Pentecostalism as religion of periphery: an analysis of Brazilian case

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Master of Science Brand Arenari

Präsident der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

Prof. Dr. Jan-Hendrick Olbertz

Dekanin der Philosophen Fakultät III

Prof. Dr. Julia von Blumenthal

Gutachter: 1: Klaus Eder

2: Jessé Freire Souza

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Abstract

All the analyses we have developed throughout this dissertation point to a central element in the emergence and development of Pentecostalism, i.e., its raw material – the promise of religious salvation – is based on the idea of social ascension, particularly the ascension related to the integration of sub-integrated social groups to the dynamics of society.

The new religion that arose in the USA focused on the needs and social dramas that were specific of the newly arrived to the urban world of the large North-American cities, those who inhabited the periphery of these cities, those that were socially, economically, and ethnically excluded from the core of society. We also analysed how the same social drama was the basis for the development of Pentecostalism in Latin America and, especially, in Brazil. In this country, a great mass of excluded individuals, also residents of urban peripheries (which proves the non-traditional and modern characteristic of these sectors), found in Pentecostalism the promises of answers to their dramas, mainly the anxiety to become integrated to a world in which they did not belong before. Such integration was embedded in the promise present in the modernity of social ascension.

This scenario leads us to the conclusion that Pentecostalism was a religious discourse capable of taking the main promise of modernity to social groups or classes "forgotten" by modern society. Through a religious discourse, Pentecostalism fulfilled the notions of social mobility, and its consequent idea of individual ascension to the mass of people not yet fully integrated to the modern world, but living in it. Following, it became the Christian religion of blacks and mestizos, of the poor and all the others who felt out of place in that world. So the Pentecostalism became a religion of periphery par excellence.

Zusammenfassung

Alle in dieser Dissertation gemachten Analysen fokussieren auf einen zentralen Element für die Entstehung und die Entwicklung der Pfingstbewegung. Es handelt sich dabei um das Konzept, dass sich religiöse Erlösung auf die Erfahrung des sozialen Aufstiegs gegründet ist, insbesondere im Sinne der Integration unterintegrierter sozialen Gruppen in die Gesellschaft.

Diese in den USA enstandende neue Religion befriegt vor allem die religiösen und sozialen Bedürfnisse derjenigen Bevölkerungsgruppen, die neu in der urbanen Welt der großen nordamerikanischen Städten angekommen waren. Es geht dabei also um diejenigen sozialen Schichten, die in der Peripherie dieser grossen Städte lebten und die sozial, wirtschaftlich und ethnisch aus der Gesellschaft ausgeschlossen wurden. Im Anschluss daran analysieren wir auch, wie die gleichen sozialen und religiösen Bedürfnisse die Grundlagen für die Entwicklung der Pfingstbewegung in Lateinamerika darstellen – insbesondere in Brasilien.

In diesem Land findet eine grosse Menge exkludierter Individuen, die meistens auch Bewohner städtischer Peripherie sind (was ihren modernen Charakter beweist), im Pentekostalismus das Versprechen einer Lösung für ihre Probleme, vor allem für die Sehensucht nach Integration in eine soziale Welt, an der sie vorher nicht teilnahmen. Dieses Integrationsversprechen hängt direkt mit der normativen Erwartung des sozialen Aufstiegs zusammen.

Aus disem Bild kann man den Schluss ziehen, dass sich der Pentekostalismus als religiöses Phänomen dadurch auszeichnet, dass er die Versprechen der Moderne für die von der modernen Gesellschaften vergessenen Individuen aktualisiert. Mittes seiner religiösen Narrative verleiht der Petenkostalismus der Idee des sozialen Aufstiegs und damit auch der Hoffnung sozialer Inklusion exkludierter Individuen eine neue Kraft. Der Pentekostalismus nimmt auf diese Weise die Form einer christlichen Religion der Schwarzen, Mulatos, Armen und aller anderen Individuen an, deren Integration in die moderne Gesellschaft als problematisch erscheint.

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Introduction

Over the last 30 to 40 years the world has witnessed a significant transformation on the religious front, as evidenced by a rise in religious practice. With this widespread increase in faith, which has been called a return of religion or a return of the sacred[1], two movements in particular have maintained a key role: the Christian Pentecostal and Islamic movements.

According to sociologist Peter Berger, the explosion of evangelical Protestantism and a wide resurgence of Islamism on a worldwide scale represent the two greatest phenomena of our time requiring the analysis of the sociology of religion[2]. In his opinion, such religious phenomenon can be considered intrinsically linked to the peculiarities of the modern peripheral forms of capitalism, and it can even be postulated that "This type of robust Protestantism have behavioral consequences that, mostly unintentionally, have an affinity with requirements of nascent capitalism and are therefore conducive to upward social mobility"(BERGER, 2001 :451).

It is worth noting that in the societies at the heart of capitalism, and in part of those societies at its periphery, a strong increase in certain religious beliefs that fuse techniques of positive thinking, Oriental Philosophy, shamanism, etc., and whose expansion was centered in the "New Age" movement, also reflected this return of religion[3].

In the specific case of the expansion of Pentecostalism, a very clear geographic trend can be noted. Its proliferation has occurred to a much higher degree in those countries that can be called peripheral, or those nations not part of the founding center of capitalism; i.e., those European and North American countries known as the North Atlantic countries[4].

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[1] WILSON, Bryan. The return of Sacred.Journal for Scientific Study of Religion, Vol18, n° 3, Sept 1979 268-280

[2] BERGER, Peter, "Reflections on the sociology of Religion Today". *Sociology of Religion.*Winter, 2001, v. 62, i. 4 p. 443-455.

[3]For more details, see: Houtman, Dick and StefAupers. 2007. The spiritual turn and the decline of tradition: The spread of post-Christian spirituality in 14 western countries, 1981–2000. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46(3):305–20.Houtman, Dick, StefAupers, and Paul Heelas. 2009. Christian religiosity

[4] World Christian Database, http://www.worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/

Pentecostalism today has been a driving force in the worldwide expansion of Christianity, occupying the role once played by the Catholic Church during colonial expansion and the Imperialism of the 19th Century and at the same time gaining ground once occupied by Catholicism in the former colonies.

Although Pentecostalism has only existed for slightly more than one hundred years, its remarkable spread over the last thirty years has earned it a singular status among global religious movements. Since the 1980s its presence on the world religious stage has been impossible to ignore. And once again, this expansion has been marked by a specific geographic feature, in this case related to Latin America. Though Pentecostalism is currently growing rapidly in Africa, southern Asia, and eastern Europe, this expansion has been even greater in Latin America. Brazil, in turn, is the country that most stands out in this regard, not only for representing the most important Pentecostal country in numerical terms, but also for having launched important Pentecostal churches that have spread to other countries.

This scenario has guided our decision to focus a study on the development of Pentecostalism in Brazil, especially since an understanding of the growth of Pentecostalism in Brazil can be of fundamental importance to the understanding of Pentecostalism's growth globally.

Even with these impressive growth numbers and remarkable visibility internationally, bolstered by equally remarkable numbers of scientific and theological analyses of Pentecostalism, there is a distinct lack of theoretical research offering explanations for such growth, especially with respect to the so-called sociological matrix.This gap was observed by Ricardo Mariano in 2001 in his doctoral thesis on the growth of Pentecostalism (MARIANO, 2001). This sociologist reports that since the weakening and fall in the 1970s and 1980s of the old functionalist theory, a theory that is highly associated with modernization paradigms, no other theory has appeared that is committed to the explanation of this phenomenon. This has created a theoretical void, so to speak.

In the same vein as Ricardo Mariano's work, the present study seeks to help fill this theoretical void by offering an alternative path to understanding the development and growth of Pentecostalism, with a special emphasis on Pentecostalism in Brazil. It is important to remember that our principal objective is to offer an alternative explanatory model for Pentecostal growth, and not to prove any specific hypothesis in this regard.

Theories relating to the development and expansion of any determined new religion or religious phenomenon are generally divided into two dominant explanatory tendencies. While not mutually exclusive, explanations pertaining to the expansion of a religion tend to fall between external causes of religious life, such as social and economic factors, etc., and internal causes of religious life, such as changes in administrative structure, the level and structure of the message, and/or religious promise, etc. The perspective that motivated my study of the Pentecostal phenomenon prompted me to concentrate my analysis (at least in this work) on the external causes of religious life that would determine in part the development of a religion or specific religious phenomenon.

Since 2004 I have participated in a research group conducted by Professor Jessé Souza in which research is focused on both the specificity of the development of Brazilian society and the consequent development of social inequality. Development of the first theme lead us to the second, and both spurred an analysis of a specific type of modernization, called "peripheral modernization" (SOUZA, 2003).

