

in:
International Review of Mission
Vol. XCI No. 361
April 2002
Geneva: WCC

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT AND BASIC ECCLESIAL COMMUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES AND THEOLOGICAL DEBATES*

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In the course of the 20th century the Pentecostal movement has developed worldwide into one of the most dynamic elements in Christianity. Many observers would reckon that about 20 percent of world Christianity belongs to the Pentecostal and charismatic movement. The extent and significance of the movement stands in contrast to the still inadequate attention given to it by the mainline churches, academic theology and religious studies.

Latin America represents one centre of Pentecostal growth. By a conservative estimate in 1998, some 11 to 15 percent of the population was Protestant and most were Pentecostal.¹ In recent decades the statistics have shown a steady growth of the percentage of Protestants in the population, which must be attributed in the first place to the great success of the Pentecostals in winning conversions. In the view of some observers, it is to be expected in some countries of central America that, in the near future, Catholics will no longer be a majority of the population.²

Not infrequently, the movement is labelled with a range of stigmatizing stereotypes. Thus, for example, Pentecostals in Latin America are characterized as accomplices of the religious right in the USA, and Pentecostalism as seductive for the poorest of the poor, and uninterested in social change or without any theology.³ On the basis of such stereotypes, people often see the socio-critical theology of liberation and the active basic communities inspired by it as polar opposites to the Latin American Pentecostal movement. They seem to be totally unreconcilable to one another.

If we go beyond the stereotypes, we find that the supposedly strict confrontation between basic communities and Pentecostal congregations is not confirmed by current research. Recent sociological and political inquiries have

*This text is based on M. Bergunder, "Pfingstbewegung in Lateinamerika: Soziologische Theorien und theologische Debatten", in *Pfingstbewegung und Basisgemeinden in Lateinamerika: Die Rezeption befreiungstheologischer Konzepte durch die pfingstliche Theologie*, ed. M. Bergunder, Hamburg: Evangelisches Missionswerk in Deutschland 2000 (Weltmission heute; 39), pp. 7-42, 138-142 (The volume contains articles in German translation by Pentecostal theologians on liberation theology).

This article was translated into English by Ralph Woodhall, and revised by Allan Anderson of the Postgraduate Programme in Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, Centre for Missiology and World Christianity, University of Birmingham. The author wishes to express his sincere gratitude to both of them.

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thrown up a very different picture of the movement, as will be shown in the first part of this article.

However, ecumenical theological discussion about the Latin American Pentecostal movement suffers from a much more serious defect: the movement's own theological self-presentation has scarcely come to public awareness. Hence, there is an almost automatic distortion in the usual argumentation. Therefore, the second part of this paper will focus on the theological aspects of dialogue with Pentecostals, and show that, against the background of confrontation, there is an intensive Pentecostal openness to liberation theology. Without a recognition of this, sound judgement on the Latin American Pentecostal movement is not possible. Hopefully, this article will promote exchanges with the Pentecostal movement, carried out in an ecumenical spirit.

1. Sociological attempts to account for the Latin American Pentecostal movement

The remarkable growth of Pentecostalism in Latin America has drawn the attention especially of anthropologists and sociologists. Recent decades have produced an increasing number of important studies based on field research of the Latin American Pentecostal movement.⁴

1.1. Macro-theories

In order to explain the findings of anthropological research, recourse was made to large-scale sociological theories. There were endeavours to explain the origin and growth of the movement in Latin America on the basis of socio-economic processes of transformation and erosion. Classical examples are the studies of C. Lalive d'Épinay and E. Willems, both appearing in the second half of the 1960s.⁵

Relying on his own findings in Chile, Lalive d'Épinay took the view that, in conditions of anomie and socio-cultural change, the Pentecostal congregations provided a social network that, in part, replaced the old structures of solidarity that had broken down. According to him, the movement spread among the deprived classes who were without assured employment, that is to say, among the urban sub-proletariat, the rural full- and half-proletariat, and the petty bourgeoisie.⁶ In the Pentecostal congregation these people find a substitute for the feudal *hacienda* system, the Pentecostal pastor taking over the function of the patron.⁷ According to this analogy, Lalive d'Épinay treats the Pentecostal movement as a totalitarian fellowship which tends to cut itself off from society and construct its own opposing world.⁸ This results in complete social passivity:

On two accounts the movement experiences a fundamental inner contradiction: it must preach a break with the world but, on the other hand, it must deal with

this world in matters related to housing or residence, in activities related to business and even to sacral matters (proselytism). In the attempt to resolve the contradiction, the movement teaches its members an ethic of passivity.⁹

On the basis of this analysis, Lalive d'Épinay comes to the conclusion that the Pentecostal movement "in a dependent capitalist society supports the established order by passivity and submissiveness"¹⁰ and so plays an extremely conservative role in stabilizing the system. He allows only that the movement is able to mediate to individuals "a minimum of human dignity"¹¹.

Willems represents a theoretical approach similar to Lalive d'Épinay's but comes to an opposing conclusion.¹² He did his research on the social function of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile during the considerable socio-cultural changes in these countries in the 1940s and 1950s. The main object of his research was the Pentecostalism that he saw as typical of American Protestantism. In contradistinction to Lalive d'Épinay, Willems saw in the Pentecostal community a form of organization which was an antithesis to the ancient collaborative feudal society, since it emphasized the equality of all believers and operated without the mediation of a paternalistic elite, whether of priests or of patrons. He also took the view that Pentecostal views on morality were especially effective in confronting anomie. Conversion to Pentecostal faith signified a social uprooting together with reception into a personal fellowship where anonymous people became brothers and sisters, where losers in society at large became heroes of faith endowed with gifts of the Spirit. The puritan ethic promoted by Pentecostalism meant that money was no longer spent on alcohol, smoking, gambling and the like and, in this way, financial means were made available for social development. So, for this author, the movement is not only an answer to a situation of anomie but also fertile soil for the growth of a middle class. The Pentecostal movement actively promotes its viewpoint in the modernization process.

These significant contradictions in sociological explanations of Latin American Pentecostalism have not been resolved. We still find among researchers the same two patterns of interpretation.¹³ However, a study brought out by D. Martin in 1990 was well received and has led to present-day sociological discourse rather favouring the Willems' line.¹⁴ Martin interprets the growth of the Latin American Pentecostal movement as part of a global process of transformation. Like Willems, he treats Pentecostals as typical representatives of Protestantism, and he understands their growth as a form of the protestantizing of Latin America. The phenomenon for him has historical parallels in Methodism. The significance that Methodism had during the industrial revolution in England and the early phase of North American society, in the promotion of social change is paralleled for Martin by that of the Pentecostal movement for present-day Latin America.¹⁵ His structural analogy between Methodism, which he calls the second wave of Protestantism, and Pentecostalism as the third wave consists in that they both break through the "unity of people and religion, church and state, of local community and local church"¹⁶ and create instead room for freedom, a "protective social capsule"¹⁷; this promotes a freeing and differentiating in society in which Pentecostal con-

gregations provide people with the chance to recognize their capacities for organization, for team leadership, and for perseverance in propaganda activities, which can be very helpful towards their development in ordinary life.¹⁸ As with Willems, so a reference to the positive results of a rigorous ethics is not lacking here either. For Martin the traditional apolitical attitude of Pentecostals is quite appropriate for the demands of society:

The political indifference of Pentecostals is thus very "advanced" in sociological terms. It was created in American conditions, and it is these same conditions that lend it the capacity to create free democratic spaces. Pentecostalism actually helps to recreate the differentiation of North America in South America, and is therefore before its time, if one may very tentatively use such evolutionary language.¹⁹

At the same time, Martin stresses that the Pentecostal movement, in spite of its North American roots, acts as a completely indigenous religion in South America. He bases this on the movement's thoroughgoing independence in organization and on its strong connection with traditional folk religion. Martin's thesis that Pentecostal growth is to be understood as protestantization in Latin America has met with strong support and agreement.²⁰

1.2. Social behaviour

With Martin the macro-theoretical interpretation reaches its pioneering high point. With younger anthropologists, relying on their own particular field research, Martin's theories are taken up in a more critical spirit.²¹ A wide-ranging theoretical overview like Martin's has inherent limits. In a global-historical explanatory framework the Pentecostal movement is in danger of dissolving into an abstract structure where individuals and their interaction with one another disappear from view.²² We can observe a present tendency in sociology to concentrate on theoretical viewpoints which are situated between the levels of macro- and micro-theory (for example, Giddens and Bourdieu), so that more particular attention is given to the motives, expectations and behaviour of individuals. In the light of this intermediate viewpoint, in research on the background to social relations in Pentecostal members, a good number of interesting case studies have appeared. The most important results will be reviewed here.

1.2.1. Personality

The question of a liberating potential of a specific Pentecostal *habitus* (in Bourdieu's sense) has been noted from different sides recently. F. Kamsteeg writes, on the basis of his field research in Peru, on the power structures in a Pentecostal congregation.²³ The pastor, in his role of religious specialist, concentrates nearly all authority in himself. He prescribes the content of the worship, has the last word in almost all congregational activities, and has strong

influence on the private lives of the members. His religious power, however, has its limits in that his living, as well as congregational activities, must be financed largely from the voluntary giving of members who, if dissatisfied, can always go to another Pentecostal church. In this connection, Kamsteeg observes in Pentecostal congregations a special form of power struggle which leads to religious specialism:

Religious specialism is one of Pentecostalism's main paradoxes. The office of pastor, the specialist par excellence, is open to all (male) church members. This is in itself nothing much, but what makes the Pentecostal case special is that this theoretical possibility is practiced on a broad scale. ... All believers may – and indeed do – actively play their part in the prevailing (symbolical) power game, thus considerably altering them at times. Of course, not all make use of this possibility, but it is emphatically not reserved to a specific intelligentsia.²⁴

The power structure within a Pentecostal congregation, which paradoxically combines hierarchical and egalitarian tendencies, is, according to Kamsteeg, extremely dynamic and has to be constantly adjusted. The members possess a high degree of capability to define themselves, which calls for considerable social competence.

C. L. Mariz, in her research, inquired how far Pentecostal piety encouraged individual responsibility. She came to the conclusion that the Latin American movement took up a position between having a fatalistic worldview and a belief in a person's complete autonomy, and so it was on the borderline between the traditional and the modern world:

This "borderline" position makes Pentecostalism quite attractive insofar as it enables the group to: (1) blend individual and social issues; (2) attribute autonomy to individuals and assign them a role as transformational agents of other individuals, without blaming them for their failures, as a purely individualist worldview would do; (3) bring the mystical/magical poles of religion together with ascetic/ethical ones; and (4) support and reinforce individual efforts to achieve self-transformation and change reality.²⁵

Mariz illustrates the thesis with the example of the rigorous Pentecostal ethic, renouncing alcohol, tobacco and drugs. From her analysis of interviews with Brazilian Pentecostals claiming to be healed from alcoholism through a conversion experience, she establishes that the accounts of conversion focus not so much on admitting individual sins but rather on being freed from evil, understood as including illness, injustice and vice. Evil is "objectified", since the work of the devil is seen as the real cause of addiction. This for Mariz constitutes a special Pentecostal view on personal autonomy:

The small, cohesive community of "brothers" will help deliver the alcoholic from the world, while God's absolute, moral power will provide deliverance from the multiple powers bereft of morals. Pentecostalism thus helps the individual discover his autonomy by combating the oppression of society with another social model, and by combating spiritual oppression with a stronger and ethical supernatural power.²⁶

From this point of view, according to Mariz, there is a socio-critical impulse which should not be underestimated, since the cause of alcoholism is seen to lie in the dregs of society (the "world"), and, consequently, the individual is not made exclusively responsible for failings.

1.2.2. The woman's place

Recent anthropological research has also brought a new interpretation to the role of women. E. Brusco in Colombia has conducted research into how far the movement has changed the domestic life of the converted.²⁷ Women represent the majority of the membership and they play a very prominent role in the life of the community.²⁸ Although women are hardly ever admitted to the higher rank in leadership, they have at their disposal, according to Brusco, the very active women's circles, which represent influential organizations parallel to official circles. In a great number of cases, according to Brusco, the wife is first converted and brings her husband with her. When both have turned to Pentecostal faith, the husband gives up his machismo; this has very concrete results among the lower classes where Pentecostalism is at home. The husband will no longer damage the family budget by extravagant use of alcohol, he will profess marital fidelity and respect for women;²⁹ if there are marital problems, the wife can have recourse to the church authorities for mediation. For Brusco, who writes from an expressly feminist viewpoint, we are concerned here with a deeply effective form of female emancipation, where a mentality is changed according to universal social norms in favour of women:

With conversion, machismo, the culturally-shaped aggressive masculinity that defines the male role in much of mestizo Colombia, is replaced by evangelical belief as the main definer of expectations in husband-wife relations...One outcome of conversion, then, is that the boundaries of public-male life and private-female life are redrawn, and the spheres themselves are redefined. The relative power positions of the spouses change.³⁰

Brusco's theses met with general agreement,³¹ since in current feminist discussion there is an important distinction between praxis and ideology, but the differences to feminism should also not be ignored:

Pentecostalism seems to adopt an intermediate position between traditional machismo and feminism, which is seen as threatening the continuity of the family that is the *raison d'être* of many oppressed women. It is for this reason that Pentecostalism seems to be so appealing to women, who, upon conversion, acquire greater autonomy in relation to their husbands and families while avoiding direct confrontation.³²

But the new definition of the private sphere can also have the consequence of creating an opening for a new free space for women in society; there is reference to the public activity of women missionaries and already there are Latin American Pentecostal churches where women are ordained pastors.³³

1.2.3. Social engagement

Another field for the newer sociology focuses on social engagement and reveals a new picture. J. Burdick presents examples from Brazil of persistent engagement by Pentecostals in neighbourhood associations, where at times they take leading positions.³⁴ As he sees it, in many places it is not Pentecostal ideology or congregational structure that prevents people's involvement in their community, but primarily social and practical factors. Rather, according to Burdick, Pentecostal engagement takes place where there are new and mixed populations, and where the neighbourhood associations are not in the traditional spheres of influence of Catholic elites. Where the socio-cultural life of a community is dominated by Catholic elites the Pentecostals are usually socially and religiously marginalized, and have little opportunity to participate in communal decision-making. There is evidence also of participation by Pentecostals in industrial disputes and confrontation over land rights.³⁵ Burdick shows convincingly that the Pentecostal self-understanding will tolerate poverty but not wretched impoverishment. Further, he shows that in the question of open social confrontations, the members as a rule have far more radical views than their pastors do. The studies on social attitudes often rest only on interviews with pastors and too little account is taken of the socio-critical views of Pentecostal lay people.³⁶ At the present time, among anthropologists the view is beginning to prevail that Pentecostals, in regard to the necessity of active intervention in favour of social justice, show a wide variety of attitudes all the way from strict non-engagement to radical involvement. A closer sociological analysis is still needed.³⁷

