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Part I. A Theoretical Statement of the Sect-form of Religious Organization

It is the object of this paper to analyze the origin, growth, and functions of the Pentecostal Movement in Brazil. The tools of this analysis will be certain sociological concepts and a sociological conceptual scheme especially developed for analysis of religious social phenomena. This paper does not analyze Pentecostalism as a total reality, rather it is concerned essentially with the sociological dimension of this religious form and looks at the economic, political, psychological, spiritual, etc. aspects only in so far as they might bear upon the sociological dimension. The phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism in Brazil is not to be attributed solely to sociological considerations, but it is contended that they do exercise a considerable influence.

This study of Pentecostalism in Brazil has as its system of reference the sociological conceptual scheme surrounding the sect-model of religious structural organization, as well as those concepts embodied in the theory of structural-functionalism.

A. Characteristics of the Sect Form

The great diversity of Christian religious expression has made it necessary to classify religious groups into some sort of typology in order to attempt a scientific study of them and their behavior. Max Weber divided religious groups into the ideal-types of church and sect. This church-sect typology was further elaborated by Ernest Troeltsch.¹ He conceived of them as independent sociological expressions of two variant interpretations of Christian tradition. This German theologian, historian, and philosopher typified the sect as a small, voluntary fellowship of converts who seek to realize the teachings of Jesus in a literal and radical manner.²

He saw the sect as a community apart from and in opposition to the world around it. It emphasizes the eschatological features of Christian doctrine, espouses ideals of frugality and poverty, prohibits participation in legal and political affairs, and shuns any exercise of dominion over others. In this religious form, equality of believers is stressed and a sharp distinction between clergy and laity is not drawn. It strongly maintains the priesthood of the faithful and avoids the employment of a professional ministry. The sect is characteristically suspicious of sacramental forms of theology and worship, such as infant baptism.

Those religious forms which are embraced by the traditional sect-model are generally viewed as "institutions of social and religious protest, as bulwarks of certain disadvantaged social groups in their struggle against the social power, moral conventions, and ethos of the middle classes, and against institutionalized and formalized religion."³

In opposition to Troeltsch's sect-model was the church-type which stresses the redemptive and forgiving aspects of Christian tradition. The church "compromises" the more radical teachings of Jesus and accepts many features of the secular world as at least relatively good. It seeks, according to Troeltsch, to dominate all elements within society, to teach and guide them, and to dispense saving grace to them by means of sacraments administered by ecclesiastical office holders. Those religious forms which are likened to the church-type do not require their members to realize the perfect fullness

of divine law in their own behavior. Troeltsch argued that while the sect-type appeals principally to the lower classes, the church-type is conservative and allied with the upper classes.

Thomas O'Dea summarizes the characteristics of the sect-model as follows:⁴

1. Separatism from the general society, and withdrawal from or definance of the world and its institutions and values.
2. Exclusiveness both in attitude and in social structure.
3. Emphasis upon a conversion experience prior to membership
4. Voluntary joining.
5. A spirit of regeneration.
6. An attitude of ethical austerity, often of an ascetic nature.

Even within the sect-model various types have been discerned. Elmer T. Clark lists seven: pessimistic or adventist sects, perfectionist or subjectivistic sects, communistic sects, ego-centric or new thought sects, and finally, esoteric or mystical sects.⁵

Another classification of sects is offered by Bryan Wilson who sees four broad types of sects within the framework of Protestant Christianity. These differ essentially in their response to the values and relationships prevailing in the society: The conversionist sects (Salvation Army, Pentecostals); adventist sects (Jehovah's Witnesses, Christadelphians); introversionist or pietist sects (Holiness sects, Quakers); and gnostic sects (Christian Science, New Thought sects).⁶

It is one of the objectives of this paper to examine the Pentecostal sects of Brazil, and show their structure is functional for Brazilian society, showing that this functionality is largely responsible for their very rapid growth and expansion.

B. The Origin of Sects

The principal methods of sect emergence are spontaneous development around a local charismatic leader, by schism, and by organized revival. In the first instance, the leader is believed to have unique powers, divinely imparted grace, or special prophetic abilities.⁷ His sect relies on his teaching and his organizational ability. Some sects of this kind disappear when the leader dies or leaves. Others, especially those in which the leader offers a new gnosis which is in tune with the age, spread and retain their identity. As will be seen,¹ a few Brazilian Pentecostal sects have started in this way.

The theory surrounding the sect-model maintains that the sect arising from schism tends to be vigorous as long as its protest against the parent body remains significant, and as long as the rival group exists as a challenge. "As the issue of disagreement wanes in importance, such a schismatic group may adjust to continuance as a sect, may decay in the absence of opposition, or may partially and gradually rejoin the parent body."⁸ But does this apply to Brazilian Pentecostal sects?

A third method of sect emergence is organized revival. It may begin in non-sectarian spirit, but success tends to impose organizational responsibilities and if there are distinctive teachings, sects tend to emerge. This method is especially relevant to the origin of the whole Pentecostal movement, as well as to the beginnings of particular Pentecostal sects.

But in addition to these methods of sect emergence, the

entire body of sect theory points to social conditions as being one of the primary factors responsible for the origin and growth of sects. H. Richard Niebuhr has noted that "If religion supplies the energy the goal, and the motive of sectarian movements, social factors no less decidedly supply the occasion, and determine the form the religious dynamic will take."⁹ Sects seem to proliferate when the total society or part of it suffers stresses and tensions. These stresses and strains are often the result of conditions of deprivation which in turn may be caused by social change. Deprivation has been defined as "Any and all of the ways that an individual or group may be, or feel, disadvantaged in comparison either to other individuals or groups or to an internalized set of standards."¹⁰ Sect theory sees deprivation as a necessary condition for the rise of new religious sects whose growth is strongly influenced by the degree to which they functionally satisfy these deprivations.

Historians have noted that "a multiplicity of sects is common in every country where some special circumstances disturb the traditional values of its civilization."¹¹ Churches seem to rely on social stability, but when this is absent sects flourish. The literature investigating sect emergence agrees that social disorganization resulting from migration, urbanization, social change, revolution, war, economic depressions, racial disturbances, and other sources provides fertile ground for the rise of sects. "Rapid social change, combined with the disturbance of value-systems that accompanies it, has contributed to the genesis of numerous sects."¹² The pertinence of this to

Brazilian Pentecostalism will be discussed later in the context of functional theory, for apparently what has proved functional in stable times does not meet the needs in times of instability, and thus some new religious (or quasi-religious) form arises which does prove functional in meeting the needs of the personality, cultural, and social systems during times of social disorganization.

CI The Structural Evolution of Sects

Troeltsch's church-sect typology has been subject to significant criticisms. Numerous scholars have therefore attempted to improve the classification of basic religious forms in order to create more useful and fruitful tools for sociological analysis of religious phenomena. H. Richard Niebuhr, dissatisfied with Troeltsch's static conceptualization, stresses the process of mobility within the typology.

i The sociological character of sectarianism, however, is almost always modified in the course of time by the natural processes of birth and death, and on this change in structure changes in doctrine and ethics inevitably follow. By its very nature the sectarian type of organization is valid only for one generation. The children born to the voluntary members of the first generation begin to make the sect a church long before they have arrived at the years of discretion. 13

In describing the process whereby a sect moves toward becoming a church, Niebuhr introduces a new ideal-type: the denomination, which is neither church nor sect, and yet has characteristics of both. In recent times the denomination has been described as a voluntary association

accepting adherents without imposition of traditional prerequisites of entry, and employing purely formalized procedures of admission.¹⁴ It emphasizes breadth and tolerance and since membership is laxly controlled, expulsion is not a common device for dealing with the apathetic and the wayward. Its self-conception is unclear and its doctrinal position unstressed. The denomination is content to be one movement among others, all of the which are thought to be acceptable in the sight of God. Those churches which fall under this denomination-type accept the standards and the values of the prevailing culture and conventional morality. They have a trained professional ministry with lay participation restricted to particular sections of the laity and to particular areas of activity. Services are formalized and spontaneity is largely absent.

