PAOC is that the former did not put an emphasis on glossolalia and baptism of the Holy Spirit as did the latter (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 21).

In one way, these new "Pentecostal-like" movements led to a crises period for the PAOC, as it struggled to define its unique identity within an upsurge in movements which also emphasized exuberant worship and the presence of signs and wonders including glossolalia (Kydd, 1997, 294). These charismatic renewals, "challenged "classical" Pentecostals to reconsider the view that God could not "visit" the liberal churches they often denounced as "dead churches"" (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 217). On the other hand, these Pentecostal-like revivals more than likely contributed to the acceptance of Pentecostalism in mainstream Christian culture and the acceptance of other Christian groups by the PAOC. Up until this time period, the PAOC identified with evangelical tenets of faith and supported the same moral values, but rarely developed relationships with evangelical church communities. But in1964, a group of Canadian evangelical

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[64] At this time, two PAOC members, Paul Gaglardi and Everett Wood, were appointed to cabinet posts in provincial legislatures
[65] See Chapter One, pp 18-19
[66] The most famous of these third wave churches was the Vineyard Fellowship with which the Toronto Airport Vineyard was affiliated (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 21)

leaders founded the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC), and Henry Faught, a

Pentecostal, was a key founding member and the first EFC president. Pentecostal

involvement in the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada has continued with one Pentecostal

denomination becoming particularly involved in the fellowship- the PAOC. "It is with

this group [PAOC] of Canadian Pentecostals that evangelicalism has felt most

comfortable" (Kydd, 1997, p. 297).

Michael Di Giacomo has made an especially meaningful comment on

Pentecostal-evangelical relations: "Classical Pentecostalism's acceptance into the wider

evangelical fold was done, so it seems, at too high a price, at the expense of forsaking the

distinctiveness of Pentecostalism and betraying its own nature (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 24).

This point is illustrated in the shift in eschatological perspective that took place over the

20th century. Instead of a uniquely Pentecostal, postmillennial, world affirming

eschatology based on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the PAOC gradually began to adopt a

premillennial, dispensational, and fundamentalist-inspired eschatology that saw the

corruptions of the secular world as evidence that society would get worse and worse until

the return of Christ. With this stance, Pentecostals increasingly saw the conservative

evangelical social agenda, and the body politics it brought to issue, as a reflection of the

boundary between religious purity and secular corruption.

5.2.3 The Influence of Conservative Evangelical Culture: 1970's-1990's

With ecumenism building, the PAOC opened itself up to constructive interaction

with other Christian groups, but at the same time risked becoming heavily influenced by

the conservative evangelical agenda, particularly that promoted by the right-wing

conservative evangelical influence that was sweeping the United States from the 1970's

to 1990's. "The sheer size of US religious production can even be qualified as

overwhelming, beginning with organizations such as Focus on the Family, the Billy

Graham Evangelistic Association, Pat Robertson and the 700 Club, and the National

Association of Evangelicals" (Di Giacomo, 2009, p. 24), and this religious culture quite

effectively made its way to Canada.

In 1980, the PAOC established the "Ethics and Social Concerns Committee" in

order to strengthen their voice within the political sphere and present a united front on

moral and ethical concerns, and soon after appointed Hudson Hilsden as the committee's

chair (Althouse, 2009, p. 74). In "Evangelicalism and Social Concerns in Partnership," a

document outlining Hilsden's stance on Pentecostal social concern, the committee chair

emphasized that evangelization was still the primary goal but that social concern must be

part of the evangelization process. However, in this document Hilsden focuses on,

"abortion, homosexuality, sexually transmitted diseases, and poverty which are the

primarily the conservative concerns of evangelical groups. Hilsden is silent on what most

considered the pressing social issues of the time such as the environment, gender

inequality, nuclear threat, the cold war, economic issues, etc" (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 218).