In the studies on Brazilian social structure, especially those dealing with the underprivileged classes, it's possible to discern the prevalence of one determined type of religion in comparison to other types whose member ranks have grown remarkably fast among these classes. A considerable number of those interviewed in our research were part of that movement that has most grown in Brazil, the Pentecostal movement. Then, upon analyzing other data it became apparent that even possessing denominations that attracted members who were considered "middle class," it was among the poor and destitute

members of society that Pentecostalism's expansion had occurred most significantly. This fact allows us to declare that the Pentecostal movement is the form of religion most adhered to by the Brazilian poor and underprivileged today.

However, it was clear that this social and religious phenomenon was not unique to the Brazilian reality and was in fact evident in other parts of the world, most similarly in Latin America. Pentecostalism was becoming the religious choice among the new classes of urban poor who were seeking to improve their social standing in poor and developing countries in Africa and Latin America alike. And, with slightly different social characteristics, this growth could also be charted in southern Asia and eastern Europe. It could thus be considered a religious phenomenon of the global periphery, or of the periphery of capitalist expansion.

In light of this scenario, I began to formulate the questions that would guide me in this dissertation. How can one understand the factors that contribute to Pentecostalism's status as a religion both on the periphery of the capitalist world and of the poor of this periphery? What were the sociological connections between this religious model and such a defined social and geographic group? Where did this affinity between religion and social class come from? As my research progressed this question became more focused, probing the reasons for which Pentecostalism was becoming the religion of the dominated in modern and capitalist culture. In this way, I already viewed it as the religious expression of the underprivileged sectors of the new peripheral capitalist society directly related to the class structure of that societal model and, in turn, to a specific social class.

The first strategy adopted for this problem was to avoid cultural explanations of dominance over Pentecostalism which however able to shed light on certain aspects of the Pentecostal question, obscured the harder sociological questions related to topics such as social class, concepts of domination, etc. Nevertheless, the challenge persisted because upon removing

oneself from culturalist views, it is possible to fall into the trap of returning uncritically to the old and obsolete notions stemming from the paradigms of the old theory of modernization and secularization.The path chosen by which to construct this alternative explanation was based on the one hand on Weber's studies and his concepts of religion, further developed by some of his commentators, along with the notion of religion developed by Bourdieu with respect to the theme and his interpretation of the Weberian sociology of religion. On the other hand, my research was based on Bourdieu's concepts of class and domination, which also support my hypotheses.It was also necessary to search for sources outside the realm of the sociology of religion; thus in addition to the theory of *habitus* and domination elaborated by Bourdieu, the work of Jessé Souza on peripheral modernization constituted an important framework for the support of the ideas developed herein. These were the theoretical foundations chosen to understand Pentecostalism in Brazil, which we believe will be of great value for the understanding of Pentecostal expansion worldwide.

In Chapter One of this thesis I strive to outline from a theoretical point of view the development of the ideas that explain my position on the spread of Pentecostalism, and two important points related to my research question should be highlighted. One refers to the construction of a sociological and theoretical explanation with respect to Pentecostalism that doesn't partake of the culturalist paradigm as an analytical framework; the second refers to a return to classical functionalist theories with respect to Pentecostalism without sharing the old paradigms of the classical theory of modernization.

In this first chapter, after presenting a general panorama of the development of ideas about religion, i.e., the change of view of religion in the West, I strive to show how the current dominant sociological views on religion and consequently Pentecostalism are related to the paradigmatic change of culturalism that began in the 1980s.This change neglected the "material" causes of the development of religion, distancing themselves from "functionalist" explanations in favor of "immaterial" aspects of culture. On the other hand, I try to show how the old functionalist theories, which found

explanations in factors outside of religion, such as profound social changes like migrations, urbanization, etc., were highly related to the old paradigms of the theory of modernization. These views originating in the old theory of modernization, especially the theory of secularization and the value-laden evolutionism, were unable to offer convincing responses to the question of Pentecostalism, and fell into disfavor.

The alternative response to this scenario is a methodology based on structural changes that affected the field of religion, with an emphasis reserved for a specific social class, a feature of functionalism, along with the use of an alternative "theory of modernization" distinct from the former paradigms of modernization. These are what I believe to be the two keys to an alternative theory for Pentecostalism in Brazil and, in part, for Latin America. In this manner, I locate my theoretical proposal in the camp of revisionary functionalist notions about Pentecostal activity, yet still somewhat removed from the older ideas of modernization theory.

In the chapters that follow I work to detail and develop the perspective presented in Chapter One. In the second chapter I offer a general presentation on the rise of Pentecostalism. In this presentation I've chosen not to offer heavy emphasis on the cultural origins of this phenomenon, the way culturalist explanations do, focusing on "African spirituality" or "Latin culture," instead drawing more fully on the social origins of the Pentecostalism's rise in the U.S.A. These social origins later repeat themselves, not coincidentally, in their expansion. This is because Pentecostalism, wherever it spread, successfully appealed to the social layers of a sub-integrated urban periphery of capitalist expansion that were eager for access to the newly created benefits that this system could offer. The presentation of these social origins is at the heart of a functionalist framework that is able to offer insight into the rise of Pentecostalism. As a way of complementing this I present the theological-cognitive aspects of Pentecostal thought that originated not only in the U.S. and in Christian circles, but also on the wave of new European scientific spiritualism that was adapted for North American traditions and realities.

Chapter Three presents what could be considered Pentecostalism's most relevant phase in terms of its expansion and growth, i.e., Neopentecostalism. Beginning with some innovations, the late 1970s witnessed a period of explosive growth in Pentecostalism worldwide that featured Latin America both as its new diffusional center and the geographic region that most experienced growth in membership. An understanding of the features of this new phase, including the addition of the theology of prosperity on the one hand and the radicalization of Latin America's urban poor on the other, is vital for a meaningful comprehension of Pentecostal expansion.In this chapter I describe the spread of Pentecostalism in Latin America with a specific emphasis on this phenomenon with regard to Brazil.

Chapter Four complements Chapter Three, offering more detailed analysis of Pentecostal expansion in Brazil, a brief historical-sociological presentation, and a subsequent analysis of Pentecostal data in Brazil with the objective of proving Pentecostalism's role as the religion of the poor in Brazilian urban peripheries. Such data are fundamental to the establishment of Pentecostalism's relation to a determined social class and to the Brazilian process of modernization.

This chapter aims at establishing correlations between the religious social movement called Pentecostalism and the development of the Brazilian society. Therefore, we will discuss the theoretical views that support the answer to the question that has guided this work, i.e., the expansion dynamics of Pentecostalism in the largest Pentecostal nation in the world – Brazil. Thus, this question can be understood as the analysis of the combination of a specific type of society (Brazil) and a singular religious model (Pentecostalism). What is in the development of the Brazilian society that makes it a favourable place for the expansion of a religious movement with the features of Pentecostalism? Why is Brazil the world's largest Pentecostal nation? These are the questions that have guided this chapter, in which I present a theoretical explanation of the data presented in the previous chapter (Pentecostalism: a Brazilian experience)

In the conclusion I reconnect some points of the dissertation and I point out possible perspective about this work.

Chapter 1

Pentecostalism: a Question for our Time

1.1 Introduction

In this initial chapter of my dissertation I will seek to map the development of analysis about religion, and more specifically the analysis about Pentecostalism. Based on this goal, I intend to briefly analyze the main theoretical lines and explanatory paths about religion in the twentieth century—especially those which seek to explain this new wave of religious expansion. Later in this chapter, after presenting the analytical and theoretical model about religion and Pentecostalism in the twentieth century, I intend to situate my main theoretical pretensions in relation to traditional studies about Pentecostalism and religion.

To complete this proposal I will demonstrate the analytical development of religion in three separate parts:

1. I will present a general view on Religion in the context of the decline of ideas belonging to enlightened criticism of religion and the expectations generated by this criticism.

2. I will specifically address the decline of the main theoretical paradigm of religion sociology in the twentieth century, namely the theory of secularization, and therefore the substitution of this paradigm by some ideas based on so-called "cultural studies" and its paralleled paradigms as the notion of multiculturalism, the emergence of "new identities" in collective action, and post-colonial studies in which authors such as Homi Baba and Edward Said will be highlighted. These studies directed our attention to the uniqueness of cultural groups in society, leading us to abandon the notion of grand narratives towards seeking to understand

the phenomenon of new identities and traditions concerning cultural "essences".

3. I will analyze how the emergence of "cultural studies" markedly influenced the analysis of the phenomenon of the return of religions, especially the analysis of Pentecostalism. The return of religion was interpreted as a phenomenon which attested to what we could call the "Return of culturalism" to the core of analysis in social sciences, while a decline of materialism occurred. I will demonstrate how the ideas of important scholars of Pentecostalism such as David Martin, Walter Hollenweger, Allan Anderson, and Paul Freston were in tune with the main ideas which are present in "cultural studies". As a continuation of this third section I will present some explanations about Pentecostalism that are not connected with the culturalist view, and have no direct relationship with "cultural studies". Much of these explanations will support my interpretation about Pentecostalism: these ideas will be the basis for alternative ways to theological and culturalist explanations.