Niebuhr's generalization that in the second generation the sect becomes a denomination or possibly a church has been challenged as inaccurate. "If one surveys the existing religious organizations, it is evident that, in both the sociological and the everyday use of the term, some sects persist as such over several generations"¹⁵ In attempting to explain why some sects soon become denominations and others remain as "established sects", it has been hypothesized that sects experience different types of tension which vary according to their own constellation of values, as well as the circumstances of their origin. In response to such tensions, in the attempt at their management, processes emerge which cause some sects to develop to denominations, others to wither, some to be exterminated, some to fragment, and some to remain, over several generations, as sects.¹⁶

There are several criteria which can be examined as indications of whether or not a sect is tending toward denominational structure. In regards to the internal structure of the sect organization it can be asked whether or not a professional, specially trained ministry is arising. If the concept of special training is admitted, then a step to denominationalism has been taken. Training implies lack of parity between leaders and members. It compromises the radical democracy of the sect and the ideal of the priesthood of all believers. Alliance with other Protestant denominations, for example, through the World Council of Churches, would also indicate a lessening of the sectarian separatist attitude and a moving toward a tolerant denominational mentality. The growth of formality, standardization in ritual and worship, and general routinization of the charisma are also external signs of a turning toward denominationalism.

The sect form of religious organization has a special affinity for the lower socioeconomic classes for a variety of reasons, but when these people acquire upward social mobility they either sever their ties with the lower-class sect or transform the sect into a more respectable and higher status denomination-type of religious structural form. They change their type of church as their functional needs change with a rise in social status. Is this aspect of sect theory applicable to the Pentecostal sects of Brazil? Are the Pentecostal sects in Brazil moving toward a more denominational structure?

Part II - The General Nature of the Pentecostal Movement

A good short, summary of Pentecostalism is given by Nils Bloch-Hoell, a leading scholar of the movement:

The Pentecostal Movement is a biblicistic-ecstatic revival movement...The most outstanding characteristic of the Movement is the doctrine of Spirit baptism as an experience different from conversion, manifested by speaking with tongues. The Movement pretends to represent a restoration of original Christianity, and has above all emphasized the charismatic gifts, such as glossolalia and supernatural healing.¹⁷

But for a sociological analysis of Pentecostalism in Brazil a deeper knowledge of the entire movement is needed than is given in the above summary.

A. The Origin of the Pentecostal Movement

There is some disagreement among Pentecostal scholars as to exactly where, when, and under whose leadership the Pentecostal movement began. However, all Pentecostals agree that the main emphasis of the movement--conversion and speaking in tongues--has its roots in the Apostolic Church and has been with the Church, on and off, up to the very present age. Pentecostals and other interested parties have written several histories of the phenomena of glossolalia (tongue-speaking) from Apostolic times to the present.¹⁸

However, in post-Apostolic times manifestations of glossolalia became rarer and rarer, until the "Modern Pentecost" of the Pentecostal revival. Because of special events, the years of 1886, 1892, 1896, 1901, and 1906 have been put forth as the origin of Pentecostalism. However, most writers agree with Claude Kendrick that "a narrative of the modern Pentecost should begin with Charles Fox Parham."¹⁹ He was a director of Bethel Bible College, in Topeka,

Kansas. A methodist minister in the "Holiness" tradition, he believed in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and asked his forty students to search the scriptures to see if they could discover any physical sign accompanying the second baptism. They came to the conclusion that the one consistent sign that this special baptism has been received was that the baptized began to speak in tongues.

Parham and his students prayed earnestly that they would receive this second baptism of the Spirit and give evidence of it by speaking in tongues. Finally, on January 1, 1901 a Miss Agnes Ozman spoken in tongues at the school prayer meeting and became the first person (officially) to demonstrate glossolalia in the Pentecost revival. Soon others followed Miss Ozman including Parham, until almost the entire school had spoken in tongues. After this, the school dispersed to preach their new found experience to others.²⁰

The new movement spread very slowly until the founding of the Azusa Street Mission in 1906. This mission in the Negro ghetto of Los Angeles became the worldwide center of early Pentecostalism. By the end of 1906 the movement claimed 13,000 adherents in the United States, Canada, India, Norway, and Sweden (which interestingly today claims the largest percentage of Pentecostals of any nation). From the very beginning the movement was extremely evangelistic and spread far and wide into many foreign countries. They regarded a conceptual definition of the Church as far less important than its vitality in giving witness, evangelizing, and doing mission work. In

the words of Key Yussa:

The Pentecostal preoccupation is to feel and to participate in a living Christian community. To announce the Word in action, convert sinners, worship in a temple, and go out in the streets and towns with enthusiasm and power, preaching the Word, praying for the sick, casting out devils and building new Communities. In all this work, recognizing the centrality of the presence and action of the Holy Spirit.

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B. The Doctrine of the Pentecostal Sects

Like many spiritual movements before them, the early Pentecostals did not consider themselves as a separate and distinct entity within Protestant Christianity. They saw themselves as a movement of revitalization within the Christian Church.²² The leaders of the earliest years did not encourage the formation of separate Pentecostal churches, but told their listeners to "receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, but remain in your church, whatever the denomination may be."²³ It was not until these Pentecostals began to manifest certain eccentric tendencies irritating their more quiescent brethren, or felt that their own spiritual growth was being stultified, that they decided, or were forced, to form their own congregations.

Perhaps because the members of the early Pentecostal sects came from very many Protestant denominations and churches with varying beliefs, they did not emphasize doctrinal matters but stressed Spirit baptism and the gift of tongues. In spite of what some Protestants might argue the Pentecostals are Protestants.

With the host of churches in the so-called Pro-

testant traditions, the Pentecostals subscribe to the Reformation principles that salvation is a free gift of divine grace apart from deeds and efforts or ecclesiastical sanction; that all Christian believers are priests by virtue of their association in the Church...That the Word of God must be the norm for faith and practice, and that it is each Christian's right and duty to interpret it for himself.²⁴

Disagreeing with Key Yusa's thesis that the Pentecostals are Protestants are such men as Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, the head of Union Theological Seminary, who puts the movement outside of Traditional Protestantism and labels Pentecostalism a "third force" in the modern Christianity alongside Protestantism and Catholicism. Perhaps a better formulation is given by Fr. Vergara of Chile who terms the movement a "third reform."²⁵ In Fr. Vergara's formulation the Protestant of the first reform include the Lutherans, Reformed Church of Presbyterians, and Anglicans. The Protestants of the second reform include the Baptists, Methodists and others of this period. The Protestants of the third reform are primarily the Pentecostals.

In matters of doctrine the Pentecostals can be described as Evangelicals whose theology is fundamentalistic. Like the Anabaptists, their spiritual ancestors, the Pentecostals declare.: (1) that the individual as well as the corporate body of believers should seek for and submit to the leading of the Spirit; (2) that there should be a return to apostolic simplicity in worship; (3) that believers ought to separate themselves from the world; (4) that believers' baptism replaces infant baptism; and (5) that believers should look for the imminent visible return of Christ who will set up His millen-

nial reign.²⁶ However, the special key to Pentecostalism is the belief that "the full New Testament baptism of the Spirit was made manifest by the glossolalia, and that it was the will of God to pour out His Spirit in this manner upon all flesh."²⁷ It is this unceasing emphasis on the "full Gospel" and the Spirit baptism, speaking in tongues, healing, etc. which it implies that is the distinguishing mark of Pentecostalism.

C. Manner of Worship

The earlier Pentecostal ideal was that the service be as spontaneous and unrestrained as possible so as to allow the Spirit full reign. Nile Bloch-Hoel describes an early meeting: "The altar was full of seekers crying out to God...Men, women, and children screaming, shouting, praying, leaping, dancing, and falling prostrate under God's overwhelming power."²⁸ Such unrestrained behavior was responsible for Pentecostals being called the "Holy Rollers", the "Holy Jumpers", and the like. Some sects are still very much like that, while others have become more sophisticated and restrained. Because of the great number of Pentecostal sects and their diversity it is very difficult to generalize in their manner of worship. As a rule they display much more emotionalism than do most Protestant groups. In the meetings of some sects glossolalia is a frequent occurrence, in others it has become less so. Some assemblies demand spontaneity, while others have standardized their ritual of worship in an orderly procedure, even to

the extent of celebrating the Lord's Supper. This matter will be treated in more detail when Brazilian Pentecostal sects are discussed.