The Ethics and Social Concerns Committee was dissolved a decade later and,

"social concerns was added to "evangelism" and "missions" as emphasis in the ministries

of the local church (Althouse, 2009, p. 74). Althouse notes that a part of the reason for

the end of the committee was the financial expense of such an organization. He

comments that ending the committee, "overlooks the importance of having a voice in the

political sphere, for the purpose of clarifying one's position, regardless of results" (2009,

p. 74). But perhaps the purpose of clarifying one's position *was* the problem. Although

lacking the resources that would be available to a national program, the "small pockets of

concerned Pentecostals" (Althouse, 2009, p. 74) who are now establishing the social

concerns of the PAOC may be in a better position to appreciate the complexity and

ambiguity of such issues. This may be a more effective way to deal with social concerns

in the atmosphere of "glocalization" that will be discussed in the following section.

5.2.4 Glocalization and Hybridization: 1990's- present

As it moved out of the 1980's and toward the new millennium, there is no doubt

that the PAOC experienced a crisis in identity and a disenchantment with the all too

easily accepted social agenda of vocal evangelical movements. Simultaneously,

membership peaked and from the 1990's onward the majority of membership growth

would come from the immigrant population including such ethnic groups as, "Chinese,

Filipino, Ghanaian, Japanese, Korean, Malaysian, Spanish, Tamil, and many others"

(Wilkinson, 2000, p. 221). As has been described, modern means of media,

communication, and travel were creating a globalized world. These developments made

it easier to keep contact with foreign Pentecostal groups for the purpose of mission or for

networking with Pentecostal groups from one's motherland. To put it simply, the fading

of American evangelical cultural influence occurred simultaneously with the rise of

international cultural influences from Pentecostal/ Charismatic immigrants. It is because

of this change in cultural influence as well as the increase in overall globalization that I

would pinpoint the PAOC as entering its present phase of transition in the mid 1990's.

5.3 Immigration and Hybridization in the PAOC

As was established in Chapter Three, Pentecostal social engagement must be thought of as occurring through a web-like pattern of relationships. Because identities are always hybrids,[67] there are various points of identity within each Pentecostal that can be connected to points of identity with non-Pentecostal "others." By drawing attention to the notion of hybridization, I do not mean to imply that this is a new phenomenon in human society. Rather, the recognition of such identities is a predominantly modern occurrence and has been encouraged particularly by the reality of a global society and the emphasis on multiculturalism and pluralism that characterizes Canadian socio-political discourse.

Pentecostalism in Canada has become extremely culturally diverse. As of 2008, there were about 300 PAOC congregations which conducted services in languages other than English (Guenther, 2008, p. 373) such as Spanish, Italian, Romanian, and Korean and this does not include the large number of people of diverse ethnicities who attend English language churches. Harvey Cox has claimed that Christianity is enlivened with a multiplicity of cultures (2009, p. 224), and this indeed seems to be what is happening within the PAOC. Besides a sense of global success, the common declaration that "Pentecostalism is the fastest growing religious movement worldwide" has also fostered a sense of active multiculturalism within the Canadian- based PAOC churches.

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[67] As discussed in Chapters Two and Three in relation to the work of Jeanine Hill Fletcher and Jan Nederveen Pieterse.

The influx of immigrants that affiliate with the PAOC forces the denomination to

re-evaluate its organizational boundaries, as these new members bring church traditions

and organizational expectations from motherland churches, and some form of

compromise must be made to keep these new members. For example, many members

coming from a Pentecostal denomination in their motherland want to hold a dual

affiliation with that denomination and the PAOC. This was not initially allowed within

the PAOC regulations of affiliation, but in 1997 the PAOC ruled that Korean

congregations could have duel denominational affiliation (Wilkinson, 2000, p. 225).[68]

The PAOC has been, and will continue to be, in a process of dealing with these

organizational discrepancies and will have to draw on the theological tools within the

movement that allow for the diversity and flexibility that is imperative in an atmosphere

of cultural hybridization. "PAOC officials claim that they are learning to respond

appropriately, and if necessary, differently to each congregation" (Wilkinson, 2009, p.

259). This strategy of treating each church as a different "locality" and thus adjusting

congregational organization to its "culture," is an example of how the sociological idea of

"glocalization" will have an impact on the PAOC.