1.3. Folk religion

In the sociological research on the Pentecostal movement its relation to the various forms of folk religiosity is mentioned but only marginally.³⁸ Although many studies, especially those that are macro-theoretically oriented, scarcely raise the question of generic folk religion (they are rather inclined to assert in principle the peculiar difference of Pentecostalism³⁹), there are some interesting theoretical assumptions. Martin speaks of "the union of the very old and very modern"⁴⁰ within the Latin American movement. He is indicating that the phenomenon, which for him is, by the criteria of sociology, a modern movement, is also marked by all the characteristics of a pre-modern folk religion.⁴¹ C. Parker argues in a similar way in a study on the relation between folk religion and modernization in Latin America, where he takes the Pentecostal movement and Afro-American religion as new modern forms of folk religion. He sees in these two religious tendencies an indication that in Latin America modernization is not at all accompanied by a secularization that would bring an end to popular religion. It is only that, through the rise of these newer movements, the Catholic church is losing its monopoly in favour of a pluralization.⁴²

Unfortunately, there has been too little research so far on the Pentecostal movement as Latin American folk religion. This is much to be regretted, since

in Africa and Asia the question of the contextual linking of the Pentecostal movement with the existing forms of folk religion has been very widely discussed.⁴³ An analysis of the Latin American situation from a comparative perspective would be useful.

2. Basic communities and Pentecostal communities – sociological comparison

By the end of the 1960s, the Catholic church in Latin America was thoroughly marked by liberation theology. This development led to the rise of basic communities (*Comunidades Eclesiales de Base*/Basic Ecclesial Communities) found especially in impoverished and marginalized strata of the rural and urban populations in which lay people gathered without the direct cooperation of ordained ministers. The basic communities are mostly organized on a neighbourhood basis; in their spiritual life, Bible reading plays a decisive role and it is their declared aim to link the following of Christ with intervention against unjust social and political structures. Basic communities have often been considered as diametrically opposed to the Pentecostal movement on account of their grounding in liberation theology.

But, since both movements have found recruits at the lowest levels of the population, anthropologists have often made comparisons; they have brought to light interesting commonalities and distinctions. So Mariz comes to the conclusion that the two groups promote similar attitudes that enable their members better to master the problems of poverty.⁴⁴ In her view, both bring about a special kind of change of values, marking discontinuity with the former life. In the basic communities this is effected by gaining new radical insight into the roles of church and society, while among the Pentecostals dramatic experiences of conversion prevail. In both, techniques of religious reflection are practised either in the reading of the Bible from a liberation theology perspective, or in the Pentecostal missionary praxis. Both groups seek to overcome dualism of faith and life, and both mediate the feeling of human worth to their members. Members of the basic communities as a rule belong to the somewhat better placed poor. In Pentecostal congregations the poorest of the poor are to be found. For these people, the change in social relations called for in the Pentecostal ethic brings the opportunity for a rapid immediate improvement in living conditions.⁴⁵ Both groups create networks of solidarity, although with different alignments: the orientation of the Pentecostals is such that members support one another within the community while the basic communities bring about changes that will favour the deprived quarters in which they live, as a whole.⁴⁶ Pentecostals are indeed less generally active in social-political engagement but this does not mean without qualification that they are conservative in politics, as a study from El Salvador shows.⁴⁷ Furthermore, a study by Kamsteeg makes us aware of a Pentecostalism in Chile which has in various respects assumed an "accent" of liberation theology.⁴⁸ C. Drogus has an interesting analysis of the feminist and emancipating potential of each group.⁴⁹ We have already discussed the role of women in the Pentecostal

movement. In basic communities women are fully active on equal terms; they have opportunities to express themselves in public life. But for many women, this opening to public life leaves them with problems in the domestic sphere, since the patriarchal structures there are hardly made an issue in the basic community. In a comparative study of the two groups, Drogus speaks of complementary liberation strategies: whereas in the Pentecostal movement patriarchal family structures experience change, basic communities call for women to take up social and political activities in public life.

To the question why Pentecostal congregations have grown faster than basic communities, two answers are offered in the literature. First, the Pentecostals are not as strongly secularized and have a stronger connection with the traditions of folk religions.⁵⁰ A second factor is the difference in status between lay people and those Catholic church workers who encourage the rise of basic communities out of their liberation theology conviction, and bring pastoral support to them. Paternalistic tendencies can manifest themselves.⁵¹ In the words of Mariz:

The Catholic Church opts for the poor because it is not a church of the poor. Pentecostal churches do not opt for the poor because they are already a poor people's church. And that is why poor people are choosing them.⁵²

3. Latin American Pentecostalism and politics

As already mentioned, political activities – supposed or actual – of Latin American Pentecostals have provided sensational news. But with the studies of D. Stoll some realism has been injected into the debates. Three problematic areas should be distinguished: the first to be discussed is foreign influence. Then separate consideration should be given to attitudes and behaviour among Pentecostal members. Finally, there is the question of which political activities are allowed in Pentecostal churches as institutions.

There is no doubt that the Christian right in the USA seeks to have direct influence on political events in Latin America. Here it should be noted that most of the activities of the Christian right are carried out by evangelical or fundamentalist groups and should in no way be attributed to the Pentecostal movement. However, there are examples, like that of the charismatic television evangelist and the founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), Pat Robertson, taking part in the campaign in favour of the Nicaraguan Contras.⁵³ But often care should be taken even in judging what appear to be clear-cut cases. The controversial television evangelist from the USA, Jimmy Swaggart, supported the Assemblies of God in Central America with considerable financial contributions, as well as organizing big missionary events. He made no secret of his anti-Communist bias and had no objection to being welcomed by dictators like Pinochet and Duarte. The religious right treated him as an important bulwark against communism. However, when in 1988, shortly before he was set back by scandal, he conducted a large mission in Nicaragua with the express approval of the Sandinista regime and received an official welcome from

President Daniel Ortega, Swaggart showed that he did not have a consistent political agenda.⁵⁴ Probably, the actual direct influence exercised by the Christian right from the USA is greatly overestimated. Contrary to widespread public opinion, foreign missionaries have made a comparatively meagre contribution to the growth of the Pentecostal movement, as Stoll puts it bluntly: to judge from where churches grew most rapidly, it seems that the best recipe for success was to have no missionaries.⁵⁵ In this connection, it should not be forgotten that, as far as personnel and finance are concerned, the Catholic church and established Protestant churches are much more dependent on foreign aid than the Pentecostals.⁵⁶

Secondly, we must look at the political attitude of Pentecostal members: according to available data they cannot be considered uniformly conservative or USA-friendly. So, enquiries in El Salvador (1989) showed that Protestants (of whom most are Pentecostal) by an overwhelming majority supported a peaceful end to the civil war by negotiation with the left-wing guerrillas (FMLN), recommending political concessions and general reform of the armed forces. In the election of 1989, significantly fewer Protestants than Catholics voted for the arch-conservative Arena party.⁵⁷ An enquiry into the voting in 1990 in Nicaragua showed that a considerable proportion of Pentecostals had voted for the Sandinistas.⁵⁸ From Brazil it is known that in one region for a time Pentecostals formed 10% of the left-wing Labour party (PT).⁵⁹ In Mexico many Pentecostals supported the Zapatista rising.⁶⁰ Pentecostal members, then, according to these empirical findings, cannot be considered uniform in their political preferences.