In the fourth and fifth sections I will offer a path that is parallel to those based on "cultural studies", but that does not represent a return to the secularization theory. In these sections I seek to present my proposal for elaboration of a theoretical alternative route which can understand the Pentecostalism (especially in Latin America) not only through its cultural uniqueness, but through its relationship with the idea of social class. This fourth section will also present the theoretical possibilities of the improbable marriage between religion and social class, and in the fifth section I will present my main theoretical hypotheses.

1.2 The collapse of Enlightenment beliefs: a general view on religion in our times

During a considerable part of the twentieth century we were steeped in the assurance of faith, which told us that "faith" was a form of human cognition that belonged to humanity's past, and that this faith has made us believe that religion was also a human institution that belonged in that same past.

The belief in "evolutionism" does not leave much doubt about these questions. Yet in the last quarter of the twentieth century a social and cultural hurricane made our religious certainties fall to the ground. Religious feelings and manifestations increasingly appeared in the public sphere and religions experienced great expansion worldwide.

This new phenomenon places us before a new model of understanding about religion, a model that we can initially call post-enlightenment/positivist. José Casanova refers to this phenomenon as the end of utopianism, i.e., the collapse of the era of Enlightenment beliefs (CASANOVA, 2000). The expectations and analysis which awaited the disappearance of religion, or even only its weakness, were not confirmed in history, leading us to rethink the role that religion and religious disposition plays in human society and human experience in general.

We can compare the transformation of the understanding of religion which has occurred in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century with what happened before in relation to the understanding of sexuality during the twentieth century.

For a long time certain religious and philosophical traditions have believed that sexual pleasure could be excluded (overcome) from human experience and the moralism of the Victorian era may be viewed as an excellent example of this. However, from an analytical standpoint, the advent of psychology, particularly Freudian psychoanalysis, has reversed this situation. This analytical rupture ushered in the belief (or realization) that sex and sexual pleasure are compelling forces of life, and that we should not entertain the

illusion that these can be excluded from life, but must instead be understood for an improved quality of life.

In the case of religion something very similar happened. The new wave of religious expansion has destroyed the illusion that we could eliminate the religion of life in society, which had put us in the position of looking at the religious disposition towards life as a universal feature of human experience.

In the sphere of analysis, this transformation is confirmed, also starting with psychology. Just as Freudian psychology has contributed to revise the interpretation of the role of sex in human life, Jungian psychology has also markedly contributed to a post-Enlightenment review of the idea of religion. In a 1939 publication on Western *psychology and religion* (JUNG, 1995), Jung examines the repression of human religious dispositions in the modern West, empirically demonstrating the dramas of one of his patients in relation to his own religious feelings. At that time (1939) Jung had already "anticipated" a criticism that would appear years later in the general discussion and interpretation about religion (JUNG, 1995).

In other words, we can say that the need for transcendence is also something inevitable in the human experience (LUCKMANN, 2002), at least from a historical interpretation, and we must look at religion from this new point of view.

Still on the analytical changes about religion, we must not fail to note the context of political interests in which these ideas about obsolete role of religion in history and therefore its disappearance were created. At that time, religion was to some extent a fundamental pillar of support of the "Ancien Régime", so the fall of this "regime" certainly was dependent on the attack against the legitimacy of religion and its subsequent power.

Such attack did not only occur in more explicit political struggles, but in a general criticism as well. Beyond the direct political attacks that have appeared in striking the anti-clericalism of the Enlightenment, especially in the work of Voltaire, a broad critique of religious cognition has emerged. With regard to the latter, it would mean that religious cognition would be replaced by new scientific reason.

Thus, the new ideas and political forces that emerged in the world have created a kind of interpretation of the religion that did not make more sense in the current political context, and also contained some analytical mistakes. This means that the dispute by imposing a new order of power in the world today does not necessarily pass through attack against the legitimacy of religion and direct confrontation against the power of religion as such.

This is the general panorama of analysis and understanding of religion which any investigation about religion must assume, which obviously includes this dissertation. Thus it would not be prudent to imagine a time without religion, but to understand the role which religion plays in our lives in the current social and historical context.

Before entering the debate about the specific analytical transformations in the sociology of religion, it is still important to point out another structural transformation regarding religion that is not directly related to the beliefs of the Enlightenment. In this regard I refer to the new conditions of development of religion after the impact of the advance of globalization. To be more exact, I refer to the notion of deterritorialization of religion in the globalized age, as postulated by José Casanova (2000).

Casanova demonstrates that in the history of Western religion it has always been related to a specific territory, which meant a sacred space that has always functioned as a material anchor to sustain the symbolic sense of world that religion gave to men. In other words, religion is shown as a collective representation of "imaginary communities" in the words of the same author, and also had an imaginary space.

Since the notion of Christendom, what implies an idea of a large sacred Christian Empire with clear territorial borders, until the emergence of religious national States, religion in the West was always linked to an imaginary sacred space. However, with the separation of Church and State, the Churches lost their ties to an imaginary territory. The rise of globalization has thus served to intensify this process of deterritorialization, making the challenge to religions even greater.

The result of this process was the inevitable requirement that religions must adapt to the new age of globalization. The religions which had success in this new scene were those that recreated themselves as transnational religious forces, or in other words, in global religions (CASANOVA, 2000). In this new logic of religious expansion, the whole world became a potential parish, without being linked to a specific territory or special defined nation.

In the lines above I have briefly presented the general changes which have influenced how we have assigned the roles that religion plays today. These structural changes described above are related to the cognitive (political and geographical questions that had an overwhelming impact on our comprehension of religion.

1.3 The fall of the secularization theory and the rise of new theories: a specific view on Religion

1.3.1 The Secularization Theory: a brief overview

Undoubtedly the most remarkable theoretical result of the old Enlightenment beliefs in relation to religion was the theory of secularization. In the theoretical paradigm of secularization — with sovereign domain over the whole sociology of religion during a great deal of the twentieth century — are all those sets of beliefs based on the Enlightenment critique of religion and also the beliefs and expectations that were derived from these ideas. In this regard, the main point was the radical view that religion would disappear from history. Maybe this general notion about the theoretical model based on secularization is that most identified with this theory.

However, the secularization theory is not only a product of a set of political and epistemological beliefs which has obtained a scientific status. Indeed, secularization theory is not only a myth of modern western culture, as many would have us believe. Because of this it is not prudent criticize or childishly reject it outright, as some enthusiasts have rejected and criticized

religion in the past. So, to present the arguments and criticisms that contributed to its fall within the sociology of religion, it is first necessary to realize that this theory goes beyond a supposed simple sentence about the end of religion.

With reference to this analysis, some authors such as José Casanova (1994) and David Martin (2005) pay attention to the need to parse the secularization theory and understand it as a byproduct of the theory of modernization and the theory of rationalization. Such dismemberment would assign the theory of secularization at least three faces: The thesis of differentiation of society; the thesis of the decline of religion; and the thesis of the privatization of religion (CASANOVA, 1994).

The thesis of the differentiation of society may be the one most solidly based on empirical evidence, and is the most scientific face of the secularization theory. This thesis postulates that with modernization a differentiation in the spheres of action have come about, as State, economy, science, and politics, for example, were separated from religion. Thus, many fundamental core regulatory aspects of human life became autonomous in relation to religion. They began to develop an internal logic of action without the mediation of religious power and discourse.

This thesis is related to the notion of autonomization of action spheres that was postulated by Max Weber. Weber's ideas certainly support a part of the secularization theory. In the special case of differentiation thesis, we can also add the notion of differentiation of subsystems, as outlined by Niklas Luhman, as another point of support.

The most notable (and supposedly indisputable) historical and empirical aspect involved in the thesis of differentiation is the separation of Church and State. The emergence of secular states does not only attest to the macro level of this differentiation, but also represents a certain decline of religious power in relation to secular power.

The second face of secularization theory, and possibly its most recognizable one due to its controversial stance, is the thesis about the ultimate decline of religion. In this thesis the expectations and beliefs of Enlightenment are clearly revealed. This thesis seeks to emphasize what it considers the clear

path that religion is on, illustrating the loss of power and influence that religion has experienced in many aspects of life.

From this, they have deduced, based on an evolutionist philosophy of history that religion would disappear from history. They have believed that religion was a form of institution and cognition which belonged to humanity's past. This "past" bore a number of varied characteristics such as an epistemological (faith Vs. reason), cultural (modern/civilized Vs. primitive), political and so on.

In this logic, the religious authority would lose power in relation to the new democratic and republican values. The religious worldview would lose ground to scientific discourse, and the idea of God, gods, and spirits would be understood as a product of the childlike minds of primitive peoples that could no longer be in tune with the modern world of rational and civilized men. All these ideas together were enough to predict that the end of religion was approaching.

The third face of the secularization theory is the thesis of privatization of religion. In general terms, it represents the idea that religion would disappear from the public sphere, and would only have a function in private life. We can also attribute it as a consequence of the process of differentiation in society. With the process came the idea that religion would merely have a moral role in one's life. With the increasing autonomization of Law, science, and so on, the religious discourse was no longer valid in the public sphere, banishing religion to the realm of subjectivity.