5.4 Globalization and Glocalization

David Martin states that, "The essence of globalization is the increasing speed of

movement as people, ideas, images, and capital take advantage of modern means of

communication" (2005, p. 26). In relation, glocalization was originally coined by

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[68] For a more in depth evaluation of the organizational challenges of PAOC cultural language group churches, see Wilkinson, Michael (2006). *The Spirit Said Go: Pentecostal Immigrants in Canada*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

sociologist Roland Robertson and is meant to recognize the phenomenon of global

localization or, "the tailoring of global products and services to suit particular cultural

tastes" (Giulionotti & Robertson, 2006, p. 134). Along with creating a transnational

perspective, globalization also intensifies local particularities. It reinvents local cultures

by exposing them to other cultural entities, at the same time leaving agency to create

these reinventions in the hands of individuals and local communities.

A religious movement's, "concrete reality is always local" (Beyer, 2009, p. 269),

but the acceptance of diversity comes with allowing the "local" to present its

particularities in relation to the "global." Local, national, and global Pentecostal

boundaries become bridged when individual agency is promoted through an intense

localization. A worldwide scope, but agency in the individual (or grassroots community

church) creates the right environment to embrace a pneumatology centered in individual

experience and faith-based Christianity. Glocalization, and a pneumatology that supports

it, may be the answer to the dilemma of structuring the church without stifling the Spirit.

5.5 The Impact of Globalization/Glocalization on the PAOC

While discussing Pentecostal responses to globalization, Wilkinson states,

Among Pentecostals, there are often multiple, often conflicting responses to social

issues that do not fit neatly the categories of "liberal" or "conservative" and

require further analysis and discussion to explain a possible range of

responses...Pentecostalism also consists of a cultural pattern of flexibility,

innovation, and fluidity which may account for how multiple discourses can exist

within a single denomination (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 216).

Through a content analysis of *The Pentecostal Testimony* from 1920 to 1999, the main

publication of the PAOC and an important medium of PAOC identity formation,

Wilkinson found evidence for contradictory categories of social thought within

Pentecostal social dialogue. It is possible that such contradictory categories of can

provide a healthy tension within PAOC social discourse. If a movement is based on

empowerment for moral purity through subjective religious experience, then it stands to

reason that there must be enough flexibility to allow for resulting subjective boundaries

of purity, whether they manifest themselves in body politics, evangelization strategy, or

social action styled by liberation theology.

Some scholars have argued that, in spite of its reputation for political apathy,

Pentecostalism in many parts of the world is actually motivating progressive political

action. In *The Future of Faith,* Harvey Cox makes the claim that, "There is something

significant going on in the Pentecostal movement. Its main focus was once fixed on

otherworldly salvation, but now the example of Jesus' concern for the impoverished, the

sick, and the socially outcast has begun to play a more central role" (2009, pp. 202-203).

Other scholars are quick to point out that this may be true for global Pentecostalism as a

whole, but it is not necessarily the case for classical North American Pentecostal

denominations. However, when looking at the case of the PAOC, it is evident that the

denomination sees and markets itself as a global, diverse movement.

Michael Wilkinson has commented that, "Social relationships and practices

increasingly carry Pentecostalism as a global culture" (2009, p. 250). It is a well known

fact in Pentecostal rhetoric that by the end of the 20th century, there were approximately

500 million Pentecostals worldwide (Guenther, 2008, p. 372). The PAOC has created

missionary connections in over fifty countries in Africa, Asia, Eurasia, and Latin

America;[69] and in Canada PAOC churches have been joined by a significant number of

Pentecostal immigrants from these regions. Even if there is a significant amount of

conservative evangelical influence left in the mindset of the PAOC, the denomination

already sees itself as a global church, influenced by immigrants coming from all over the

world and connected to churches all over the world. Therefore, this global perspective

will increasingly bring the progressive influence of worldwide Pentecostalism to the

PAOC. The localization that is a result of globalization should enhance the sense of

individual agency for PAOC churches and individual members, and thus can provide the

flexibility to maintain a faith-based approach based on the subjective experience of the

Holy Spirit.