Part III - The Growth of Pentecostal Sects in Brazil

While it is universally conceded that the Pentecostal sects in Brazil have experienced phenomenal growth, far outstripping other Protestant groups, information about these sects is difficult to obtain. Apparently they themselves are so active that they have not had time or the motivation to bring their statistics up to date, write detailed histories, or explain why they are growing so very fast. And, more bluntly, as the President of the Argentine Evangelical Seminary admits, "Pentecostals are inimical to statistics."²⁹ In fact, the very names of the sects involved in this growth are a challenge to obtain. There are three major Pentecostal sects in Brazil: the Assemblies of God, the Congregacao Crista no Brazil, and the Brazil Para Cristo. There is also a very large number of smaller sects: some established by foreign missionaries and some indigenous:

International Church of the Four Square Gospel
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
Church of God
The Pentecostal Holiness Church
Church of the Renovation
Church of the Restoration
Avivamento Biblico
Cristo Pentecostal da Biblia
Igreja de Cristo Jesus
Evangelho Quadrangular Pentecostal
Assembleia de Deus Russia
Igreja Pentecostal Jesus Nazareno
Igreja Evangelica Pentecostal
Igreja Pentecostal de Nova Vida

A. The Origin of Brazilian Pentecostal Sects

In line with the general theme of this paper, to study Brazilian Pentecostal sects in the light of the conceptual scheme of the sect-model, it can be asked whether or not these sects originated according to the theory pattern of sect-emergence which specifies three methods: Charismatic leader, schism, or organized revival. Pentecostalism as a whole, it was seen, is the product of a small revival stemming from and stimulated by the earlier Holiness Movement.

The largest Pentecostal sect, the Assemblies of God, which has about 950,000 members (1964) does not clearly fit directly into any of the sect-emergence categories since it was founded in 1911 by two Swedish missionaries who did not become the center of the sect. Gunner Vingren and Daniel Berg on the basis of a "prophecy" foretold by another, left Chicago, Ill. and went to Belem, Para in northern Brazil in November of 1910.³¹ The sect they started grew gradually until the process of increased urbanization began in Brazil around 1935, then this sect began to grow unbelievably fast. It is likewise significant to note that whereas it first began in the North, it has made most of its present gains in the South. This will be discussed later.

Congregação Crista began in 1910 under the charismatic leadership of Loui^e Francescon who received "prophecies" with which he guided his sect. "The Lord spoke to Francescon in different ways, mostly through his prayer life, and most of the changes that came from time to time in the Congregação were through this 'orientation' to the beloved founder."³² It began as a church of Italian immigrants and has

gradually assimilated into Brazilian life as its thriving condition and large membership (264,000 in 1961) indicate. It maintains a very separatist attitude even with fellow Pentecostal sects. The sect began and is still largely in Sao Paulo, an unusual city in many respects.

Brazil Para Cristo is another sect which is even more centered about the personality and activities of one man--Manoel de Melo. He began as a lay preacher in the Assemblies of God, then as a pastor he held many very successful evangelistic campaigns in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and other large urban centers of the south of Brazil. Eventually leaving the Assemblies of God he affiliated himself as a pastor in the Four Square Gospel Church which specialized in huge tent meetings and became their leading evangelist. About the time he opened his own morning radio program he broke from the Four Square Gospel Church and in March 1955 his movement incorporated itself as Brazil Para Cristo which in 1963 claimed 500,000 adherents.³³

Many of the smaller Pentecostal sects are the results of a split with a larger Pentecostal sect or with one of the more traditional Protestant denominations. Schisms have occurred within the older Brazilian Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and various Evangelical denominations. Still other smaller independent sects have been founded by foreign missionaries and then turned over to Brazilian pastors. In reference to the sect-model Bryan Wilson indicates that "Schism is a feature of sects more than of denomination."³⁴ and the Brazilian sects certainly seem to verify this.

B. Protestant and Pentecostal Growth in Brazil

in Brazil, uses the term "traditional growth" when describing the growth of such Protestant Churches as the Presbyterian, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, etc. in Brazil, but when referring to the Pentecostals he speaks of "accelerated growth." He sees not only a difference in degree but almost a qualitative difference, a new pattern. He observes:

While the traditional churches during the same period, with the aid of hundreds of missionaries and millions of dollars, have increased from probably 300,000 to 1,000,000, the Pentecostals, with the aid of very few missionaries, and frequently without any financial assistance at all, have increased from a handful to over 3,000,000. . . . This is not merely more rapid growth, but a new kind of growth.³⁵

Emilio Willems states that the first count of Protestants was carried out in 1890 and reported a total of 143,743 or one per cent of the entire population of Brazil.³⁶ The census of 1940 reported 1,074,857 Protestants, representing 2.61 percent of the Brazilian people. The next census of 1950 recorded 1,741,430 or 3.5 percent.³⁷ And in 1958 the Evangelical Confederation of Brazil reported a total of 2,697,273 Protestants or 4.3 percent of all Brazilians. Today, an estimated four million Protestants is reported by Church observers, but an ever growing share of this count must be attributed to the Pentecostal sects. According to a survey published in 1932, only 9.5 percent of the Protestants in Brazil were Pentecostals.³⁸ This percentage had risen to 55 in 1958,³⁹ and to 65.2 percent in 1964 with a projection of 76.2 percent or more for 1974.⁴⁰ The following tables will help to illustrate the significance of this phenomena in growth.

C. Patterns of Pentecostal Growth

One of the most discussed aspects of Pentecostalism is its relationship to socio-cultural change and social disorganization, in fact, "The trajectory of Pentecostalism as a mass movement began in 1930 approximately when sociocultural change on a large scale was already under way (in Brazil)."⁴¹ The association with social change will be examined in a later part of the paper, for now, a survey of where Pentecostalism is making the most progress will be useful.

For regional comparisons it is useful to consider the five geographical regions into which Brazil is conventionally divided, and survey Protestant growth in each. The Federal Government of Brazil publishes annually since 1956 Estatística do Culto Protestante do Brasil. This census is far from complete, but it presents at least the results from 1600 or about two-thirds of all Brazilian municipalities. W.R. Bead and other church observers believe that the data is about 30 percent short of the actual facts. The following table will prove useful in this examination. Willems argues that in 1957 62.20 percent of all Brazilian Protestants were located in southern Brazil, whose population corresponded to only 33.75 percent of the total population. The most glaring discrepancy between the number of Protestants and relative population is found in the Northeast, which contains 23.84 percent of the total population, but only 9.22 percent of all Brazilian Protestants in 1957. Even the rate of growth is different for Protestants (and Pentecostals) in the North and South, "The states which have grown the most are in the south... These in the north are growing least."⁴² Another significant pattern of this growth is that it is predominantly an urban phenomena as the following tables will show.

The largest churches are found in the largest cities located in the coastal population belt. "In 1958 the Assemblies of God had 181 churches each having more than 400 members. The combined membership of all 181 constituted approximately 65 percent of the total Assemblies' membership. The 188 were all urban churches."⁴³

It is also very significant that it is these very cities which have been the object of the largest number of migrations from the rural areas and the North. The Pentecostals are especially active among these migrants and ^{WIN}many converts from them.

Sao Paulo has been described as the fastest growing city in Latin America, undoubtedly it is the largest industrial center in South America and has attracted many thousands of migrants and immigrants each year.⁴⁴ It has also experienced a great deal of Pentecostal activity, especially in recent years.

Pentecostal missionaries who have given their lives in the evangelization of Brazil talk about the city of Sao Paulo as the Pentecostal capital of the world. They estimate that each Sunday night in greater Sao Paulo more than 250,000 Pentecostals of all types meet to glorify and enjoy God. No other city in the world has received the Pentecostal impact like the sprawling, urban metropolis of Sao Paulo. Whether or not it is the fastest growing city in the whole world in population, it certainly is the fastest growing city in Pentecostals.⁴⁵

Pentecostal leaders commonly estimate their annual growth to be ten or twelve percent. Read in discussing the Brazilian Assemblies of God claims, "The index of increase for the whole denomination is about 25 percent each year or 250 percent each decade."⁴⁶ The sociological dimension of this phenomena can offer a great deal in the way

of an explanation of it. The following treatment will center on the sociological structure of Brazilian Pentecostalism and the highly functional quality of it for Brazil society and certain groups in it.