As institutions, the Pentecostal churches of Latin America did not engage in direct political activities for a long time. This is not only because of their deeply rooted holiness ethic but also because they and their pastors come from levels of society traditionally excluded from participation in the processes of opinion formation.⁶¹ Gradually, but with accelerating pace, the Pentecostals become aware of their importance in society and begin to be active in the political arena. However, the evolving political engagement of their churches as institutions is not clear. Usually those parties and groupings are supported which are expected to create conditions which will be favourable to Pentecostal mission and reduce the privileges of the Catholic churches that discriminate against them. So, Alberto Fujimori gained a big proportion of the Pentecostal vote by promising them religious freedom.⁶² This development has gone furthest in Brazil as research by P. Freston reveals.⁶³ After the end of the military dictatorship, a large Pentecostal church put its own candidates forward for the first election to the constitutional assembly without, however, forming its own political party.⁶⁴ It is worth noting that, apart from political decisions that directly affected their churches, these Pentecostal deputies did not, as might have been expected, reveal right wing or neo-liberal tendencies. According to a trades union analysis of voting on "questions of interest to workers", the Pentecostals showed a rather centre-left tendency: they scored higher than the established Protestant churches and slightly higher than the average for the parliament.⁶⁵ Moreover, the only Protestant deputy for the left-wing Labour Party (PT) was a Pentecostal woman.

However, there is also the possibility of polarization within the Pentecostal movement. This was clearly observable in Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship. On the one hand, in the leadership of the biggest Pentecostal church (the *Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal*) a so-called pastors' council was founded to support the military junta, which it described as "the answer to the prayers of all believers who consider Marxism to be the highest expression of the Satanic forces of darkness".⁶⁶ This council, claiming to speak for all Protestants, conducted an annual thanksgiving service for the regime in the cathedral of the Methodist Pentecostal church; it negotiated for an improvement in the legal status of Protestants and for special state concessions.⁶⁷ On the other hand, there is evidence that Pentecostals as a whole certainly did not show a special preference for the Pinochet regime.⁶⁸ Some Pentecostals, together with other Protestants, formed a union of evangelical churches, which took a very critical attitude to the Pinochet regime and vehemently denied the claim of the council of pastors to speak for all.⁶⁹ Although organization structures changed, these critical instances existed throughout the military dictatorship. This led to the publication of an open letter to Pinochet in 1986.

To sum up, according to the findings of recent research, we find a heterogeneous picture among Pentecostals, extending from public support for dictatorial regimes to involvement with left-wing parties. Usually, however, there is no explicit political agenda but rather the forming of objectives which keep in sight the immediate needs of their own churches.⁷⁰

4. Theological reactions from established churches

As a rule, theologians of the established churches take a critical view of the Pentecostal movement but the level of the discussion is very variable. It is striking how critical theological argumentation is strongly oriented by sociology, but refers seldom to the differentiated viewpoints of recent anthropological research, as sketched above. Besides many flat undifferentiated judgements, there are some attempts of positive appreciation, like essays to understand the Pentecostal movement as folk religion.

4.1. Critique

Catholic liberation theology has so far hardly given serious consideration to the movement.⁷¹ Mostly they take up, unreflectingly, the Catholic polemic against "fundamentalist sects" and blame the Pentecostal movement,⁷² who, they say, make no contribution to liberation from poverty and oppression but "reflect religious misery as in a mirror"⁷³. Especially worth mention is the thorough research by F. C. Rolim who subjects the movement to sharp criticism.⁷⁴ As a conclusion to his research, Rolim comes to a destructive judgement:

...the pentecostal response, and the response of other over-spiritualized groups (or para-religious groups) misses the point with regard to the basic problem of

theodicy: man is called to give meaning to the created world and, hence, to his society. The partiality of the response given by such groups scarcely translates human dissatisfaction when faced with contradictions of modernization. While doubtless the subjective world may be satisfied with this "junk food", yet it remains in the heaven of illusions, with no strength to walk on terra firma...The absence of political mobilization implies more than a mere rejection of the world. Indeed, and this is true of pentecostalism in Brazil, it means legitimizing – as natural – the vast social differences and their repercussions on the growing mass of the poor, and the gradual accumulation of wealth in the hands of the rich.⁷⁵

In the established Protestant churches there is also a clear attitude of rejection, especially on the part of those theologians who represent a Protestant variant of liberation theology. Thus, the criticism of H. Schäfer:

The traditional Pentecostal movement finds a position for the oppressed outside of history. For this eschatology, history is abandoned and activity in history becomes impossible. The situation of members in society is cemented into place and hope is replaced by compensatory consolation.⁷⁶

In connection with sharp criticism of the movement, it is worth noting that there is also in Latin America, within both the Catholic church and established Protestant churches, a strong charismatic movement which has been little researched so far and is consequently not well known.⁷⁷ As a rule, this movement drives theologians of the present churches to the same negative reaction. At the moment, it does not seem that the presence of a charismatic piety within the established churches could be used as an opportunity for dialogue with the Pentecostal movement, as happens in other continents. Provocatively, Clodovis Boff asks: "Perhaps our difficulty in understanding and accepting the Charismatics reveals our inability to understand Pentecostals?"⁷⁸ The ecumenical potential of the charismatic movement remains to be discovered and utilized.

4.2. Positive appreciation

Alongside these attitudes of clear rejection, on the Catholic side there are also essays towards a more differentiated judgement. Clodovis Boff stresses the positive effects of the Pentecostal ethic and, in spite of its fundamentally apolitical foundation, recognizes a prophetic-political potential inspired by the Bible.⁷⁹ He observes an important commonality between basic communities and Pentecostal congregations: in both the Bible plays a special role, there is experience of fellowship, there is strong lay participation and a missionary spirit prevails.⁸⁰ The Hispano-American liberation theologian V. Elizondo also concludes that the commonalities outweigh the differences:

Both the Pentecostal movement and the theologians of liberation are concerned with healing and deliverance. Both define and criticize the destructive reality for individuals and for whole communities from different perspectives and different starting points. But both wish the Kingdom of God to grow among us.