5.6 Pneumatology in the Current Phase of the PAOC

Within contemporary interpretations of Pentecostal theology such as that put forth

by Amos Yong (2008), the global and multicultural nature of contemporary society

provides a unique opportunity for Christian hospitality through engagement with other

cultures and ideas. The gifts of God, namely the incarnation and resurrection of Jesus

Christ and the gift of baptism in the Holy Spirit, are God's way of being hospitable to us.

By receiving the Holy Spirit into ourselves, we are thus hosting God, and what we do

with this baptism is how we show God's hospitality (Yong, 2007, p. 59). Yong

deliberately keeps a blurred line between divine hospitality and material and social

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[69] Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (2011) Our Missionaries. Retrieved May 10, 2011
Retrieved from http //www paoc org/missions/missionaries aspx?sID=2

hospitality, arguing that the Christian mission is not only for conversion but for material and social hospitality such as charity, liberation initiatives, and respect for other cultures:

> I suggest that since the Holy Spirit is present and active in public spaces, Pentecostals should pray for a fresh outpouring of the Spirit to empower their engagement with the principalities and powers of these realms. The result, for our purposes, is that Pentecostal presence in the public square will provide another palpable expression of the hospitality of God which liberates all who are touched by the Spirit poured out through charismatic ministries of the church (Yong, 2007, p. 63).

The work of Amos Yong represents the potential of Pentecostal theologians to direct the main tenets of the movement toward a pneumatology that speaks to the realities of the contemporary world. Biblical verses such as Luke 10:25[70] are often employed to show that the Holy Spirit can be manifest in diverse kinds of people, and therefore, toleration and reciprocal engagement with outsiders are Christian characteristics that need to exist alongside proclamation. Because of the global and multicultural influences on contemporary life, Pentecostalism has developed wider approaches to inter-religious and inter-ethnic encounter. In turn, these approaches create an atmosphere of engagement that has the potential to extend to all ideological and cultural differences.

The method of redemption of the early Pentecostal movement was to set itself apart from society and create a counter-culture which people would be inspired to join. The contemporary Pentecostal method is focused on redemption through critical engagement with society. That engagement is possible through a web-like network of

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[70] The parable of the Good Samaritan.

social relations based on hybrid perceptions of identity as well as the individual agency in social concerns that is brought about by the phenomenon of glocalization. In order to fully address such a form of social engagement, I must revisit the notion of "embracing paradox" that was referred to in the preliminary chapters. The description of critical engagement I am proposing is a paradox, and does not fit into any neat categories of social action. Likewise, in his book, *On Secularization* (2005), David Martin explains the encounter between the logic of Christianity and the logic of social organization by referring to "the Christian oxymoron, its fruitful, creative contradiction, [which] occurs and reoccurs in every sphere, while also constantly mutating" (p. 12). Such a "fruitful and creative contradiction" is exemplified in the Pentecostal theology of the Holy Spirit, which is understood to change in form, create in new ways, but in essence is constant.

Although it has grown in numbers and become a highly organized institution, the Canadian Pentecostal movement has continued to understand the workings of the Holy Spirit as a guideline for the workings of the Church. Creativity and inspiration are encouraged, and the not always logical, seemingly paradoxical, aspects of the faith are to be embraced. The diversity of identities within the movement, coming from its multicultural constituency and the universal differences that exist within any religious group, have been an important factor in the movement's adjustment to contemporary Canadian life. Any engagement is still always at its base redemption-focused, but the evangelization that this includes has changed form to suit a more secular and pluralistic social context.

5.7 Conclusion

As exhibited in the case of the PAOC, the Canadian Pentecostal movement has grown and changed within a changing social environment. The early years of the PAOC were characterized by a stress on evangelism to draw individuals in to a unique Pentecostal counter-culture. The 1930's to 1950's phase was characterized by the establishment of organizational structure, the development of facilities for growing membership, and the bureaucratization of the PAOC as a whole. The 1960's to 1990's was a phase of ecumenism and allegiance to the social concerns of conservative evangelical groups focusing on body politics. From the 1990's on, the PAOC has been in a phase of transition characterized by the global nature of its contemporary social context.