Besides, the growing process of individualization has contributed to the religious demands that also became individualized. Individuals no longer seek meaning from collective senses of life, as occurs in religious communities such as sects and churches, but they merely seek existential meaning from their individual demands and experiences.

A brief evaluation of this theory reveals it to be a half-truth or half-lie, whichever you prefer. It is undeniable that much of its explanations touch on concrete historical phenomenon that occurred more frequently from the late nineteenth century to a period of the twentieth century, especially if we take Europe as an empirical base. In fact, in the whole West there was a

differentiation of society which in turn resulted in a decline of religious power at various levels, and also a recrudescence of religion in the public sphere. However, religion never disappeared from society and experienced a certain wave of resurgence in the public sphere.[5]

This finding leads us to believe that the mistakes of this theoretical framework do not be in its analysis more straightforward, but in the sources of support of this theoretical framework, namely the theory of modernization and the theory of rationalization (CASANOVA, 1994) (COSTA, 2006). And the heart of these theories is in the evolutionary vision of society. The main misconceptions are in the evolutionary "prophecy" based on a radical Eurocentric vision of the world.

The secularization theory, however, will not be highlighted in this dissertation, and this is for two reasons: first because of the fact that this theory was elaborated to understand the first changes of modern society, and for this reason this theory can do little to help in the comprehension of a religious phenomenon of another modern phase; and by other hand, due to the first reason, the weak influence that this theoretical paradigm has had over the studies about Pentecostalism, the analyses about this phenomenon emerges in a context where the secularization theory was no longer dominant.

The brief explanation about the theory of secularization that I provided in the lines above merely has the goal of assisting in the comprehension of the developmental lines of the analysis of religion, thus serving as an access to the following theoretical period, which has greatly influenced the understanding of the phenomenon of Pentecostalism. Regarding this period I refer to the emergence of so-called "cultural studies".

1.3.2 The rise of "Cultural Studies"

As we saw earlier, the wearing thin of the theory of secularization has occurred mainly because of overuse and the possible depletion of macro-

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[5]   It is important to remember that there are significant variations in grade in this process between the central Europe, Latin World (including Latin America), and North America.

theoretical vision that gave it support, namely the theory of modernization. The worldview of this theory, along with all its assumptions and derivations, has become the great villain of the social sciences. This occurred because the new picture that emerged among the various fronts of attack contained in the critique of modernity.

As occurs in any good narrative, when there is a villain, a "Hero", a "good boy" must necessarily exist. For that matter, the first name given to this "character" that could fill the role of redeemer of mistakes of modernization theory was the term post-modernism. This term is vague and indefinite enough to accommodate many different meanings at the same time. Thus, all critics against the pillars and symbols of modernity, whether in politics, literature, music, behavior in general and also in thought, were recognized as postmodern. Under the shadow of this term was included all the rejection to "modern".

"Cultural studies" immediately attracts our attention as the most significant branch of the human sciences (where literary criticism is also included), principally the school known as postmodern.

Before I delve into my analysis, it is worth remembering that with the term "cultural studies" I do not just want to refer to the narrower and more accurate sense than the term implies, namely the set of new ideas arising in England, specifically in Birmingham University's Centre for Contemporary Studies. With this term I refer to what we call an analytical turn in which the element "culture" becomes dominant.

This analytical turn also involves the emergence of new paradigms and lines of thought such as the so-called post-colonial Studies, Multiculturalism, new identities in collective action and in the private sphere, and so on. In this set of ideas we can identify what Stuart Hall calls a "cultural revolution" (HALL, 1997). In this revolution the economy as a basic element for the understanding of the larger society would lose its privileged space to the element "culture".

Against a set of ideas belonging to "cultural studies", the criticism and rejections of what is "modern" in the field of human sciences will become clearer. Such criticism has shown itself especially in the recurrent attacks on an

important theoretical pillar of social sciences, *i. e.,* the theory of modernization and its analytical sub-products. In fact, we can say that the emergence of "cultural studies" represents the rise of an unprecedented identity crisis in the social sciences. The social sciences as a product of a modern worldview sees itself as a trapped animal facing all the criticism aimed at modernity (COSTA, 2006).

The first features of this rejection to that which is "modern" are revealed most poignantly among the criticisms aimed at Eurocentric views of the modern world and at teleological and evolutionist views of history which combined with such Eurocentrism. On the other hand, this criticism also rejected the systems of classification of that society, thus criticizing and doing away with the old categories of analysis of modernity, such as social class, nation, and so and replacing them with other finer classifications supposedly more able to perceive the increased complexity of that new world regarded as the "modern world".

It is within the so-called "post-colonial studies", which highlight the work of the renowned Homi Baba and Edward Said, that the most vigorous attacks against the Eurocentric vision originated in the modern view occurred. The central argument of this critique is constructed to demonstrate how European culture has built the idea of other (alter) from binaries that characterized what is "other" as opposite and inherently undesirable. In developing this critique Stuart Hall (1996) elaborated the term "West / Rest". The notion of "West / Rest" was based on a dichotomy between the west (civilized, developed, early, good) and the rest (wild, underdeveloped, backward, bad...)(COSTA, 2006).

On the other hand, what clearly emerges in these new paradigms in the social sciences is a certain wear and tear in the grand narratives which have marked modernity. There is an abandonment of the discourse about the great historical struggles and social transformations that aim at changes at the macro level, typical characteristics of teleological visions of modern history. Thus the notions of social class, nation and religions in a sense of big projects of salvation become much less convincing.

The same wave marks the beginning of the decline of Marxism, the sociological model of great analysis represented in many ways by Talcott

Parsons, and everything that could be universal as well; such a vision becomes too great to fit into the new constellation of local eccentricities. Thus, a desire to distance oneself from the analysis of large collective identities begins. And it is from this void that the so called new identities emerge.

We can consider the theoretical turning point for these new identities the historical moment when Stuart Hall in the 80's turned his attention from thematics as social class and Marxism to other questions regarding racism, ethnicities, gender, and cultural identities (COSTA, 2006).

This analytical reconfiguration is based on the idea that social arrangements from the older conceptions of social class dissolved and lost their capacity to dominantly conduct collective political action. According to this set of ideas, the modern capitalist society has become so complex that these old classifications no longer made sense and it is from these other elements that collective political action can derive motivation and unity. By replacing the struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a range of new identities appeared, no longer based on old and hardened visions of class that were interpreted from the place that individuals occupied in relation to production.

Empirical evidence fostered this analytical change. The fights of many minorities related to gender was no longer simply the political fight of feminism, but the political fight of masculine and feminine homosexuals, transsexuals and other categories of gender. With respect to ethnicity, in addition to the political struggle of blacks the fights of other ethnic and cultural minorities have emerged, such as of "quilombolas" (resistance communities of ex-slaves) in Brazil, of indigenous peoples such as the Chiapas in Mexico and minorities in Bolivia and also minorities on the European continent.

If on one hand the structure of modern industrial society generated internal contradictions that have been translated into conflicts between different social classes particularly related to the economic factors related to the position they occupied in terms of production, the process of colonization has created a society with a series of contradictions related to cultural aspects, which has in turn fueled the political struggles of the collective "new identities".

However, religions have also begun to play a prominent role in this new political configuration in which cultural elements are to be interpreted as the new axis of formation of collective identities in the political debate. In this new political semantic in which struggles are no longer mostly guided by struggles for "material" rights, but for social recognition, as explained by Honnet Axel (1992), religion has become a unifying core of the formation of a specific identity in the public sphere. Soon, the new religion and religiosity came to play a new role as part of the constellation of so-called "new identities" (BURITY, 1997);(HALL, 1991).

Within this context of new ideas championed by "cultural studies", Pentecostalism has emerged with a resounding expansion on the periphery of the world, arousing the interest of scholars of religion, both sociologists as well as theologians. Therefore the main theoretical lines developed by these specialists about Pentecostalism are beset by the new view of the world contained in "cultural studies". In the following lines I will establish these relations between the paradigms of "cultural studies" and explanations of Pentecostalism.

1.4 Pentecostalism and the new Paradigms

In the specific case of sociological analysis, as I have described in the above lines, the secularization theory paradigm was replaced by the new paradigms of "cultural studies". The idea of a weakening of religion was losing force just as the notion of religion as a new form of collective identity became strong and dominant (BURITY, 1997).

In the case of religion analysis, the replacement of class concept has not occurred the way it has in other areas of collective action. The concept of class never developed a prominent role in the religion analysis (we will address this in the next section). But we can say that the impact of "cultural studies" has promoted a radicalization of the use of the element "culture" and the spread of the notion of "collective identities" via religion and religiosities.