In the two thousand year history of Christianity, both are young movements but, in my opinion, there is no doubt that these two are becoming the most important expressions of the Christian spirit for the third millennium.⁸¹

On the Protestant side, there is also a certain tendency to overcome undifferentiated judgements. A good example is J. M. Bonino who in the 1970s characterized the Pentecostal movement as "vicarious satisfaction", and reproached the members for losing solidarity with the "struggle of their class" and with defending the existing unjust structures of society.⁸² However, by the 1990s, Bonino regarded the Pentecostal movement as a legitimate part of Latin American Protestantism and even gave attention to Pentecostal theology, though expressly lamenting an external prevailing ignorance⁸³:

Studies on Pentecostalism, which are usually quite bold in their own interpretation of what Pentecostalism is and does, seldom stop to listen to how Pentecostal scholars themselves interpret their own faith and experience.⁸⁴

4.3. Contact points with folk religiosity

Some Catholic and Protestant theologians try to understand the Pentecostal movement as a new variant of Latin American folk religion. Typical of this viewpoint is J-P. Bastian. He does indeed report that the movement supports restorative and anti-democratic politics rather than social and political reform,⁸⁵ but at the same time he sees in it a "purely Latin American revival movement"⁸⁶ in which the folk religious form of "Catholicism without priests"⁸⁷ is reconstituted. Bastian's assessment is supported by the thesis that the romanization of Latin American Catholicism in the 19th century proved to be a favourable condition for the development of non-Catholic variants in Latin American folk religion, since it led to the alienation of Catholic folk religion from the ministerial church.⁸⁸

A. M. Rocha also speaks critically of a "passive legitimization" of unjust structures by the Pentecostal movement; by this he understands the "legitimization of social and political structures through indifference and negation"⁸⁹. On the other hand, he gives especial emphasis to the socio-critical potential which Pentecostal folk religiosity brings out in its message:

... it is a protest of the people at all those places where rebellion is preferred over unthinking obedience, where relations between people is put before individuality, where in the medium of calling upon the divine their own elementary needs are brought to verbal expression.⁹⁰

The question of the folk religious character of the Pentecostal movement provides an interesting point of contact for ecumenical dialogue. In recent times, Latin American liberation theology has gone so far as to evaluate positively popular religiosity, and ascribe to it a potential for emancipation.⁹¹ On the other side there is a Pentecostal self-understanding that treats the Pentecostal movement as the "popular religiosity" of Latin American Protestantism.⁹²

5. On the way to theological dialogue

5.1. Dialogue and Pentecostal theology

We have already remarked that the theological reaction of the established churches in Latin America carries a tendency towards strong although one-sided dependence on empirical-sociological analysis. It follows that the Pentecostal movement is judged on the basis of the lived reality of the congregations. But the established churches set themselves against the background of their theological reflection which itself professes to be concerned with what ought to be rather than with what is. For a suitable dialogue, theologies on both sides need to meet on one level of comparison and on another separated level of the sociological realities.

The regrettable failure to observe the ground rules of communication on an equal basis is generally justified by the assumption that the Pentecostal movement has nothing to correspond to the theology of the established churches. This is an opinion without foundation since, worldwide, there exists a great number of Pentecostal theologians with outstanding qualifications. This fact has even come to be recognized by German academic theology. Moltmann and Kuschel say,

...but today there is a new generation of Pentecostals who need not be shy of comparison with the traditional churches in scientific discussion or in exegesis and the systematic exposition of their faith⁹³.

The majority of the leading Pentecostal theologians who distinguish themselves in ecumenical openness have organized themselves in the Society for Pentecostal Studies, and hold a large annual international conference. There are three important journals of Pentecostal theology which give a good overview of the present state of research.⁹⁴

By their own admission, for these theologians, who have original opinions, it is not a simple matter to receive a hearing within their own churches. All too often there is a tension with the church leadership. Nevertheless, nearly all such theologians are active as pastors in their churches, and as a rule are not hesitant in bringing their theological convictions to the congregations and in discussing them there. Not a few are employed as teachers in the official theological institutions of the bigger Pentecostal churches; their influence in the formation of future pastors is not to be underestimated.

It is important to note that the majority of these Pentecostal theologians do not explicitly count themselves as fundamentalist or evangelical. This distinction is a key to understanding present developments in their theology.⁹⁵ It should be noted that a guarded but well-considered separation from fundamentalism, and even from evangelicalism, is more and more seen as basic to a self-aware approach in Pentecostalism. It makes clear that the Pentecostal movement has "its own mission, its own hermeneutic, and its own agenda"⁹⁶. At the beginning of dialogue with Pentecostal theology, this self-awareness must be taken into account.

Furthermore, the search for a definite Pentecostal identity has led to the steady growth of interest in church history within Pentecostal theology. After many decades, in which the Pentecostal movement gave no attention to historical questions, there is now intense research into its historical beginnings. It is hoped thereby to find answers to questions about the movement's original understanding of itself, and that these answers will be useful in present discussions.⁹⁷ For instance, in recent years, the demand has been heard ever louder that Pentecostalism should go back to the radically pacifist attitude of its early days. This attitude was abandoned by the North American Pentecostal movement in the 1940s, in the process of "Evangelicalization".⁹⁸

The theology of the established churches has so far neglected to enter into direct exchange with the new creative generation of Pentecostal theologians. There are remarkable exceptions: we will make brief reference to some of these.

The first of these is W. J. Hollenweger, who worked as professor of mission studies at the University of Birmingham, in England, from 1971 to 1989. For decades, Hollenweger aimed at a dialogue with the Pentecostal movement and has been extremely influential in the development of a Pentecostal theology.⁹⁹ His contribution towards an understanding approach to Pentecostal theology cannot be overestimated.

Special consideration is also due to the American theologian Harvey Cox, who in 1996 produced a well-received book on the worldwide Pentecostal movement: *Fire from Heaven*. Previously in 1965, as author of *The Secular City*, Cox was seeking a theology for the post-religious society that he was then predicting; now he has come to the conclusion that the Pentecostal movement is an expression of a global religious renaissance and therefore deserves special attention. By the end of the 1980s he was in close contact with numerous leading Pentecostal theologians, and is now a frequent speaker at Pentecostal theological conferences.

Another outstanding example of the established churches exchange with Pentecostal theologians, is the official dialogue between the Catholic Church, represented by the Secretariat for Christian Unity (now named the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity) and representatives of the Pentecostal movement. The dialogue began in 1972 and has continued to the present-day. Leading Pentecostal theologians have taken part and there is already a rich secondary literature. The Catholic side also has well-qualified representation and in the most recent phase (1990-1997) the theme has been "Evangelization, Proselytism and Common Witness".¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, no dialogue of comparable quality with the established Protestant churches took place for a long time. Now the situation seems to be changing. From 1996 to 2000, representatives of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and some classical Pentecostal churches and leaders were engaged in an international dialogue, and a final report was published.¹⁰¹ Moreover, there are moves in the World Council of Churches, where more than a dozen Pentecostal churches have become members, to engage in regular and official consultations with the

Pentecostal movement. The WCC's eighth assembly (Harare 1998) approved the formation of a joint consultative group between the WCC and Pentecostals. The group met for the first time in June 2000 in France and for the second time in September 2001 at the Pentecostal Seminary Semidud near Quitó, Ecuador.

5.2. Beginnings of theological dialogue in Latin America

As we mentioned above, in Latin America we have to reckon with confrontation between established churches and the Pentecostal movement.¹⁰² Feelings of resentment on both sides are severe. However, there are some beginnings towards a real theological dialogue. They are found in a set of theologians who take the Latin American Pentecostal movement as a serious spiritual challenge.¹⁰³ A few examples will follow to document this.