The PAOC's attitude toward eschatology, and as a result social boundaries, has likewise shifted and re-shifted throughout the denomination's history. The early movement promoted a vision of the Kingdom of God as existing in the present, with the outpouring of glossolalia that began the Pentecostal movement a sign of this Kingdom. Therefore, social improvement was a positive outcome of the present Kingdom of God, but could only be reached through divine gifts and empowerment and not through social action. As the PAOC progressed through the 20th century, it turned to a more dispensational eschatology influenced by conservative evangelicalism and fundamentalism, holding the premillennial view that the world would get worse and worse until the second coming of Jesus. Therefore, although still involved in charitable works, social concerns often highlighted moral boundaries based on body purity and a rejection of secular, liberal values. In the last twenty or so years, as a result of a the increase in international cultural groups within the PAOC, increased international

communication, and a more global understanding of society; the PAOC is in the process of developing a world-affirming eschatology that reflects the more progressive social agenda of the "global" Pentecostal movement.

At the beginning of this chapter I posed the question of whether Pentecostalism will be able to adapt to the future conditions of North American society and whether it could do so in a way that represents the "primitive religion" it strives for. I have shown that Pentecostal denominations have the potential to adapt to socio-cultural change particularly because of their emphasis on experience and pnuematology. Although the emphasis on tongues has often shifted, the physically demonstrated presence of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal worship and lifestyle has stayed consistent over time and will most likely continue. It is understood that, "the Holy Spirit has a strategy for each age and place" (Mittelstadt, 2009, p. 132). A meta-narrative that focuses on "global Pentecostalism" might just be the strategy for this particular age and place. As Amos Yong suggests, the infilling of the Holy Spirit is a sign of God's hospitality toward humans, and at the same time by hosting the Holy Spirit humans are responsible for transmitting God's hospitality to their fellow man. This translates into an explanation of the diversity, flexibility, and potential to tolerate difference within the Pentecostal tradition. Since the Pentecostal movement's multi-racial beginnings, a sense of diversity and flexibility has been present in the Pentecostal collective memory, and this characteristic will again be drawn upon to deal with the current "globalized" phase of the PAOC.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

From its beginning as a sectish, sidelined movement of early 20th century North

America, Pentecostalism has expanded into a worldwide movement with various levels of

church organization and various approaches to social engagement. In the Canadian

context, views on social engagement have varied over time depending on a

denomination's organizational structure, status in society, and the overall socio-cultural

context that the denomination exists within. In some ways, the boundaries of

denominations such as the PAOC have stayed consistent over time. A Pentecostal is, first

and foremost, someone who has had a Pentecostal experience or is at least open to such

an experience. Holiness and purity are maintained by following the way of Christ, and

the conviction to carry this message through the pragmatic aspects of life comes from the

empowerment of religious experience. But an emphasis on certain moral and social

boundaries such as the importance of Sabbath day, the call to be involved in politics, the

importance of family values, care for the weak and oppressed, or issues of body purity

such as pornography; have waxed and waned depending on the socio-cultural context that

Pentecostalism takes root and grows within.

In the contemporary Canadian context, religious groups have had to navigate

between their religious identity and the expectations put on modern public citizens. The

PAOC's success in this atmosphere will depend on the organization's ability to deal with

issues of boundaries in a way which appeals to movement's evangelistic nature and the

wider cultural influences that are constantly infiltrating Pentecostal communities through

hybridization. This thesis has shown that within the Pentecostal tradition there are the tools needed to compromise and negotiate systems of boundaries in order to stay true to a religious meaning system while at the same time participating peaceably in a multicultural society. Specifically, it has been shown that Pentecostalism's pneumatological emphasis, combined with a "hybrid" approach to social engagement, provides a bridge for interaction with the wider Canadian society.

Pentecostal faith is lived out in the ritual of worship, the experience of Spirit Baptism, and the acceptance of gifts of tongues, healing, and prophecy. But it is also lived out in the actions of daily life, the pragmatic aspects of a life of faith which include encounters and relationships with those outside one's religious identity group. The word "engagement" has been used specifically in this thesis because it represents a reciprocal interaction with Canadian society, one where Pentecostalism both adapts to and infiltrates the popular imagination. Engagement has been described as a negotiation of the boundaries between identity groups. It is a complex process that is only successful if an identity group has both a strong united identity and a toleration of diversity and ambiguity.