As far as the religious movement of Pentecostalism which I will analyze in this dissertation, it can be said that this movement has been analyzed in three distinct ways:

(1)   one that is built from very large number of empirical and ethnographic research, with a strong descriptive tendency which produces a very fragmented look at the Pentecostals, without a broad theoretical effort. In this path the highlight is the tendency to analyze the formation of local identities via religion, which is detached from general trends;

(2)   as a second path we perceive the use of extensive big surveys on Pentecostalism, that catalog its expansion and the behavioral trends among its faithful, with a huge emphasis on the political behavior of Pentecostals, and attempts to analyze and catalog not only the formation of organized political parties and actions, but also the characteristics of the Pentecostal vote;

(3)   and finally we can note as the third path the broader theoretical projects exploring the Pentecostal phenomenon that are aimed at providing an integrated sense of this new phenomenon and that are based on theological and cultural explanations about Pentecostals.

The first path that I have highlighted, namely that of empirical ethnographic analysis, is quite symptomatic in comparison with the influences of the paradigms that have framed the debate about religion with the set of ideas that we call "cultural studies". The first is the rejection of the "grand narratives".

With regard to the attempt to elaborate integrated meaning into a wider reality, with great explanatory lines, this path rejects or fails to address the possibility of dealing with the Pentecostal movement as a religious and social global phenomenon with an integrated history. This framework interprets Pentecostalism as a religious language of huge internal variations without a well defined core, and because of such plasticity it serves as an anchor for the

identities of local communities in the construction of its discourse on identity. In this sense, religion would have a predominant local impact.

Thus, the theoretical background of these ethnographic studies, even though this background remains hidden in these mostly descriptive works, is one of the "new identities" based on cultural specificities and the mode of vision that has emerged with "cultural studies".

This perception characterizes this fragmented vision which these ethnographic studies have offered on Pentecostalism. Even though on the one hand it enriches the empirical knowledge on Pentecostalism, it is worth remembering that this tendency is very strong in Latin America, where there is a multitude of scientific studies of this type and because of the number of these studies, any mention in particular is not important here.

On the other hand the prevalence of extensive surveys that measure the expansion and the general behavior of Pentecostals is noteworthy in this area. Such studies have provided access to a large amount of information about the denominational diversity of this movement and its wave of expansion in different parts of the world, such that we have statistical general visions about the type of expansion and social strata where this expansion and geographic distribution around the world has occurred.

But among these surveys, the most prominent are the papers focused on understanding the political electoral behavior of Pentecostalism, and in this realm Paul Freston has been a pioneer of great importance, especially in his book *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* Cambridge University Press. On this theme many other studies have made important contributions as well, such as that done by Ary Oro Pedro in Brazil.

We can see that these works are related to the paradigm of "new identities" in collective action. With the dismantling of old identities, religions can be seen as a new form of unifying collective actions, which would have an impact in politics. The political organization of evangelicals, especially Pentecostals, has become notorious in recent years as these groups have garnered increasing political power in several countries[6]. The studies in

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[6]   I will address this question in later chapters.

question seek to understand and map this political action which has religion as its unifying background. The return of religion to the public sphere is also a common theme. Their analyses are guided by the decadence of the paradigms of the secularization theory and the emergence of "cultural studies".

As part of this analysis I will address what I have listed as the third path for studies on Pentecostalism, i.e., the macro theoretical analysis on Pentecostalism which takes the culturalist paradigm as a central axis for the understanding of Pentecostalism. The important studies conducted by David Martin (1990) (1996) (2002), which promote the idea of a cultural revolution in Christianity, can be highlighted in this vein, as can the works of Walter Hollenweger (1972)(1976) and Allan Anderson, both of whom appeal to notions of "africanity" as an axis for understanding Pentecostalism.

In the works of David Martin as well as in the works of Hollenweger and Anderson the proximity to the paradigm of "cultural studies" is strikingly evident, as the central core of the explanations which are offered revolve around a notion of cultural singularities in a way which evokes the notions of "cultural essence" of Romanticism.

David Martin's analyses are based on a notion of cultural revolution within Christianity, particularly within Protestantism. Accordingly, for the first time in history a reform movement (in this case, Pentecostalism) crosses the borders from the "North Atlantic", takes root, and thrives in the Latin world. The result of this is a kind of Latin Protestantism. Throughout his analysis, David Martin uses an opposition between cultural essences, based on the opposition between the Latin world and the Anglo-Saxon world (1990).

In fact, the explanations with regard to Pentecostalism come from cultural essentialisms that supposedly originated in the "Latin Culture". It is during this intersection of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin Worlds that the advent of Pentecostalism occurs, and Martin sees the possibility of incorporating typically religious positions from the North Atlantic among Latin population, especially the world's religious and moral of the North Atlantic, such as religious ethics, liberalism and democratic values (1990).

On the other hand, the center of Hollenweger's argument is also supported on the basis of cultural singularities, which in this case goes back to an African essence. In this school a notion of "African Spirituality" is used, one which is based on oral transmission as the dominant form of the religious message. The idea of an African essence is also endorsed in part by Anderson.

In this logical vein, Pentecostalism represents a sort of black Christianity, the result of the encounter between different cultures in which the Christian matrix was resignified in the cultural African mixture. All this reasoning leads us to two concepts very dear to "cultural studies": the notion of a "hybrid" generated by this encounter between different cultures and also the idea of a "black Atlantic" (GILROY, Paul: 1992) as stage of encounter between these cultures and generations of this cultural "hybrid".

1.4.1 Other theoretical approaches for Pentecostalism

However, there are some other explanations about Pentecostalism which are not directly based on "cultural studies". These alternative explanations mainly come from Latin America. The use of the *market theory of religion* (WARNER, 1993), the functionalist theory on Pentecostalism, and aset of Pentecostal studies which have related the movement to economic and social specific changes can all be highlighted in this regard.

There are many important works on Pentecostalism which use the notions and logic of marked theory religion[7]. In this regard I refer to ethnographic analytical studies (different from the descriptive ethnographic studies) which seek to understand, especially the Pentecostal expansion in the religious market, its meaning, to analyze the bold proselytizing of these denominations and their advancement on the faithful of other religions. Such

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[7]WARNER, S. Book review of The churching of America, 1776-1990: winners and losers in our religious economy. In: FINKE, R.; STARK, R. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Denver, v. 32, n. 3, p. 295-297, 1993b.

advancement has occurred even among evangelical denominations (ALMEIDA, 2001). The works of Andre Corten, Jean-Pierre Dozon, Ari Pedro Oro (2003), as well as Ricardo Mariano (2000) (2001) (2003) are notable in this area.

In general terms, we can say that there is as a theoretical background in this line of study, a notion of a religious market of faith. In this "market" the religious denominations dispute faithfully with rational strategies of expansion such as companies that compete with their products in the formal economic market for customers. This view does not present a very close proximity with the ideas of "cultural studies", while it is not in direct opposition to these studies either.

The notion of market theory religion is quite helpful especially in understanding the dynamics of expansion in Neo-Pentecostalism and the business logic which is used in the fight for followers.

On other hand there is a functionalist tradition in Pentecostal studies. The first studies of this tradition sought to explain Pentecostalism as a religion of the new urban strata who were displaced from traditional life, *i.e*., a product of the urbanization in Latin America. This view can be observed in the works of Procopio Camargo (1968), Souza (1969), Willems (1967), and d'Epinay (1970). Although this theory was able to discern Pentecostalism as a typical religion of urban periphery, it was still linked with the ideas of the old theory of modernization, believing that it was a transitory social event in a teleological history.

According to Procópio Camargo (1968) Pentecostalism would disappear with the "arrival" of modernity; such religion was one of a transition between the old rural, traditional world and the new world of modernity. Because of this feature, the faithful of this religion were people who were moving from rural areas into the city. Camargo believed that Pentecostalism would have a civilizing role, helping to adjust such people to modernity. Camargo's view may have reflected the anxieties of Brazilian society, which wanted to become modern.

There were some different interpretations in a set of functionalist views on Pentecostalism, but all such views are based on dichotomic concepts such as anomie-order, rural-urban, marginalization-integration (MARIANO, 2001: 64).

We can also note the studies which interpret Pentecostalism as a religion of the socially disinherited, *i.e.*, a religion of poor. These analyses can be seen in Peter Fry (1975), Richard Niebuhr (1992), Andre Corten (1996), Campos (2005), and Rolim (1995). These studies seek to demonstrate the relationship between Pentecostalism and the poverty of its followers, as in the writings of Rolim (1990):

" . . .*trying to achieve through divine power that which society refuses them.*"[8] (ROLIM, 1995:90 *Apud* GIUMBELLI, 2000)

Thus, divine healing would be an alternative for those who have no access to public and private healthcare; the exorcism and trances would be psycho-social therapies and methods for the management of fear, insecurity, loss of references, violence, orphanhood and so on, while the promise of prosperity can offer the hope of social ascension (GIUMBELLI, 2000).