Part IV. The Structural-Functionalism of Brazilian Pentecostalism

A. The Meaning of Structural-Functionalism

In established societies, religion is one of the important institutional structures making up the total social system. A very valuable approach to the study of this institution has been found in attempting to ascertain what functions this structure performs in maintaining the social system of the larger society or of subsystems in the general society. The term structure signifies the given institution as it exists in the society and includes the organizational form, the norms, and patterns of behavior, together with its hierarchy of power and means for maintenance and expansion, and similar aspects of what the institution is in a more or less static still-picture. On the other hand, function signifies what the institution contributes to the continuence of the society and its harmony. As Robert Merton notes, it includes both the manifest and purposeful performance of the institution as well as the latent or unintentional and hidden tasks which it performs in the society. The functioning of the given institution contributes to the preservation of the social system's equilibrium whereby the system is kept intact and stresses and strains counterbalanced and minimized. It may also happen that what is functional for one subsystem or social item may prove dysfunctional for another subsystem or item in the general larger society. It is therefore necessary to specify the

social unit which is being analyzed as functional. ⁴⁷

It is the thesis of this paper that the structural form of Pentecostalism is functional for Brazilian society and this functionality is greatly responsible for its continuence and rapid growth in the society. It is functional on three levels: on the level of the personality, the cultural, and the social systems.

B. The General Structural Form of the Brazilian Sects

Many of the characteristics which the literature attributes to the sect-model can aptly be applied to these Pentecostal sects, although, it should be mentioned, they are not as extremely radical as certain types of separatist sects which demand complete rejection of the world and seek isolation, morally and physically, in their own self-contained community. Nor are they as extremist as certain adventist or prophetic sects which tell of the demise of this world within a few short years and urge immediate conversion as alternative to suffering damnation. But Brazilian Pentecostals do renounce "the world" when they renounce their former behavior and unbelief in the days when they "lived in sin" before their conversion, and their strict moral code repudiates a sinful world.

In contrast to most denominations and churches, the Pentecostals emphasize informality in organization and mode of worship. The concept of Brotherhood is strongly advocated among the members of the sects, and with the exception of the Congregacao Crista no Brasil the Pentecostals are relatively friendly with one another and do not seem to be as hostile to outsiders as other sects tend to be. This

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openness and congeniality with outsiders is probably a factor in their converting large numbers. But the hostility of non-members toward the Pentecostals is another factor in promoting close cohesion among members of the sect. As Lewis Coser observes, "Conflict makes group members more conscious of their group bonds and increases their participation... It also mobilizes the group's defenses among which is the reaffirmation of their value system against the outside enemy."⁴⁸

Whereas the church is inclusive the sect is exclusive. This exclusion is attained through conflict with outsiders and the maintenance of this exclusive standing requires the sect to be an internally cohesive conflict group. The Pentecostals unite against their persecutors, seeking consolation in each other and in their belief.

This belief is characterized far more by faith in a literally understood Bible than in theological understanding. The remarks of Thomas O'Dea and Renato Poblete seem to apply equally well to Brazilian sects, "

They are evangelical and missionary-minded. They stress a way of life rather than a creed; the emphasis is on intensity rather than universality and they tend to maintain uncompromisingly radical religious attitudes, demanding from their members the maximum in their relationships to God, to the world, and to men. The moral standards are very high and there is a genuine austerity about their attitudes and patterns of living.

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Simple, and perhaps naive, as this belief is, it appears to offer a complete Weltanschauung to the unsophisticated convert. It permeates his life and all his actions giving him meaning and purpose in life, as well as many things to do. In short, it demands total involvement and full commitment from the true believer.

Of singular importance in the structure of these Pentecostal sects is the strict egalitarianism found in them. Theoretically, all are equal in the priesthood of the faithful, sharing equally in the life of the sect and its mission to the world. They base this principle of equality on the belief that all members are open to the experience of the Holy Spirit, and no person has more of a right to it than another. This democratic principle of equality is highly valued among them. "From countless interviews with Protestant ministers and church members in Brazil and Chile, it became quite obvious that to them egalitarianism within the local church was something to be preserved at any cost."⁵⁰ This principle is manifested in the high social mobility to be found in the confines of the sect. All a person needs to advance in status is more than ordinary movement by the Spirit. In a study done by Anthony L. LaRuffa, there was found a direct correlation in a congregation between the esteem in which several members were held and the number of times they had spoken in tongues and manifested possession by the Spirit during local meetings.⁵¹ The frequency of glossolalia is also important for advancement in task roles, "To prove oneself worthy of being promoted to any higher position within the congregation, one must have received the Holy Spirit...If he receives more than an ordinary share of powers from the Spirit, a professional career within the organizational framework of the sect is open to him."⁵² For no matter humble his origin, a successful evangelist, inspired by the powers of the Spirit, can become a leader within the sect, or even the founder of a new sect, for schisms occur so often within the Pentecostal Movement that they are considered by many as a normal

form of growth.

Before discussing the structure of the ministry in the Pentecostal sects of Brazil, it is significant to note that the principle of egalitarianism is so valued among the Congregacao Crista that they have no ministerial body as such, each member being a minister in his own right. However, they do have an anciao (elder) who is designated as the director of an evening's worship, but he is not the preacher. When the time for preaching arrives,

b The Holy Spirit will place the message, needed by all, on the heart of one of the elders or deacons who are always seated in the front row. Everyone waits now for the moving of the Holy Spirit. Who will preach tonight? After a time of waiting, one of the men in the front row arises and confidently makes his way to the pulpit.⁵³

But most of the other Brazilian Pentecostal sects do have an ordained ministry. However, no theological training is needed to be ordained, instead they have a long apprenticeship system in which candidates work their way up. Dr. Eugene Nida gives a description,

They often begin as young ushers in the church, then start selling scriptures or tracts. This may be followed by a period as Sunday School teachers, then as deacons or elders, and finally as assistant pastors, often in a small newly-founded congregation, and finally when these persons are forty or fifty years of age they may become full pastors of a church.⁵⁴

In regards to the ministry, Douglas Weber writes, "With very few exceptions indeed...all Pentecostal pastors in Brazil support themselves by doing some paid secular job...the general rule is that no pastor receives any salary from the Church."⁵⁵ He likewise notes that since their sermons are entirely spontaneous and unprepared, finding time for sermon preparation or study is a problem which does

not exist for these part-time pastors. Nor do they have the custom of visiting homes of those in the congregation, this is probably because most of these Pentecostals are poor and not accustomed to having visitors in their homes.

In brief summary, the Pentecostals in Brazil demand a total commitment from the convert and in turn offer him a meaning to life and its troubles. They impose a strict code of discipline upon the believer, but few doctrinal beliefs saving a pronounced emphasis on the action of the Spirit. The meetings are highly emotional and held daily for two to four hours with such phenomena as glossolalia, prophesying, interpreting, and the giving of testimony are frequent occurrences. The Pentecostals are a closely knit body with high internal cohesion. Their organizational structure is fairly loose and their ministry part-time.

The above is hardly a full analysis of the structure of Pentecostal sects, yet it seems sufficient for the purposes at hand. The following sections will examine the manifest and latent functions which this structure has for Brazilian society and certain groups in it.

C. Functionalism for the Social System

The traditional social system of Brazil has been undergoing in recent years not mere developmental growth but major structural changes involving different institutions. These upheavals have deeply affected the traditional class system, the community, and the family. Their major manifestations may be seen in the disintegration of rural feudalism, widespread internal migration, the

emergence of the industrial city and an urban middle class, the opening of rural frontiers, and a gradual reduction of the extended family and the concomitant change in the status of the women." 56

The stresses and strains resulting from rapid socio-cultural change brought about especially by urbanization and industrialization have created new needs in the society which cry out to be filled if the social order is not to result in catastrophe or deterioration. Different needs are to be found among the different classes and society may well offer a number of alternative mechanisms to satisfy these new needs. It is here contended that Pentecostalism is one of these mechanisms which is fulfilling a certain set of social needs among the lower classes and through them it is contributing to the whole ^{social} social system.

This paper accepts the thesis, advocated by not a few, that there is a "functional relationship ^{between} sociocultural change and the expansion of Protestantism." 57 It is here advocated that this correlation is most evident with Pentecostalism, and may be attributed to the fact that this form of essentially lower class movement performs important adjustive, adaptive, and accommodative functions for certain groups in the social system in periods characterized by strain and instability. How is Pentecostalism functional in a society which is turning more and more toward industrialization?