A strong united identity provides a sense of ultimate meaning and a reference point so that boundaries do not seem so flexible that group identity is not secure. At the same time the intricate paradox and complexity of group and individual identity is the key factor which makes it possible for Pentecostals to engage critically in society. It is this complexity that forms an interconnected web-like network of social relations that allow Pentecostals to relate to those outside their own identity group while still living out their faith-based identity.

The impact of globalization should be thought of in a similar fashion. The formation of 'global Pentecostalism' has created a collective image of Pentecostalism as a worldwide, united movement through which the Holy Spirit is sweeping across boundaries of ethnicity, nationality, culture, and social circumstance. To understand 'global Pentecostalism' in the context of North American classical Pentecostalism, members are looking back to Azusa Street and finding in the collective memory a rhetoric of diversity, equality, and spontaneity in the name of the Holy Spirit. At the same time, diversity, equality, and spontaneity are being drawn from the phenomenon of glocalization. This intensification of local culture due to globalization will allow Pentecostal social boundaries and social concerns to evolve in smaller pockets. In turn, this will manifest a more complex portrayal of Pentecostal social concerns including both liberal and conservative agendas, and many perspectives that don't seem to fit into any category at all. The unifying factor among this complexity will be the quest for redemption based on the empowering experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Redemption is the motivating factor which makes it necessary for Pentecostals to try to bridge the boundaries between themselves and the wider culture. Although Christ, through his work of atonement on the cross, is the ultimate redeemer, redemption is experienced through faith and faith is lived out through action and moral constitution. Thus, redemption is always two-fold, concerned with both redeeming the individual and redeeming humanity as a whole. A world full of sin and corruption that is evidence of existing religious boundaries is also a world full of possible conversion experiences. An analysis of social context has shown that even though the essence of Pentecostal

redemption has stayed the same, the way it has been interpreted has changed with a changing social context.

In the early years of the movement, Pentecostals tended to exist in close-knit identity groups, and interacted with the wider culture with the immediate goal of bringing others into the Pentecostal identity group through proclamation and evangelization. Although social issues were important and directly tied to a life a good morality, the overall social structure of Canada could not be changed for the better without first emphasizing a religious experience which would alter the moral constitution of individual citizens. The boundary between converted and non-converted, Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal, was the fundamental marker for how social issues should be engaged with. In this sense, individual redemption was maintained by being spiritually and socially separated from the wider Canadian culture.

In contemporary Pentecostalism, the path to redemption is still focused on a life-altering religious experience. However, once an individual has had such an experience, they do not necessarily separate themselves from secular society or engage in "the ecumenicism of a carnivore"[71] that once characterized the movement. The contemporary Canadian imagination, which sees democracy and pluralism as ultimate goals for society, has influenced a shift in contemporary Canadian Pentecostalism toward social engagement and reciprocal hospitality. To be hospitable to those outside the Pentecostal identity group means to find bridge building similarities within both the hybrid nature of one's own identity and the identity of others.

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[71] See Grant Wacker's description of early Pentecostals in chapter two, section 2.2.

This thesis has set up a framework through which to look at issues of social engagement within Canadian Pentecostal Christianity. The overarching issues of identity construction and boundary negotiation have been studied in relation to the overall context of Canadian life throughout the 19th to 21st century. In further study of this topic, it would be possible to take this framework of Pentecostal identity and boundaries and apply it to other aspects of the Pentecostal faith and tradition. In this study I have not focused on Pentecostalism in the United States, but it would be interesting to see if that particular social and historical context would bring about similar conclusions to that of the Canadian context. The impressive growth of Pentecostalism within the Canadian Aboriginal community, particularly the British Columbian Aboriginal community, would provide an ideal case study with which to test the theories of hybridization and glocalization that have been discussed. Although differing social contexts are likely to be reflected in various interpretations of how redemption is lived out in everyday life, it is likely that the essence of Pentecostal social engagement would still be based around the experience-focused nature of faith-based Christianity.

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