There are other additional analyses which highlight the economic role in expansion of Pentecostalism, particularly in Latin America. Such economic changes were potentiators of poverty and soon increased the masses of Pentecostal followers. In this case, the economic crisis in the 80's together with the advent of Neo-liberalism in Latin America would play an important role in Pentecostal development in that region. We can see such explanations in the works of Paul Freston, as well as in the works of Mansilla (2009) and many others.

1.5 Social Class and Religion: an unlikely wedding

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[8]"para tentar conseguir através do poder divino o que a sociedade lhe nega" (1995:90).

As occurs with any effort endowed with very broad ambitions, the macro-theoretical and cross-disciplinary character of the so-called "cultural studies" made it simply impossible to cover all aspects of reality. If any theoretical proposal, or in this case, the "cultural studies" can bring to light important dilemmas of a radically globalized society, it produces, as physics teaches us, a long shadow over the dilemmas of this society. In other words, if this new set of ideas is configured with a new paradigmatic wave in the social sciences can provide detailed explanations into this new global society, by contrast, it is unable to perceive and explore a series of contradictions in this society. It is of these "shadows" which were produced by these analyses about religion—especially about Pentecostalism—that I wish to advance in theoretical terms in this dissertation.

My goals in this dissertation, which have mainly a theoretical character, seek to understand Pentecostalism not only in its cultural aspects, but to relate it to what we would generally call material aspects in an allusion to the concept of social class. Nevertheless the concept of social class that we are concerned with here tries to overcome this dichotomy between materialism and culturalism, as is postulated in Bourdieu's theory.

Before entering these forgotten "shadows", we should first deal with the analysis of religion and its unlikely relationship with the concept of social class, which brings us to the unlikely marriage between antagonistic traditions such as materialism and culturalism.

During the modern history of the analysis of religion, the idea of religion has always remained in a position irreconcilable with the idea of social class. This is partly due to conflicts between materialism and culturalism and also to how each tradition has appropriated the notion of religion.

At the heart of the materialist analysis, in which the concept of social class was considered a key tool for the understanding of society, religion was interpreted as something overly negative. As a legacy of the Marxist analysis, almost all of which was beset by positivism, religion has been something which appears within the ideology (understood as a distortion of reality) and domination. In this logic religion was nothing more than a byproduct of the

material bases of society and serving (as ideology) as an engine of domination of the ruling class (bourgeoisie in this case) over the oppressed classes (the proletariat).

In the view of historical teleology of the old materialism, religion would disappear as soon as the class that was dominated by ideology came to power. In this analytical political framework there was not space for any more sophisticated analysis into the relationship between social class and religion.

In this dispute, religion has been interpreted as something related to the field of culture. The idea of religion was related to subjectivity, expression, "spirit" which refers to the abstract, and different from anything that could be related to the life of concrete materiality. Therefore, religion as a cultural product is not related to social class. Following this logic, social class was considered a product of the economy, and this was understood as modes of production.

In this dynamic, for a long time, culture and social class were separated by an almost impassable chasm. As stressed by Klaus Eder (1992) it was only from Bourdieu that the culture factor was connected in a systematic way to the social class factor, thereby allowing us to think more deeply about the relationship between social class and religion.

It is important to remember that just as Bourdieu connected the aspects of culture and social class in a systematic way, other attempts have been made with some success in this vein, especially in the thinking of Antonio Gramsci and, even more specifically, the work of Max Weber.

Regarding to this subject, in a part of the end of twentieth century, the concept of social class or any analytical proposal which appealed to a strong structuralist speculation, fell into disuse. Several factors such as the bourgeoisification of the working class because of the "welfare state" and the growing process of individualisation in modernity have changed the panorama of class in Europe. Due it, especially the European theorists have moved away from the notion of social classes. Striking examples of this table are found in the sociology of Ulrich Beck, which from its robust theory of individualization shifts the notion of conflict of collective demands to conflicts of individual demands. In

his view, the dissolution of the classical industrial society also dissolved the collectivist structures to give way to individual demand (BECK, 1986).

Moreover, the "sociology of consensus" of Habermas — which in some way is consequence of a notion of transclassicist "consensus" which occurred through an expansion of the psychosocial bourgeois universe — we can see some decline in the importance of the classes in the political sphere. It is worth noting also that the wear of rigid structures of Marxist theories and Parsonian line, played a remarkable role in this process. However, already in the 90s, the concept of social class has again showed its strength, particularly by solidifying and recognition of the sociology of Bourdieu, and other examples how the theory of radicalization of the middle class by Klaus Eder, presented in his book *The new politics of class(1992).*

In Weber's case, there is not only the attempt to unite social class and culture, but also there is the presence of an analysis that takes into account the relationship between social class, or rather, social strata and religion. However, Weber was in some ways a victim of the success of Marxist ideas and the political impacts of Marxist thought. In a world divided between communists and capitalists, a division made only by the Cold War, Weber was raised to the category of an anti-Marx, and he was interpreted erroneously as a culturalist in opposition to Marxist materialism. As Weber's theory of capitalism would be mistakenly interpreted as a confirmation of the dominion of culture over materialism, religion soon appeared in Weber's work merely as a product of culture.

Yet it is in Weber's work that we can find the first indications of the theoretical relationship between social class and religion. The model of understanding of religion which was elaborated by Weber has always been anchored in the material bases of the social classes, those very social classes that were the carriers of a particular kind of religiosity.

In his analysis Weber puts the property as a basic category of class distinctions (those with and those without) as well as the location of the

individual in the labor market, i.e. what types of services these individuals can offer in this market.

In a general definition, Weber says that social class is configured as the result of class situation. And class situation (Klassenlage) is defined by Weber:

when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economics interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets. (These points refer to "class situation", which we may express more briefly as a typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, on so far as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods o skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. The term "class" refers to any group of people that is found in the same class situation. (WEBER, 2009 :181)

The general feature which guides his analysis is the potential bargain in which the individual can have on the market, and for that matter, property ownership is a significant advantage. Secondly, we highlight the type of services that individuals without property can offer in this market. We can say that the weberian perspective of social class is an analysis of the power distribution in the economic universe. Thus this power distribution generates different groups under similar conditions facing the development of expectations and actions in this universe, so this set of similar conditions and expectations generate the term class situation (Klassenlage) and therefore social classes[9].

However, for him, the dynamics of power distribution among groups in society is not restricted to the universe of economic interests, alongside these, a

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[9] Note here that the concept of social class and Weber is something less rigid than that produced by Marx, the concept of class is more interpretive artifice of society than a "piece" objective of "Gears of industry."

universe of sophisticated symbolic webs act decisively in the power distribution. To grasp this particular social world, Weber elaborates the concepts of **social stratification** and **status groups**.

In opposition to the economic order, which according to Weber determines the class situation (Klassenlage), Weber called the "social order itself" the way of distribution of social prestige. This classification is based on a binary opposition, while the classes are different from their relationship with the production and procurement of goods, status groups will be distinguished from the modes of consumption of these goods. (WEBER, 1976) (BOURDIEU, 2002) These modes of consumption - which involve specific ways of dressing, eating certain foods in specific rites purely social, consuming distinct cultural goods and beyond the consumption, styles of speech, behaviour, and so on - configure certain lifestyles, which are the maximum point of distinction between the status groups. Within these "lifestyles" are contained the symbolic mechanisms of unequal distribution of social esteem, which shows that certain individuals or groups would have more social value (Honour) than others.

In this case, Weber "anticipates" Bourdieu in the displacement of sources as purely material form of legitimation of class. The class struggle is first and foremost a power struggle over the concept of "good life" (dignified life), and in this case, values and interests form fine webs of relationship objectively inseparable. Never hurts to remember that this does not mean that for Weber the notions of social esteem (prestige) occur independently of the order of material life, on the contrary, in most cases this dependence is quite clear.

Finally, it is important to notice that Weber, from his notion of class situation, always tried to associate certain groups who played roles in production activities or the place of class and status similar to the cognitive-religious predispositions. Much of his thesis in sociology of religion is based on these premises. Thus, Weber described the ideal-type peasant as a man marked by a certain kind of relationship of absolute dependence and submission to nature, which somehow shaped a pattern of markedly magic religion. At other times Weber describes:

. . .so war der Konfuzianismus die Standesethik einer literarische gebildeten weltlisch-rationalitisten Pfründnerschaft. . . Der ältere Hinduismus wurde dagegen getragen von einer erblichen Kaste literarische Gebildeter. . . Der Buddhismus wurde von Heimatlos wandernden, streng kontemplativen und weltablehnenden Bettelmönchen propagiert. . . Der Islam war in deiner ersten Zeit eine Religion welterobernder Krieger. . . Das Judentum war, seit dem Exil, die Religion eines bürgerlichen „Pariavolkes". . . Das Christentum endliche begann seinen Lauf als eine Lehre wandernder Handwerksburschen. (WEBER, 1976: 240-241)

These associations among the strata of society and the adoption of cognitive models and certain religions can be seen in the table below prepared by the sociologist Hans Peter Müller (2007).