While a highly industrialized society may stress consumerism among its members, a growing industrialized society must stress hard work and productiveness. Different character types are required for the proper functioning of different types of societies. Erich

Fromm speaks of the concept of "social character" as composed of a set of ^{CORE} here characteristics which most members of a society exhibit and which are functional for the socio-economic system of the society. Pre-industrial Brazil, it is assumed, did not need its members to consider work as something valuable in itself, and much of Brazil's work-force is today of poor quality for an industrializing society if it is true that "Our modern industrial system requires that most of our energy be channeled in the direction of work."⁵⁸ Pentecostalism with its ethos of the Protestant Ethic (hard work, frugality, etc.) is one of the mechanisms influencing the lower class to change its social character to one which would be very functional for an industrializing society.⁵⁹ By adhering to its simple doctrines the lower class man desires freely those traits which he really must have to be a functioning, contributing member of the new society.

Thus (for this argument, the Brazilian) modern man, instead of having to be forced to work as hard as he does, is driven by the inner compulsion to work...Or instead of obeying overt authorities, he has built up an inner authority--conscience and duty--which operates more effectively in controlling him than any external authority could ever do.⁶⁰

The Protestant ethic of Pentecostalism performs a latent function for the socio-economic order of Brazil, its manifest function is to make a saint out of a sinner, to obey the law of God and shun the ways of the devil. Moreover, there are other latent functions: Frugality and a desire for steady and hard work not only benefit the economic industrial system, but enable a lower-class person to rise in social and economic status. Here this is seen not in terms of benefiting a single person, but an entire social class.

The observation of Fr. Prudencio Damboriena, that Pentecostals--as a social group--make the best workers in Chile, can be also very aptly applied in Brazil where they are also in demand by employers. 61

This notion that Pentecostalism's sanctifying of work is latently functional both for an industrializing society and the worker class in it can be summed up in the words of Erich Fromm:

tu Changing social conditions result in changes in the social character, that is, in new needs and anxieties. These new needs give rise to new ideas and, as it were, make men susceptible to them; these new ideas in their turn tend to stabilize and intensify the new social character. 62

Making it more explicit, it may also be theorized that because a person is inclined to feel he wants to be a steady worker, he joins a Pentecostal sect which values this trait. In this reverse case the Pentecostals do not motivate him to work hard, but reinforce and reward a trait already possessed by him. They offer him a higher rationalization for his behavior. However, this latter would have to be confirmed by empirical study.

The very high correlation between industrial areas (cities of the South, especially Sao Paulo) and Pentecostalism, as was earlier noted, is a factor very much in favor of what was said above. Thus, the areas most strongly affected by industrialization and urbanization are also those with the heaviest concentration of Pentecostals, and conversely, in those areas which have remained relatively untouched by socio-cultural changes, Pentecostecostalism has made much less progress.

As has already been noted, Pentecostal sects flourish especially well in those cities which are the object of much internal migration

from the rural areas, especially the North. Again, the manifest function of the sects is that they offer these migrants a change for salvation, and life in the Christian community. The latent functions are several: The Pentecostals give a feeling of belongingness to a group of people who have left their homes far away and are wandering in search of a new one. Pentecostalism contributes to the adaptation of a social group to the demands of a new environment. They extend to the migrant a welcome hand in a new area, and introduce him to the new urban community in an adjustive manner. Thus, Pentecostalism is a bridge between the traditional, which is disappearing or left behind, and the new, which makes new demands on the person. "It cushions change by reducing anomie and at the same times prescribes behavior and endorses behavior and values which are compatible with the new."⁶³

Among institutions which have been weakened by social change in Brazil is the family. In this instance, Pentecostal sects effect a conservative function in that first, they desire that all members of a family belong to the sect, and second, when all members of a household are communicants there is a strengthening in intra-familial ties. Many sources for marital strife seem to automatically disappear, for example, excessive drinking, quarreling, extra-marital affairs, gambling, stealing, unsteady employment, etc. etc. Both parties take on more respect for one another and show more patience. Thus, a manifest religious function has latent functions for the preservation of institutions in the social system.

The Pentecostals advocate the learning of reading for all so that all can read the words of Holy Scripture. But they also display a marked distrust and even avoidance for going beyond this and acquiring

more education, believing that the Bible has the answer to all problems. Their promotion of reading certainly is functional, but their fear of more education seems dysfunctional in the long run for the lower class^{sub} system. However, it may be functional in the short run since it allays frustration and anxiety among uneducated groups by convincing them that education (which they do not have) is of no real value and they should not worry about acquiring it.

Even in regard to the government, Pentecostalism is much more functional than other more radical groups. They do not advocate overthrow of the government or resistance to the Brazilian authorities. In the degree of their involvement in politics there is much diversity among the sects. None are so involved as Manoel de Melo of the Brasil para Cristo, who uses his popular radio program to support certain candidates, going even so far as to hold all-night prayer meetings for their victory in an election. "He is not afraid to enter the political arena and call foul acts by their names, exposing them and crying out for reform."⁶⁴

Within the past three years many of his Evangelical candidates have been elected....In the state of Sao Paulo, he has 72 whom he has supported in their elections to local city councils...He believes that the Evangelicals must place their own candidates in office and begin the long needed reforms from within through them.⁶⁵

This building up of a power bloc among the lower class is functional for this subsystem and will win it respect from others (as power always does). But this is hardly revolutionary nor a danger to the government. "Pentecostalism is potentially 'evolutionary' rather than revolutionary and, therefore, compatible with the tenets of western democracy and 'enlightened capitalism'".⁶⁶ It is not a

threat to the social, political, or economic systems of Brazilian society.

To a limited extent Pentecostalism is even functional for the entire Christian religious institution of Brazilian society. The enormous successes it has enjoyed among the lower class has resulted not only in a revitalization of Christianity among these people, but has a stimulus effect on the more traditional religious organizations both Catholic and Protestant. "It has forced the more established churches to proselytize among the poor and thereby exposing the church leaders to the great social and economic problems plaguing the indigent."⁶⁷ In several instances Catholic missionaries have employed techniques which are typically Pentecostal.⁶⁸

Strange as it may seem, Pentecostalism in Brazil may also prove quite functional as a recreational institution for the lower class, since the high emotional content of the meetings and the general sociability afforded by membership is in sharp contrast to the general drudgery and monotony which they must bear in their daily lives. The singing and unrestrained joyous expression which characterizes these sects is a source of much enjoyment for these people. Membership, however, can also be seen as dysfunctional for the more general societal recreational institution in that it cuts off the sect member from former sources of recreation which are now regarded as "sinful and worldly" such as gambling, drinking, movies, spending money carelessly, mixed bathing, etc.

Sociologist William D'Antonio sees the Pentecostals as a valuable form of voluntary association which he defines as "an autonomous grouping of individuals who have of their own free choice joined

together to satisfy personal or social needs..(and) as urbanism and industrialism have spread and become the way of life for more and more people, there has grown up with them the voluntary association." 69

Among the four broad types of voluntary associations D'Antonio includes "those of a social-religious orientation, like the protestant churches, especially the more fundamentalistic." Together with such scholars as Rose, Chapin, Lipset, and others, he says that the voluntary association can perform the following functions:

1. It distributes and diffuses power over social life.
2. It provides a sense of satisfaction with the modern democratic process.
3. It provides a social mechanism for continually initiating social change.
4. It offers for its members fellowship, security, explanation and control.
5. It helps to train leaders who then move on out to larger community projects or organizations as leaders.
6. It helps to form public opinion on community-wide issues.
7. It fosters among its members a greater civic awareness, and a greater degree of participation in civic and political affairs.

D'Antonio sees the Pentecostals as a type of voluntary association whose objectives is not to integrate with contemporary Latin American urban society, but to retreat from it, and he maintains that this separatist attitude is functional:

In the present situation of mass unemployment and a migration to the city which is well ahead of the city's ability to absorb this population, the isolation and other-worldly orientation of this form of Protestantism may be extremely functional for the community. If nothing else, it reduces pressures on urban and federal authorities to help them.

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While it is here contended that Pentecostalism is making such rapid advances because it is functional for certain subsystems within Brazilian society and also for the entire social system, it is not forgotten that there are dysfunctional aspects to this movement.