Elizondo bases his positive judgements on the Pentecostal movement, mentioned above and expressly on reflections by Pentecostal theologians on liberation theology.¹⁰⁴ The Presbyterian theologian R. Shaull, who in the 1960s had a defining influence in the formulation of liberation theology and remains close to it, took part in the 1990s in a research project on the Brazilian Pentecostal movement. As a result of this, Shaull came into contact with the Society for Pentecostal Studies and made a report in 1998 to the annual conference of the society, later published in *Pneuma*.¹⁰⁵ Shaull, in an empathetic article oriented towards dialogue, said that the most important message of Pentecostal theology is that

the story of salvation centers not only on the cross, the sacrifice of Jesus, and the gift of forgiveness and justification, but also on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus culminating in Pentecost¹⁰⁶.

He sees in this message an opportunity to give new life to the concerns of liberation theology. There is a new breath of the ecumenical spirit manifest in the publication of some symposia on the Pentecostal movement.¹⁰⁷ Essays by Pentecostal theologians are accepted on an equal basis.¹⁰⁸ There are even collaborative articles written by Pentecostals and Catholics.¹⁰⁹ These developments bring hope.

A theological dialogue has even begun on the institutional level. In 1998 in Quito, Ecuador, there was an official meeting between representatives of the Pentecostal movement and the Catholic church in Latin America, where a concluding report was issued.¹¹⁰ Moreover, in an edition of the Colombian journal *Medellin*, which is close to the Latin American council of bishops (CELAM), there was a remarkably ecumenical exchange with the Pentecostal movement. In an open plea for dialogue, there was a detailed report on the official discourses of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.¹¹¹ J. Sepúlveda, a prominent representative of Latin American Pentecostal theology, was able to present a theological perspective from a Pentecostal point of view.¹¹² This example raises the hope that the Catholic church in Latin

America is seriously concerned to give up the usual routine of polemics against the "sects".

The World Council of Churches initiated two consultations with Latin American Pentecostals (Lima/Peru 1994, San José/Costa Rica 1996); written documentation of these is available.¹¹³ But these events were organized in so open a form that they represented scarcely more than conversations leading to better understanding. Of greater importance in the long run must be the efforts of the WCC to promote understanding within the Pentecostal movement of Latin America. This includes the sponsoring in Brazil in 1988 of a consultation of Latin American Pentecostals, and the support given to the foundation of a Latin American evangelical-Pentecostal commission (CEPLA) to strengthen the striving for unity within the Pentecostal movement. At the same time as the 1996 San Jose consultation, the WCC promoted a fringe meeting between Pentecostals from America, north and south. The hope remains that there will be encouragement from the WCC in Geneva for dialogue with the Latin American Pentecostal movement.

6. Reception of liberation theology concepts in Pentecostal theology

As was said earlier, major obstacles for meaningful theological dialogue with Pentecostals specifically in Latin America (but also in general) can be seen in the lacking reception of current anthropological debates, and in the ignorance of theological reflections done by Pentecostal scholars themselves. Because of the latter, no due attention has been given so far to the comparatively broad and rather positive reception of liberation theology concepts within Pentecostal theology. As mentioned above, Pentecostal theology is struggling for an identity beyond fundamentalism/evangelicalism and is rediscovering its critical historical roots. In relation to the Pentecostal movement's encounter with liberation theology, these two aspects are of principle importance. They show that an anti-liberal reflex is not necessarily inherent in Pentecostal theology, in the way that is typical for fundamentalism and evangelicalism. Moreover, as the rediscovery of historical roots leads to a re-consideration of the socio-critical heritage of the Pentecostal movement, it becomes understandable that Pentecostal theology is seeking to respond to the challenge of liberation theology in a spirit of openness and without public ideological pre-judgement.

Some representative examples might provide an overview of the current Pentecostal theological reflection on this theme.¹¹⁴ C. E. Self gives evidence of a sound knowledge of liberation theology. He shows himself to be impressed by the radical witness of liberation theology and sees many parallels to Pentecostal spirituality.¹¹⁵ From his conviction that both groups have something creative to learn from one another, Self makes a plea for "revolutionary ecumenism".

J. Sepúlveda takes a further step in his research into the commonalities between the Pentecostal movement and liberation theology.¹¹⁶ Like Self,

Sepúlveda believes he can recognize a great number of commonalities between Pentecostal congregations and basic communities. He sees opportunities for mutual stimulation; and he proposes that a dialogue should be instituted, though he is very much aware of the practical problems involved.¹¹⁷

D. Petersen makes a concrete contribution to the topic.¹¹⁸ On the basis of an analysis of liberation theology, conducted with great sympathy, Petersen believes that the hermeneutic circle used in this context could be made very fruitful for Pentecostal discourse. From the charitable organization he manages in Costa Rica he derives concrete criteria from long-term activities, which aim at effective changes to social structures. His main objective is to develop a Pentecostal theology of social involvement.

C. B. Johns proposes to integrate Paulo Freire's method of liberation pedagogy in Pentecostal spirituality.¹¹⁹ She develops a method based on Freire for group Bible work that connects Pentecostal spirituality with the awakening of social awareness in situations of social oppression. Johns presents this as a part of regular theological formation in the central theological institution of her church where she teaches.

Of no less interest is the contribution by the Hispano-American E. Villafaña.¹²⁰ He seeks to develop a social ethic on the principle that churches must be equally understood as places for personal and for social liberation. In this context, he sees the main challenge for Pentecostals is that they should catch the vision of the broader prophetic and vocational role of baptism in the Spirit. Villafaña sees himself explicitly in the tradition of a vision that one of the "Grand Old Men" of Black Pentecostal theology received about 15 years ago:

I dream of a movement of Pentecostal-charismatic Christians so sensitive to the guidance of the Spirit and God's initiative and liberating activity that they will know when to tear down oppressive structures, and when to build new structures or they will receive wisdom to work within existing institutional structures as change agents.¹²¹

The encounter with Pentecostal theological reflection on liberation theology can definitely constitute a good beginning for entry into dialogue with the Pentecostal movement, as it might help overcome existing stereotypes on both sides. The urgent necessity for such a dialogue is beyond question, and not only in Latin America. The established churches cannot ignore the enormous challenge from worldwide Pentecostalism.

NOTES

- ¹ Cf. Freston, Paul, "Pentecostalism in Latin America. Characteristics and Controversies", *Social Compass*, 45 (1998), pp. 335-358, here pp. 337-338.
- ² Cf. Stoll, David, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* Berkeley, 1990, pp. 333-338.
- ³ Cf. Stewart-Gambino, Hannah, & Wilson, Everett A., "Latin American Pentecostals", in Cleary, Edward L., & Stewart-Gambino, Hannah W., eds, *Power, Politics and Pentecostals in Latin America*, Boulder, 1997, pp. 227-246.