Among many advances made by Bourdieu, I would like to avail myself to his ideas about how the class *Habitus* generates cognitive class tendencies, and thus generates cognitive-religious dispositions of class. So if class *Habitus*, or rather certain incorporated social structures shape the apprehension of the world, can create a certain disposition for a discretion, it may also shape the transcendental endeavors of that class, allowing an understanding of religious movements as also movements of class.

Specifically, with respect to Bourdieu's concept of social class, social class is categorized into two basic types: theoretical or probable class and concrete or real class. The theoretical classes are related to the position of individuals in the distribution of "capitals"

Groups of individuals with similar positions in this multidimensional social space of power tend to form possible classes (VALLE SILVA, 1995).

However, concrete real classes are formed by individuals who share certain concrete situations in the world. These common life experiences can be based on professional, physical-spatial, cultural, or lifestyle associations.

Supported by Weber and Bourdieu's analyses, I seek to build the main pillars that will support my theoretical arguments in this dissertation. These pillars are based on the Weberian analysis about the relationship between social class and religion, and on theoretical innovations offered by Bourdieu about the concept of social class. And it is with the support of these pillars that I seek to construct the unlikely wedding between social class and religion.

With this in mind, however, I wish to emphasize that I am not claiming that there is no relationship in the established social sciences discourse between religion and social class. There are in fact many such relationships; however, these relations are made in a superficial way and always from a position of supporting role, without much deep analysis. The relationship between religion and social class in the social sciences is just a statistical reality in which they join certain social clues to some types of religion and religiosity, but there is still no long tradition to present a unified theoretical analysis of this relationship.

In the case of Pentecostalism, everyone seems to agree that this is a religion composed mainly of the poor living in developing countries, but there are not many studies exploring this material data associated with this phenomenon from a theoretical rather than cultural perspective. This dissertation aims to analyze the relationship between social class and religion from a theoretical viewpoint using Pentecostalism, especially Pentecostalism in Brazil, as an empirical backdrop. I intend to reconsider the functionalist explanations of Pentecostalism (abandoning the view of the Modernization Theory) and reinterpret it from the notions of social class coined by Bourdieu. To complete this, I will use the studies of Jesse Souza about peripheral Modernization and social class in Brazil.

1.6 Pentecostalism as a religious manifestation of a forgotten class on the periphery of capitalism: a theoretical hypothesis

The main theoretical proposal that I seek to develop throughout this thesis maintains that Pentecostalism can be understood as a form of religiosity that has emerged and developed within the context of societies that have suffered the impact of the expansion of the capitalist system, and that such expansion had as a central core the North Atlantic. Thus I seek to understand how and why Pentecostalism is a typical religious form of the periphery of the capitalist system[10], and how it is also directly related to certain social classes in which it has flourished so strikingly in such societies. These ideas could explain the success of Pentecostalism in Brazil.

Before embarking on this proposal, it is necessary to make clear which notion of capitalism my analyses are based on. The notion of capitalism is seen here from the concept of differentiation of society, or the concept of autonomy of spheres of action. Thus, capitalism is the system of organization of the world and life in which the economic sphere of action plays a wide domination in relation to other spheres of action[11].

It should be clear here that capitalism is thus not understood as a set of specific modes of production or as a specific type of economy, but as a specific type of organization of life; capitalism is ultimately understood in this dissertation as a world system. In this way I wish to downplay capitalism as a purely economic vision and to understand it more from a sociological perspective.

Therefore it is possible to label a capitalist society as any society in which the economic sphere plays a dominant role in relation to other spheres, and in which the economic discourse is the main structural axis of the world. As a counter-point to this model of society, we can think of different societies and

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[10]   This notion of periphery is directly applicable to Latin America, although some notions developed here can be applied to other peripheries.
[11]   This is not to say that other areas do not continue to play an important role, or that there is not a tension between these spheres. I am only saying that the economic sphere takes precedent over the other spheres of life.

at different historical moments in which the religious sphere dominated the economic discourse.

This global model has not only created encounters between different cultures; it has also brought about the standardization of life course models. And due to this expansion of capitalism, the construction and consequent the success of global religions such as the Pentecostalism have become possible. Its discourse is both a product of this configuration as well as the meeting of religious demands of this class with global features.

Within this interpretive logic we can see how this world system (capitalism) plays a major role in the elaboration of typical dreams and dramas of individuals and communities living under the shadow of its umbrella. Therefore, capitalism is a manufacturer of aspirations and life trajectories, and it creates patterns of success that represent "notions of the good life"; i.e., that life worth living. We can see that there are three axes around which revolve the horizons of action engendered in the capitalist model: on the collective plan, economic development, and on the individual plan, success at work (the idea of career as a dream for all individuals is a product of capitalism) and wider access to consumer goods.

From this point Pentecostalism and capitalism begin to meet. The first important consideration is that Pentecostalism, unlike other Christian religions, arises in a context in which religion was no longer a hegemonic power, and the economic realm had asserted its dominance. Pentecostalism, however, did not need to adapt to new times; it emerged in these new times. And this means that the elaboration of a religious discourse was completely in tune with the desires and drama generated by capitalism.

As I seek to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, Pentecostalism has become the religious expression par excellence of a social class with higher numerical presence in peripheral societies; *i.e.,* the mass of workers excluded from capitalist expansion in the periphery of its system. One important part of this equation tune was Pentecostalism's promise of an inner salvation; exactly what was needed to ease the anxieties generated by capitalism.

Thus, one of the main pillars of this religion is the promise to include these individuals in a society to which they didn't seem to belong. One form of this promise of inclusion occurs through promises of material success. Much of Pentecostalism promises the achievement of success through faith, allowing these individuals to participate in a promise of salvation very much in keeping with the aspirations of consumption. The entry into a modern "paradise"—namely, the market of consumption—is on the list of religious promises of Pentecostalism, especially Neo-Pentecostalism.

Thus, Pentecostalism has emerged as a typical religion of the excluded, or a religion of modern dominated class, which due to historical processes is also related to specific ethnic features, as I will address throughout the thesis.

In developing these assertions, I will strive to demonstrate how Pentecostalism, while the third major movement of the Protestant Reformation, is related to the rise of a specific social class.

In modernity, every rise of a new social class, especially when it comes from a struggle for social recognition and integration into society, was anchored in the development of a specific religion. This new religion plays a role in the unifying of discourse and defending the values and lifestyle of this new social class which sought its space in society. This was how a bourgeoisie in harmony with the theology and forms of expression of Calvinism could come about. Likewise, we can point to the proletariat and Methodism, and the ways in which this religious movement is strongly related to the ascension of the working class. The same relationship occurs between Pentecostalism and the masses of those who are poorly integrated into the capitalist system. Pentecostalism has been, from its start, the form of expression par excellence of these forgotten social strata in the analysis.[12].

The development of this class was closely connected with a specific process of modernization on the periphery, the so-called peripheral modernization (SOUZA, 2003). In this case, Brazil is a formidable example of

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[12] Remember that the old class identities that supposedly dissolved (bourgeoisie and proletariat) were those who had already established themselves in society, Pentecostalism is the language of a class that has not been established in the world who seeks its space walks and recognition.

this process, and it is not a coincidence that Brazil is the most important Pentecostal country worldwide.

From a theoretical view, we can say that, Pentecostalism can be understood as a religion which develops itself in tune with capitalism. It is an answer to new modern peripheral anxieties.

It is impossible to finalize this chapter without a general notion of religious phenomenon, which will conduct this dissertation. To analyse religion with some degree of clarity it is necessary to define in broad strokes or even to choose with some degree of arbitrariness, what is the fundamental role of religion in social life. We can postulate that religion plays a general role in cognitive organization of the world. It show itself as specific language or a specific form of communication which operates in binary code immanent/transcendent as argument Niklas Luhman (1977), according to him, religion is a subsystem of modern world which to work the "meaning of meaning", a meaningful "ultimate reality"[13]We can also see religion as a human institution which specialized itself in producing integrated discourses about the world and action, thereby ensuring a certain sense to them. As said the north American sociologist of religion Robert Bellah(1973), Religious belief and practice have produced uniquely human institutions. No other species of institution has practices which we would call religious, i.e., institutions responsible to offer ultimate meaning to social and individual life.

In regard to this religious function, we can say that other areas of life usually produce fragmented discourses on the life, but only the religion or even religious disposition toward life that achieved greater success in producing this integrated discourse on reality. In this sense, religion holds a language that allows the production of this specific discourse. In other words, religion is a sphere of life which has a control of production over the symbolic goods more valuable of existence.

This property of religious language that allows generate integrated discourses to reality, which in turn meets the inescapable human need for

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[13] LUHMAN, Niklas. *Society, Meaning, Religion – Based on Self-Reference.* Sociological Analysis, 1985, 46, I: 005-020.(1985).

meaning for the world and action, makes religion a human institution so vital to social development as economy and politic. Therefore, religion is a universal feature of the human condition as narrates Luckmann (1985), or as Geertz says that it is the general order of existence and Rorbert Bellah (1973) defines it as the basis of the acts and symbolic forms that report the latest conditions existence.