For example, since they stress healing through prayer so much, some of their members avoid seeking medical assistance from doctors and suffer grave consequences because of this. Others first attempt to cure themselves through prayer and if this proves impossible they then have recourse to doctors, but this delay is often detrimental to their health and recovery. Thus, the movement serves to alienate some from the institution of medicine and health in the society. And while membership in the Pentecostal sects allows many to advance economically, there are a few instances of economic exploitation by certain pastors. It must also be added that in addition to being functional for social institutions in Brazil, Pentecostalism is also functional for integrative social processes such as socialization and social control.

D. Functionalism for the Cultural System

The distinction between the social, cultural, and personality systems of a society is an artificial one made for the purpose of convenience of analysis. Although each is defined differently they do possess an interdependence and mutuality which does not permit a discussion of one without bringing in elements discussed in regard to the other systems. In discussing the cultural system the emphasis is placed on knowledge, pseudo-knowledge, symbols, beliefs, and values found in the society or in part of it. Culture is thus a symbolic system of meanings whose elements may be either implicit or explicit. O'Dea's words are significant here, "Culture is the creation by man of a world of adjustment and meaning, in the context of which human life can be significantly lived."⁷¹ What is the contribution the

Pentecostalssects in Brazil make for the creation of a world of adjustment and meaning in which Brazilians, especially those of the lower class, can live meaningfully?

In the treatment of the general structure of Brazilian sects it was noted that they demand total involvement and commitment from their constituency. The very nature of their teachings seems to urge this, for true conversion requires a total renouncement of former ways and a declaration of commitment to the sect's ideas. This commitment is manifested to all through the convert's "Spirit Baptism" in which he speaks in tongues. This total immersion in the sect's approach to life gives the convert a frame of reference from which all of life can be given meaning and significance. Through full acceptance of the sect's beliefs the member is furnished with a meaningful world view, and he can adjust himself to his existential life-situation. Moreover, through such symbols as glossolalia, prophetizing, interpretation, healing, and intense prayer, the Pentecostal gains control over the unknown and the powerful. Through the actions of the Spirit he overcomes and conquers the evil world powers. That this is a functional cultural need is demonstrated by the growth of a functional alternative to Pentecostalism--Spiritism.

There are some 12 million fragmented Brazilian followers of Umbanda, the amalgam of African oãlt and Christianity which is Brazil's second biggest after Roman Catholicism.⁷² The Umbanda ritual is animistic using African spirits and Catholic saints for healing, ritual practices, and ecstatic experiences. "In Sao Paulo there are many Spiritist centers combining elements of low (Umbanda) and high (Kardecismo) Spiritism. The result has been a Spiritism that functions

as a vehicle to adapt human personality to the needs of urban life, especially that of the masses who are in the midst of rapid social change."⁷³ Spiritism of all types is growing rapidly in Brazil especially in urban areas among the lower classes. Moreover, it has been viewed as "very important in the integration of the masses into urban society."⁷⁴ The similarity between elements of Spiritism and Pentecostalism are striking, especially in the emotional experience of glossolalia. Key Yuasa has observed,

Pentecostalism is interestingly well equipped to face the world of a more primitive sort of religiosity The more traditional Protestants rebuke these beliefs and practices as superstitious. The Pentecostals, because of their belief in bad spirits, and angels seem to be just in the midst of the turmoil of the world of spirits, etc., in order to fight against the bad spirits, face to face, with the Spirit. The best example of this is the fact that an important part of the service consists in prayer for the sick and exorcisms.

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The rapid growth of both Spiritism and Pentecostalism indicates that both are meeting certain functional needs in the Brazilian lower class and do so in similar ways. There are no reports dealing with the extent to which Pentecostals converts formerly practiced Spiritism or how many Pentecostals fall away to Spiritism. But both are important elements in Brazilian culture, and even if both have their origin as imports, they are now definitely indigenous religions.

One of the values of the cultural system of growing Brazil is the spirit of pride and rebellion. This is often manifested in intense nationalism, in city and area rivalry, in opposition to the traditional status quo. Emilio Willems suggests the hypothesis that con

that conversion to Protestantism (most especially Pentecostalism) "constitutes one of the many ways in which hostility and rebellion against a decaying social structure may be expressed."⁷⁶ He argues that the Catholic Church is often perceived by the masses as a symbol of the traditional order and as an ally of the landed aristocracy. Now Pentecostal sects in Brazil are extremely hostile toward the Catholic Church which they see as the Anti-Christ and helper of Satan, and if one sides with the Pentecostals he sides against the Church and what it represents. Thus Willems sees symbolic rebellion in conversion. Pentecostalism is functional as a cultural expression of this rebellion. The current director of the Hispanic-American Institute in Austin, Texas also notes the relation between non-violent rebellion and conversion:

Becoming or remaining an evangelico is of necessity the repudiation of the old order. The language of evangelism, catechesis, preaching, and pastoral care abounds in biblical references to the distinction between believers and unbelievers, the church and the world, light and darkness, holiness and sinfulness.... One of the most tragic consequences of Protestant separatism has been its rejection of the Roman Catholic Church (seeing it) as a major symbol and ally of that traditional order repudiated in the experience of conversion.⁷⁷

The beliefs of the Pentecostals, especially in regard to family life and work, appear to be functionally adjustive for the man entering an urban, industrial area and way of life. Adherence to

values are upset and a quest for new ones begins which is very disturbing. Pentecostalism offers a definite, firm set of values which someone culturally free-floating would especially appreciate. Whether Pentecostal sects answer permanent cultural needs as against transitory ones arising in times of change is difficult to answer. Does a person who becomes settled have further need for his Pentecostal affiliation? It is reported that the Pentecostal sects do offer a large number of their converts, but who they lose is not known. There is fragmentary evidence that the second generation (which is presumably more settled and upwardly mobile) tends to abandon Pentecostalism as they advance socially and economically.⁷⁸

E. Functionalism for the Personality System

Socio-cultural changes in the total society definitely have repercussions for the individual and his personality system. Durkheim observed that the disruption of existing social structures was one important aspect of anomie, and it is known that Brazil since the 1930's has been experiencing major changes in her social institutions. Agreeing with Anthony L. LaRuffa that "The sense of rootlessness engendered by internal migration along with industrialization and urbanization has been an important factor in the proliferation of Pentecostal churches in Brazil."⁷⁹, it is here contended that Pentecostalism is functional in meeting the stresses and strains which social change has induced upon the personality system of many lower class Brazilians.

As Poblete and O'Dea hypothesized, the formation and growth of Pentecostal sects is a way out of an anomic condition and an

attempt to find community in a new urban environment.⁸⁰ The rapid expansion of Pentecostal sects among Brazilian migrants to the city offers some similarity with the Puerto Rican migration to New York, as well as to the rural Negro migration to Northern cities. The resolving of anomie stems from the Gemeinschaft character of the Pentecostal sect, its sense of brotherhood and community. Membership offers security in an unsure world, friendship in an unfriendly one. And as D'Antonio wisely states,

One thing is certain; if the change from agricultural society to urban society has helped man or given him the opportunity to break the chains of tradition and custom, this change has done nothing to do away with man's social nature. He is still very much a social animal, and for this reason needs a sense of belonging, or group identification, of feeling that he is able to participate with others in meaningful interaction. If he is not to get this satisfaction from his kin or the hacienda or the traditional Church, he will seek it elsewhere and if necessary create new forms of associations.⁸¹

It has also been suggested that Pentecostalism is a refuge for those with a variety of personality problems.⁸² It offers some type of functional solution or palliative to problems of drinking (Pentecostals do not drink), role-conflict, sense of inadequacy, family disorganization, psychological illnesses, weaknesses of moral character, etc. Membership in a Pentecostal sect can also give esthetic and emotional satisfaction to the personality system through participation in processions, vigils, rituals, etc.. And it provides a catharsis for those whose life is monotonous and wearisome, adding variety and color to their lives. But no empirical research has been conducted, as yet, to measure the extent to which these points are

valid for a given situation.

As was noted earlier, social mobility within Pentecostal sects is relatively easy with the chief criterion being the action of the Spirit on the individual as manifested in tongues, prophetizing, interpreting, godliness of life, etc., Membership can offer substitution of worldly success with religious success. Failure in the world can turn a person toward satisfaction in religion which judges success according to a different set of values. "It provides a means for achieving status in a religious community for the more ambitious whose mobility in the general society has been seriously hampered."⁸³ This has functional advantages for the well-being of the personality system.