- ⁴ For a comprehensive bibliography, giving good oversight of the present state of research, cf. Droogers, André, "Bibliography on Pentecostalism in Latin America and the Caribbean (including Charismatic Movement)", in Boudewijnse, Barbara, Droogers, André, & Kamsteeg, Frans H., eds, *More Than Opium*, Lanham, 1998, pp. 249-312.
- ⁵ Cf. Lalive d'Epinau, Christian, *Haven of the Masses*, London, 1969; Willems, Emilio, *Followers of the New Faith*, Nashville, 1967.
- ⁶ Cf. Lalive d'Epinau, C., "Politisches Regime und Chiliasmus in einer Dependenzgesellschaft", *Concilium*, 19 (1983), pp. 46-57, here pp. 48-49.
- ⁷ Cf. Lalive d'Epinau, 1969, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 128-132.
- ⁸ Lalive d'Epinau, 1983, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 49.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50 (italics deleted).
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ¹² On the following, cf. Willems, 1967, *op. cit.* (n. 5), esp. pp. 133-159, 247-260.
- ¹³ E.g., Butler, Flora Comelia, *Pentecostalism in Colombia*, Rutherford, 1976; Hoffnagel, Judith Chambliss, *The Believers: Pentecostalism in a Brazilian City*, Ph. D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979; Hoffnagel, J. C., "Pentecostalism: A Revolutionary or Conservative Movement?" in Glazier, Stephen D., ed., *Perspectives on Pentecostalism*, Lanham, 1980, pp. 111-123; Mariz, Cecilia Loreta, *Coping with Poverty*, Philadelphia, 1994; Hoekstra, Angela, "Rural Pentecostalism in Pernambuco (Brazil)", in Boudewijnse et al., 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 145-167; Martin, Bernice, "From pre- to postmodernity in Latin America", in Heelas, Paul, ed., *Religion, Modernity and Postmodernity*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 102-146.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Martin, David, *Tongues of Fire*, Oxford, 1990. Cf. also Martin, D., "The Evangelical Expansion South of the American Border", in Barker, Eileen; Beckford, James A. & Dobbelaere, Karel, eds, *Secularization and Sectarianism*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 101-124; Martin, D., "Evangelical and Charismatic Christianity in Latin America", in Poewe, Karla, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, Columbia, 1994, pp. 73-86. Moreover, Martin has now expanded his argument on the global reach, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*, London, 2002.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Martin, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 27-46.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ²⁰ Simultaneously and independently, the American anthropologist D. Stoll, published *Is Latin America becoming Protestant?* His book brings very little new in theory but strong statistical confirmation of the growth, see Stoll, 1990, (n. 2), esp. pp. 333-338.
- ²¹ Cf., e.g., Míguez, Daniel, *Spiritual Bonfire in Argentina* (CEDLA Latin American Studies, 81), Amsterdam, 1998, p. 9; Kamsteeg, Frans H., "Prophetic Pentecostalism in Chile", *Studies in Evangelicalism*, 15, Lanham, 1998, pp. 23-24.
- ²² Cf. also Freston, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 351-352.
- ²³ Cf. Kamsteeg, F. H., "Pastors, Lay People, and the Growth of Pentecostalism", in Boudewijnse et al., 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 74-96; cf. also Kamsteeg, F. H., "Pentecostal Healing and Power", in Droogers, André, Huizer, Gerrit, & Siebers, Hans, eds, *Popular Power in Latin American Religions*, Nijmegen Studies in Development and Cultural Change, 6, Saarbrücken, 1991, pp. 196-218.
- ²⁴ Kamsteeg, Pastors, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 88.
- ²⁵ Mariz, Cecilia Loreta, "Deliverance and Ethics", in Boudewijnse et al., 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 203-223, here p. 220.
- ²⁶ Mariz, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 220.
- ²⁷ Cf. Brusco, Elizabeth, "The Reformation of Machismo", in Garrard-Burnett, Virginia, & Stoll, David, eds, *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*, Philadelphia, 1993, pp. 143-158; Brusco, E., *The Reformation of Machismo*, Austin, 1995. Brusco does not distinguish in her research between Pentecostals and evangelicals but her empirical material is mainly gathered in Pentecostal communities. Cf. also Gill, Leslie, who came to similar conclusions from field study in La Paz, Bolivia: "Like a veil to cover them", in *American Ethnologist*, 17 (1990), pp. 708-721.
- ²⁸ Cf. Brusco, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 156-157. In this connection it should be noted that women are a majority also in Afro-American religions, the Catholic charismatic movement and in the basic communities.

- ²⁹ On this, note the critical remarks of Míguez, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 11-12.
- ³⁰ Brusco, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 147-148.
- ³¹ Cf., e.g., Gill, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 27); Smilde, David A., "Gender Relations and Social Change in Latin American Evangelicalism", in Miller, Daniel R., ed., *Coming of Age*, Lanham, 1994, pp. 39-64; Drogus, Carol Ann, "Private Power or Public Power", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 55-75; Mariz, Cecília Loreta, & Machado Das Dores Campos, Maria, "Pentecostalism and Women in Brazil", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 41-54; Slootweg, Hanneke, "Pentecostal Women in Chile", in Boudewijnse et al., 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 53-71.
- ³² Mariz & Machado, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 52.
- ³³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49.
- ³⁴ Cf. Burdick, John, "Struggling Against the Devil", in Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 20-44, here pp. 22-28; Burdick, J., *Looking for God in Brazil*, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 212-216. But cf. also Míguez, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 135-138.
- ³⁵ Cf. Burdick, "Struggling", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 28-33; Burdick, "Looking", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 212-216; Hoekstra, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 158-159; Kamsteeg, Prophetic, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 80-81.
- ³⁶ Cf. Burdick, "Struggling", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 29.
- ³⁷ But see already Ireland, Rowan, "The Cretes of Campo Alegre and the Religious Construction of Brazilian Politics", in Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 45-65; Ireland, R., "Pentecostalism, conversion and politics in Brazil", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 123-127. Ireland distinguishes various kinds of Pentecostal conversion. Only where what he calls "continuing conversion" is to be observed, will there also be social engagement on the part of Pentecostals.
- ³⁸ See, e.g., Droogers et al., 1991, *op. cit.* (n. 23), where the movement is clearly treated as a section of Latin American folk religion.
- ³⁹ See, e.g., Howe, Gary Nigel, "Capitalism and Religion at the Periphery", in Glazier, 1980, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 125-141; Westra, Allard Willemier, "Market Behavior among Brazilian Consumers of the Divine", in Boudewijnse et al., 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 119-143. However, cf. Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), esp. pp. 61-80, where a communality is recognized between the Pentecostal movement and Afro-Brazilian cults.
- ⁴⁰ Martin, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 282.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Martin, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 282-283. Cf. Willems, 1967, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 36-37, 133, 249.
- ⁴² Cf. Parker, Cristián, *Popular Religion and Modernization in Latin America*, Maryknoll, 1996, pp. 141-160. Cf. also Bergunder, Michael, "Religion und Moderne", in Hempelmann, Reinhard, ed., *Missionsprofile und Kirchenbilder* (EZW-Texte; 144), Berlin, 1998, pp. 6-18.
- ⁴³ Cf., e.g., Bergunder, M., *Die südindische Pfingstbewegung im 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1999, pp. 298-301; Bergunder, M., "Miracle Healing and Exorcism", *International Review of Mission*, Vol. XC Nos. 356/357, pp. 103-112.
- ⁴⁴ On the following, see Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 131-148.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 34-36; Drogus, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 31), pp. 61.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 81-100.
- ⁴⁷ Williams, Philip J., "The Sound of Tambourines", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 179-200, here pp. 190-191.
- ⁴⁸ Kamsteeg, Prophetic, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21).
- ⁴⁹ Cf. Drogus, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 31).
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 78-79. Cf. also Westmeier, Karl-Wilhelm, *Protestant Pentecostalism in Latin America*, Cranbury, 1999, pp. 116-117; in a certain sense, he sees in Pentecostalism an antithesis to the secularizing tendency which he recognizes in the basic communities.
- ⁵¹ Cf. Burdick, "Struggling", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 42 n. 11.
- ⁵² Mariz, 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 80.
- ⁵³ Cf. Stoll, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 250-253, 323-328; Gaxiola-Gaxiola, Manuel J., "Latin American Pentecostalism", *Pneuma*, 13 (1991), pp. 107-129, here pp. 122-123.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. Stoll, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 152-154, 305-308.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 72.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. Petersen, Douglas, "The Formation of Popular, National, Autonomous Pentecostal Churches in Central America", *Pneuma*, 16 (1994), pp. 23-48; Freston, 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 344-345.

- ⁵⁷ Cf. Coleman, Kenneth, et al., "Protestantism in El Salvador", in Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 111-142, here pp. 124-131; Dodson, Michael, "Pentecostals, Politics, and Public Space in Latin America", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 25-40, here p. 36. Cf. also Williams, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 47), pp. 190-191.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. Dodson, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 35.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. Burdick, "Struggling", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 34; Burdick, "Looking", 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 216-220.
- ⁶⁰ Limón C., Francisco, & Vásquez, Abel Clemente, "From Zapata to the Zapatistas", in Gutiérrez, Benjamin F., & Smith, Dennis A., eds, *In the Power of the Spirit*, Louisville, 1996, pp. 119-128.
- ⁶¹ An exceptional case in this connection is represented by the so-called neo-Pentecostal churches and groupings recruited from the middle and upper classes. There has been little research so far on their political tendencies but one study from Honduras concluded that the members, who often held politically influential posts, as a rule represented neo-liberal views (cf. Braungart, Karl, *Heiliger Geist und politische Herrschaft bei den Neopfingstlern in Honduras*, Frankfurt am Main, 1995). Also, there were intensive contacts, even if only for a short time, between neo-Pentecostals and the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua (cf. Stoll, 1990, *op. cit.* [n. 2], pp. 225-227). Cf. also Freston, Paul, "Charismatic Evangelicals in Latin America", in Hunt, Stephen, Hamilton, Malcolm, & Walter, Tony, eds, *Charismatic Christianity*, London, 1997, pp. 184-204.
- ⁶² Cf. Freston, Paul, "Brother Votes for Brother", in Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 27), pp. 66-110, here p. 67; Dodson, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 35.
- ⁶³ Cf. Freston, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 62); Freston, P., "Between Pentecostalism and the Crisis of Denominationalism", in Gutiérrez & Smith, 1996, *op. cit.* (n. 60), pp. 157-169. Cf. also Hoffnagel, 1980, *op. cit.* (n. 13), for examples from the 1970s.
- ⁶⁴ On the other hand, in El Salvador there was an attempt with Pentecostal support to form a Protestant-Christian party (MSN) but at the elections in 1994 it only gained 1% of the vote (Williams, 1997, *op. cit.* [n. 47], pp. 192-194).
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Freston, 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 62), pp. 88-89.
- ⁶⁶ Kamsteeg, "Prophetic", 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 84. Cf. also Lalive d'Épinay, 1983, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 54-56.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Kamsteeg, "Prophetic", 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 81-86.
- ⁶⁸ Cf. Cleary, Edward L., & Sepúlveda, Juan, "Chilean Pentecostalism", in Cleary & Stewart-Gambino, 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 97-121, here p. 114; Kamsteeg, "Prophetic", 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 86.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. Kamsteeg, "Prophetic", 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 86-94.
- ⁷⁰ Recently, Freston, Paul, has published an investigation into the politics of global Pentecostalism, cf. Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge, 2001.
- ⁷¹ Cf. Boff, Clodovis, *The Search for Justice and Solidarity: Meeting the "New Churches"* ["La Ricerca di Giustizia e Solidarietà: Punto di incontro per le Chiese in Brasile (English)"], (Unpublished manuscript, Sedos Residential Seminar, 18-22 May), Rome, 1999, p. 1.
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- ¹¹⁰ Cf. *Medellin* (Bogotá), 24 (1998), pp. 523-527. Cf. also *Theologie im Kontext*, 20, 2 (1999), p. 77.
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- ¹¹⁴ Further important texts would be e.g., Volf, Miroslav, "The Materiality of Salvation", *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 26, 3 (1989), pp. 447-467; Gaxiola, Adoniram, "Poverty as a Meeting and Parting Place", *Pneuma*, 13 (1991), pp. 167-174; Wilson, Everett A., "Who Speaks for Latin American Pentecostals?", *Pneuma*, 16 (1994), pp. 143-150; Solivan, Samuel, *The Spirit, Pathos and Liberation*, Sheffield, 1998. Cf. also the contact with Minjung theology in Kim, Dongsoo, "The Healing of Han in Korean Pentecostalism", *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 15 (1999), pp. 123-139.
- ¹¹⁵ Cf. Self, Charles E., "Conscientization, Conversion and Convergence: Reflections on Base Communities and Emerging Pentecostalism in Latin America", *Pneuma*, 14 (1992), pp. 59-72. Self is a Pentecostal pastor and professor of theology at Bethany College in Santa Cruz, California.
- ¹¹⁶ Cf. Sepúlveda, Juan, "Pentecostal Theology in the Context of the Struggle for Life", in Kirkpatrick, Dow, ed., *Faith Born in the Struggle for Life*, Grand Rapids, 1988, pp. 298-318; Sepúlveda, J., "Pentecostalism and Liberation Theology", in Hunter, Harold D., & Hocken, Peter D., eds, *All Together in One Place*, Sheffield, 1993, pp. 51-64. Sepúlveda is pastor in the Pentecostal Church Mission in Chile, which is a member church of the WCC. He is reckoned to be one of the foremost representatives of Latin American Pentecostal theology and is, moreover, a tireless worker for ecumenism with the established churches. He works in the executive of the development organization SEPADE. On the church mission and on SEPADE, see Kamsteeg, "Prophetic", 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 21), founded by Chilean Pentecostals.
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the missionary department of the Assemblies of God for Central America and president of Latin American Child Care.

¹¹⁹ Cf., e.g., Johns, Cheryl Bridges, *Pentecostal Formation*, Sheffield, 1993; Johns, C. B., "Pentecostals and the Praxis of Liberation", *Transformation*, 11,1 (1994), pp. 11-15. Johns is professor of Christian formation and discipleship at the Church of God School of Theology which is the central theological education institution of one of the oldest and largest Pentecostal church in North America.

¹²⁰ Cf., e.g., Villafañe, Eldin, *The Liberating Spirit*, Grand Rapids, 1993; Villafañe, E., "The Contours of a Pentecostal Social Ethic", *Transformation*, 11, 1 (1994), pp. 6-10. Cf. also the discussion of his theory in Hauerwas, Stanley, & Saye, Scott, "Domesticating the Spirit", *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 7 (1995), pp. 11-33. Villafañe is a pastor in the Assemblies of God and professor of social ethics at the Gordon-Cornwell Theological Seminary.

¹²¹ Lovett, Leonard, "Liberation: A Dual-Edged Sword", *Pneuma*, 9 (1987), pp. 155-171, here p. 168.