Sidney Mintz, in his study of a cane worker in Puerto Rico, tells of the benefits received by his subjects through their conversion to Pentecostalism:

Both Taso and Eli joined the Pentecostal Church for the same reason, and yet each for his own reasons. Both derive some kind of general gratification out of their new status; yet each receives some particular and individual gratifications....For both Taso and Eli conversion meant a new solution to old and almost unendurable problems....(both) reveal a deep undercurrent of powerful human feeling which the church came to satisfy.⁸⁴

A final but important remark should be made concerning the implications of finding a workable solution to what Weber terms the "problems of meaning." and what this means for a person's personality system. Christianity, even in a most primitive form, has an ethical and religious content which is quite rich and meaningful by most standards. But most of the forms of organized Christianity today appeal only to certain higher strata of people, leaving the very

lower social levels untouched. The Pentecostals, for a variety of reasons, have a strong attraction for the poor and underprivileged and can bring them a very meaningful religious and spiritual experience which they may not get otherwise. This spiritual experience is certainly adding something positive to the personality system of those in the lower class. It is something functional in so far as it helps them adjust and accommodate themselves to the subsystem in which they live as well as to the general total society in which they take part.

Part V - Brazilian Pentecostalism and Sect to Church Evolution

A) Susceptibility to Evolution

H. Richard Niebuhr criticized the classic sect-church typology as being too static and proposed his theory of mobility within the typology in which the denomination was a stepping stone to a church structure. Niebuhr argued that the sect has a brief life span and generalized, "By its very nature the sectarian type of organization is valid only for one generation."⁸⁵ In the second generation the sect becomes a denomination automatically. But Niebuhr's generalization has, in turn, been criticized as oversimplifying the situation, for some sects persist over several generations. Bryan Wilson distinguished and delineated several sub-types of sects according to certain variables and predicted the susceptibility of some sects over others to the process of evolution. The Pentecostals are classed among the first subtype, concerning which he says in his conclusions,

Thus, it is clear that sects with a general democratic ethic, which stress simple affirmation of intense subjective experience as a criterion of admission, which

stand in the orthodox fundamentalist tradition, which emphasize evangelism and use revivalist techniques, and which seek to accommodate groups dislocated by rapid social change are particularly subject to denominationalizing tendencies.

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These Conversionist sects, according to Wilson, lack the protective mechanisms which the Adventist and Introversionist sects display to ward off and slow down the process of evolution to denominational structure. However, because the Pentecostal Movement consists in a multiplicity of sects scattered throughout the world and of different ages, it would be very unwise to generalize, at this early date, that the movement is or is not continuing to be of a sectarian type. It would be much more meaningful to examine particular sects in certain definite areas and determine the possible evolution of these. Such empirical research seems to be in process today in different countries, but the results are not yet published. An exception to this is a study done by Frank W. Young of a California Pentecostal sect. In this study the author found that "the change from sect to church involves an extensive reformulation of the group's dominant value-orientation."⁸⁷

Since there are not available research studies at present on particular Pentecostal sects in Brazil, an attempt is here made to gain an approximate overall view of the progress these sects are experiencing in evolution to a denominational structure according to sect theory. In order to gain some perspective a comparison will be made between Pentecostal sects in Brazil and those in Chile. Both groups have much in common in addition to being started about the same time.

B. Indicators of Evolution

The sect springs up because it has something new to say, for as a protest movement which attempts to recover something lost. In both instances the element of charisma is involved. It can be described as an indefinable quality which is out of the ordinary, and being unsettled and transitory and soon must pass. How can charisma be preserved in some way? "Charismatic phenomena are unstable and temporary and can prolong their existence only by becoming routinized--that is, by becoming transformed or incorporated into the routine institutionalized structures of society."⁸⁸ Max Weber's description of the "routinization of charisma" exposes a fundamental process in the development of religious structural organization.⁸⁹ Basically, this routinization or institutionalization is a two-sided process involving internal changes in the sect movement, and at the same time an adjustment or "compromise" of the sect's position with the general society and the established religious institution within this society.

First, in regard to internal changes in the Pentecostal sects of Brazil, observers have noted among the more established churches a tendency for the "spontaneous" meetings to take on a patterned form. An observer at a meeting of the Congregacao Crista in Sao Paulo reports: "The first hymns announced, and when the band begins, all join in the singing but remain seated. After the hymn, it is prayer time...It is now time for testimonies...after the singing of another hymn, it is time for the message of the evening...then the final hymn."⁹⁰ Although not speaking specifically of Brazilians, Eugene A. Nida makes

a very significant point when he writes,

Pentecostal outbursts of emotion, including violent dancing, screaming, speaking in tongues, and hysteria are quite ritualized, despite their apparent informality. Actually the timing of such events and the persons who will participate are relatively predictable once a particular congregation and its manner of worship are known. The fact that Pentecostal congregations seem to know quite well when they are all to quit praying aloud is evidence of the ritualized forms. It is also true that the Pentecostal outbursts though they have great spontaneity when they first occur in any congregation or community, soon lose their dynamic. It is for this reason that Pentecostal churches normally bring in one outside evangelist after, for only by the introduction of new 'information' and 'energy' can a high pitch of emotional tension be sustained.

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Describing a meeting of the Brasil Para Cristo held by Manoel do Melo, William Read writes, "There was a spontaneous audible prayer by the whole congregation which made one feel as though a volcano had erupted. It continued for a while and then suddenly ended as if by a prearranged signal. With this, the Monday service of Missionary Manoel do Melo was over."⁹²

The more settled and organized these meetings become the more they take on a denominational character. There are several aspects of Pentecostal worship which appear routinized. The recounting of their personal conversion is a favorite Pentecostal witness-activity, and on this point Poblete and O'Dea note, "The form of such testimonies shows that despite the spontaneity of communal religiosity there is a degree of stereotyping. It would appear that each convert had heard many testimonies and makes the attempt to interpret and fit his own experience into a normatively desired pattern."⁹³ This could probably also be applied to many sect congregations in Brazil.

Another aspect of internal change has to do with the education and employment of the ministers. In regard to education it has been noted, "The Pentecostals, now reaching the second and third generation (in some Latin American congregations), are becoming aware of the need for a more articulate theological understanding of themselves."⁹⁴ In Chile and Argentina a number of Pentecostal student ministers are attending classes in Protestant seminaries for the first time. This appears to be a growing trend in Chile and it is being well received. Last year the largest Pentecostal sect in Chile elected a new bishop and the International Review of Missions commented: "With the election of Pastor M. Manicilla...this Church enters a stage of organizational stabilization and development in pastoral training."⁹⁵

The Chilean sect Mision Iglesia Pentecostal is "convinced of the necessity of training. One of their younger pastors is at the Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires. When he returns they are hoping, in conjunction with other groups, to start their own seminary in Santiago."⁹⁶ Several other Pentecostal sects in Chile are also interested in starting seminaries for their ministers, some others, however, are firmly set against this idea. But the Chileans seem more in favor of it than do the Brazilians, nevertheless, the Brazilian sects may follow a similar path eventually, for as one author comments, "Although hitherto they have spurned any theological training, this is slowly changing. They now have a Bible Institute in Rio De Janeiro. There is a wide diversity of attitude to training in the different (Pentecostal) churches."⁹⁶

Denominations characteristically employ full-time pastors

whereas sects do not. Surprisingly enough, in Chile most of the Pentecostal pastors are full-time,⁹⁸ But in Brazil almost all pastors are part-time in stricter conformance to the sect-model. "With very few exceptions indeed, ..all Pentecostal pastors in Brazil support themselves by doing some kind of secular job...The general rule is that no pastor receives any salary from the Church."⁹⁹ Using this criteria one would judge that the Chilean Pentecostals are more along the evolutionary road than are the Brazilians.

The second side to the process of routinization or institutionalization is the sect's growing adjustment to the general society and to the established religious institution of this society. This is a difficult variable to measure in a sect and there seems to be no study done in this area for the sects in Brazil. It can be noted, however, that the Pentecostals are not opposed to the society as radically as one might think. In fact, there are some areas in which they are more adjusted to peaceful living in the society than others seem to be. According to Key Yuasa even Catholics admire the Pentecostals for their positive qualities, and in one town in the state of Sao Paulo "It was amazing to find what a positive assessment they (Catholics) had of the 'crentes' in that area. They (Pentecostals) were punctual in their payments, they were eager to send their children to the school, they collaborated with the government when there was a raise in taxes."¹⁰⁰ Nothing really concrete can be said here concerning the extent to which Brazilian Pentecostals have "compromised" their original attitude toward the society in the passage of years.

Concerning the Chilean Pentecostals it is significant that two sects--the Mision Iglesia Pentecostal, and the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile--have recently joined the World Council of Churches which is religiously shunned by most Pentecostal sects throughout the world.¹⁹¹ Like increased ministerial education, and a full-time ministry, this move can also be interpreted as a step toward denominational structure. Brazilian sects have made no such move, nor are they anywhere near as open to other Protestants or Catholics as the Chileans seem to be. In this the Brazilians are more faithful to sectarian characteristics than the Chileans.

Finally, in summary it may be said that some routinization can be detected among certain Brazilian Pentecostal groups, but that in general they seem, at present, more true to the sect-model than, for instance, the Chilean Pentecostals. Because of the very rapid increase in numbers, it may well be that tendencies toward denominational structure are slowed down due to the large element of recently converted and hence first generational Pentecostals which constitute the sect enrollment.

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¹ The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, Trans. Olive Wyon (2 vols, New York: Macmillan Co., 1931).

² Ibid., Vol. I, p.1332.

³ William E. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p.5.

⁴ The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966). p.8.

⁵ The Small Sects in America, rev. ed. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949).

⁶ "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 3-14.

⁷ David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p.116.

⁸ Wilson, p.7.

⁹ The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1929), p.27.

¹⁰ Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p.246.

¹¹ Harold J. Laski, The American Democracy (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), p.292.

¹² Moberg, p.111.

¹³ The Social Sources of Denominationalism, p.19.

¹⁴ Wilson, p.4.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.4.

¹⁷ The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), p.2.

¹⁸ Especially see: Morton Kelly, Tongue Speaking: An Experiment in Spiritual Experience (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1964).

¹⁹ The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the Modern Pentecostal Movement (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p.36.

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²⁰ John, Thomas Nichol, Pentecostalism (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp.26-32.

²¹ "Pentecostismo e as Igrejas Pentestantes," an unpublished paper sent to this author and translated for him by Fr. William O'Donnell, OFM Conv.

²² Nichol, p.55.

²³ Donald Gee, The Pentecostal Movement (London: Elim Publishing House, Ltd., 1949). p.88.

²⁴ Nichol, pp12.

²⁵ El Protestantismo en Chile (Santiago, 1962).

²⁶ Nichol, p.3.

²⁷ Carl Brumback, Suddenly from Heaven (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p.92.

²⁸ The Pentecostal Movement, p.161.

²⁹ Jose Miguez-Boninol "The Historical Spectrum of Protestantism in Latin America--Historical Expressions," a paper presented at the fourth annual conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program held in Boston in January, 1967.

³⁰ William R. Read, New Patterns of Church Growth in Brazil (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1965), pp. 159-165. Also the Pentecostal international mission magazine: Pentecost (Dec.1965-Feb.1966); Pentecost (Sept.-Nov. 1966); Kenneth Grubb and ElJ. Bingle World Christian Handbook (London: World Dominion, 1962).

³¹ Emilio Conde, "Brazilian Assemblies of God Celebrate 50th Anniversary," Pentecost (Sept-Nov.1961), p.1.

³² Read, p.25.

³³ Ibid., pp.144-158.

³⁴ a "An Analysis of Sect Development," P.10.

³⁵ Read, p.122

³⁶ "Protestantism and Culture Change in Brazil and Chile." Religion, a Revolution, and Reform, ed. William V. D'Antonio and Frederick B. Pike, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1964), p.95.

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³⁷Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Censo Demográfico: Selecao dos Principais Dados (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: 1953).

³⁸Erasmus Brage and Kenneth Grubb, The Republic of Brazil: A Survey of the Religious Situation (London, 1932).

³⁹Brazil Evangelico. Orgao Informativo de Confederaçao Evangelica do Brazil, I (Rio de Janeiro, December, 1959).

⁴⁰Read, p.219.

⁴¹Willems, p.106.

⁴²Read, p.97.

⁴³Ibid, p.219.

⁴⁴For an interesting history of this city see: Richard M. Morse, From Community to Metropolis (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958).

⁴⁵Read, p.172.

⁴⁶New Patterns of Church Growth in Brazil, op. it., p142.

⁴⁷Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (The Glencoe Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp.19-84.

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David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution, op.cit., pp.127-187Da

⁴⁸The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p.90.

⁴⁹"Anomie and the 'Quest for Community': The Formation of Sects among the Puerto Ricans of New York," The American Catholic Sociological Review, XXL (Spring, 1960), p.23.

⁵⁰Emilio Willems, p.105.

⁵¹"Pentecostalism in a Puerto Rican Community." Doctoral dissertation in Political Science for Columbia University, 1966.

⁵²Willems, p.107.

⁵³Read, p.21.

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⁵⁴As quoted by Douglas Weber in Patterns of Part-time Ministry in Some Churches in South America (London: World Dominion Press, 1964), p.12.

⁵⁵Ibid., p.11.

⁵⁶Willems, p.93.

⁵⁷Ibid., p.96.

⁵⁸Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1941), p.284.

⁵⁹Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Allen & Unwin, 1930).

⁶⁰Fromm, p.284.

⁶¹"The Pentecostal Fury," The Catholic World, (January, 1966).

⁶²Escape from Freedom, p.287.

⁶³La Ruffa, p.266.

⁶⁴Read, p.151.

⁶⁵Ibid., p.155.

⁶⁶LaRuffa, p.267.

⁶⁷Ibid., P.268.

⁶⁸A plan has been proposed among the Conventual Franciscans working in Rio de Janeiro to have a priest and a brother live in the favelas and start daily prayer and Bible meetings (no formal liturgy) especially among the men there. This has obvious Pentecostal overtones. Similarly, some Catholic parishes are experimenting in using laymen to preach from the pulpit.

⁶⁹William D'Antonio, "Social-Economic Structures," a paper presented at the fourth annual conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program in Boston, January, 1967.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹The Sociology of Religion, op.cit., p.3.

⁷²See Time magazine, July 28, 1961.

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73 Read, p.219.

74 Candido Procopio Ferreira de Carmargo, Kardescismo e Umbanda Uma Interpretacao Sociologica (Sao Paulo: Eno Matteus Guazzelle and Cia Ltd., 1961).

75 "The Historical Spectrum of Protestantism in Latin America: Indigneous Expressions," A paper presented at the fourth annual conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program in Boston, January, 1967.

76 "Protestantism and Culture Change in Brazil and Chile," op cit., p.103.

77 Jorge Lara-Braud, "Protestants and the Process of Integration in Latin America," A paper presented at the fourth annual conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program in Boston, January, 1967.

78 See, Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Intemarrriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (January, 1966), p.474.

79 "Pentecostalism in a Puerto Rican Community," op Cit. p.273.

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81 "Urban Social-Economic Structures," op. cit.

82 LaRuffa, p.263.

83 Ibid., p1264.

84 Sidney W. Mintz, Worker in the Cane (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p.251-252.

85 Social Sources of Denominationalism, op. cit., p:19.

86 "An Analysis of Sect Development," op.cit., p.14

87 Frank Young, "Adaptation and Pattern Integration of a California Sect," Review of Religious Research, 1 (Spring, 1960), p.137.

88 O'Dea, p.23.

89 Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp.328-341, pp.358-386.

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⁹⁰ Read, p.21.

⁹¹ Message and Mission: The Communication of Christian Faith (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1969), p.152.

⁹² New Patterns of Church Growth in Brazil, op cit., p.150.

⁹³ "Anomie and the 'Quest for Community'," op. it., p.31.

⁹⁴ Jose Miguez-Bonino, "The Historical Spectrum of Protestantism in Latin America," a paper presented at the 1967 meeting of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program in Boston, Massary.

⁹⁵ "Survey of the Year 1965-66," International Review of Missions, LV (January, 1967), p.66.

⁹⁶ Douglas Webster, Patterns of Part-time Ministry in Some Churches in South America, op.cit., p.24.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.12.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.25.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁰⁰ Key Yuasa, "The Historical Spectrum of Protestantism in Latin America: Indigenous Expressions," op.cit.

¹⁰¹ "The Significance of Chilean Penetral's Admission to WCC," International Review of Missions, LI (October, 1962), 481-82.

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