This dynamic works not only in individual and psychologist dimension of life, but it also works in collective dimension of life. The religious discourse is a powerful artifice which gives an existential sense for a social group, so generating a strong social cohesion, as Durkheim pointed out in his works. In this line, the religious discourse can aid to elaborate and defence a specific stile of life of a new social group or class, so ensuring a proper world of life ("Lebenswelt") of this group (BOURDIEU, 2002).

Thus religion is in same time a product of social interactions of a specific social group — what also involves its material conditions — but on other hand can religion shapes these groups. Thus, a new religion or religiosity rises from the need of a new specific social group or class that seeks new cognitive lines which can give sense to its particular class or group drama (challenges) — this mission cannot be played by old religious discourse which were shaped to solve drama of other social groups —, in a dialectic way, the religious answer to this particular drama changes and reconstructs the nature of drama and the social trajectory of these groups.

Once more we can see that the notion of social function of religion postulated here is in weberian and bourdieuan lines, without a demarcated border between them. Religion is as an answer to collective existential dramas offering sense to them (weberian line), as also a weapon to fight in social struggle for the domain of "good life" or a "legitimated life" (bourdieuan line).But in both lines, religion or the way of transcendence is also a result of cognitive aspects (cognitive limits) of position of class (Klassenlage) and or social class (*Habitus* of Class).

Supported by these ideas, we can understand the social function of religion not only as the elaborator of a group identity which is separated of others aspects of social life, as claim the contemporary theories on religion which say that religion has substituted old forms of collective identity (BURITY, 1997), but to see as religion plays some important roles in social dynamic as a whole. In this sense, religion does not substitute social class, but it is important part in elaboration a specific identity of class or group. In some times, the religion or religious discourse it is not an "escape" to form a collective identity in a world where supposedly social class has disappeared, but it is a dominant form of specific language or communication in a kind of social position or class. It works specially in elaboration of an integrated discourse which ensures a "story" or a sense to social collective drama of class through religious language. So, in the history, the fight of a "Pariavolk" (Jews) for social survival is transformed in a religious theodicy, such theodicy gives a sense (moral) to this fight and the same time legitimates the way of life of that peoples (social group). In modern times, religion operates in similarly rolein social class struggle, it offers the symbolic apparatus to legitimate a way of class life ensuring the survival of social group as also a weapon to fight for a good place in society. Thus, the fight of sub-integrated class in modern society to integrate themselves in this society and to legitimate the way of life of their class is transformed in a religious journey throughout Pentecostalism.

Chapter 2

Pentecostalism: the rise of a new religion

In this chapter, my first objective is to present the history of Pentecostalism, particularly the religious and social backdrop in which this new religious movement originated in the United States of America. My intent is to describe Pentecostalism to the reader. To this end I will demonstrate that the main features of this religious movement are the result of the specific religious and social climate that has prevailed in the United States.

With regard to the specific religious climate, I want to highlight the influences on Pentecostalism beyond Reformation and Christian borders.

The aim of this chapter is to underscore that these features endure until today within Pentecostalism, and that it has strongly influenced the development of this religion in Brazil, which this dissertation intends to focus on.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States of America was undergoing profound changes on the social and religious scenes, and was also experiencing an intense population mobility caused by internal migration and immigration processes. The country was going through a religious effervescence from national movements, such as the holiness movement, and also international changes on the religious scene (CAMPOS, 2005) (WILSON, 1970) (NIEBUHR, 1992).

All of these changes had a strong role in the formation of Pentecostal religiosity, known as a religion with the following features: an urban Christian religion, with a strong social base in deprived urban strata: marked by orality, body ecstasy, trances and the notion of divine healing; a practice theology focusing on the problems of everyday life.

I intend to demonstrate this relation, and I believe that it will allow us to see, although in simple terms, that Pentecostalism is not only a product of cultural and theological changes, but of social changes as well.

2.1 Introduction

Pentecostalism is one of the religious movements that spread quickly around the world, according to researchers who focused on numbers. Today we believe that there are approximately 600 million Pentecostals worldwide. Although its birth took place in the richest and most developed society in the world, namely the United States, it has spread much more significantly in developing countries of the South Pacific and Africa[14], East and Southeast Asia, and particularly Latin America[15]. On this continent, the growth of Pentecostalism has been the object of concern from the Roman curia, since this is where its largest herd occurs. In these peripheral countries, Pentecostal churches recruit most of their followers among the poorest sectors, and especially in the population from urban areas with low income and schooling (MARIANO, 1999) (ISER[16], 1992) (CORTEN, 1996) (MARRA,).

The term "Pentecostalism" derives its origin from the biblical passage known as the day of Pentecost. Before speaking of this passage, it is worth recalling that the day of Pentecost was an important date in the Jewish religious calendar. At that time, Jews around the world used to make their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However, this date became important for the Christian religious calendar, and it happened because of what was narrated in the Bible, Book of Acts, chapter 2. According to this narrative, fifty days after the ascension of Christ, which coincided with the Jewish Pentecost (*hag haqasir* and *hag xabu´ot*), the apostles were "taken" by the Holy Spirit and preached the gospel in several languages, so all pilgrims could hear the "good news".

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[14]   See, for example: LAURENT, Pierre-Joseph. "The Faith-Healers of the Assemblies of God in Burkina Faso: Taking Responsibility for Diseases Related to 'Living Together'". Social Compass.48(3), 2001. p. 333-351.

[15]   See: MARTIN, David. Tongues of fire: the explosion of Protestantism in Latin America. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

[16] ISER, Institute of religion research: Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

When the time for Pentecost was fulfilled, they were all in one place together. And suddenly there came from the sky a noise like a strong driving wind, and it filled the entire house in which they were. Then there appeared to them tongues as of fire, which parted and came to rest on each one of them. And they were all filled with the holy Spirit and began to speak in different tongues, as the Spirit enabled them to proclaim. (Acts 2: 1-4)

This date came to be commemorated by Christians worldwide, but never took center stage in the theological discussions on Christianity. The core of theological discussions in Western Christianity has always been guided by philosophical rationalist principles. The interpretation of this passage is the starting point of Pentecostalism. Christians built on this interpretation a new religious message, based on the non-rationalist power of "tongue of fire". According to this interpretation, the non-rationalist power of "tongues of fire" is not only able to speak in different tongues, but also capable of managing all gifts of the Holy Spirit.

In Pentecostalism there is the belief that through the gifts of the Holy Spirit a man can, beyond "speaking in tongues", perform miracles such as curing diseases of the sick, casting out evil spirits and demons, but also distributing material and spiritual blessings in general. This non-rationalist power came to be the path to a new way of salvation. This relationship with non-rationalist discourse is related to important aspects: it is a traditional discourse of popular religions and it is in tune with some changes on the religious scene in the twentieth century, especially the weakening of rationalist discourse in religion.

As we can see, the term "Pentecostalism" came from the biblical passage of Pentecost, which was the main source of inspiration for the name of this religious movement.

2.2 The Origins of Pentecostalism

There are many theories about the emergence of Pentecostalism; many authors have developed theories that date back to the early centuries of Christianity. Allan Anderson argues in his book (*An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity,* 2004) that Pentecostalism has its modern origins in Armenia and in Presbyterian Russia, located in communities near the Black Sea around 1855. There occurred experiences of "prophecy" and speaking in tongues. He said that the Russians called themselves Pentecostal Christians. Although Pentecostalism had a history before the twentieth century, most researchers accept that what we call modern Pentecostalism — and where arose the major features that have shaped the course of Pentecostalism in the twentieth century — has its origin in what occurred in the early twentieth century in the United States, especially at the mythological "Azusa Street" in Los Angeles (CAMPOS, 2005) (NIEBUHR, 1992). From there missionaries spread the word not only to the rest of the United States, but also to the world, teaching the foundation of this religious and social movement.

With regard to this debate, there is a tradition in Pentecostal studies (especially in Pentecostal theological studies), which postulates that Pentecostalism is a son of the Wesleyan Holiness revival movement. An extensive bibliography on this thesis is available (HOLLENWEGER, 1976) (HOLLENWEGER, 1997) (DAYTON, 1987) (MENZIES, 2007) (ANDERSON, 2004) In this regard, it is important to note that in the nineteenth century in the United States, several new religious movements had some degree of religious success in their number of followers and their spread worldwide, such as the Mormons, the Seventh-day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses. According to scholars on the subject, these movements unveiled the uneasiness that existed in Protestantism in the United States in the nineteenth century (CAMPOS, 2005).

However, my goal here is not to make an in-depth analysis of the theological roots of Pentecostalism, but mostly focus on its social origins. In this regard, it is important to note the similarities between Pentecostalism and the Wesleyan Holiness Movement, *i.e.,* both movements appeared in an era of profound social changes in the United States.

The Holiness movement was related to the social changes in the nineteenth century in the United States, especially the trauma caused by the Civil War, the abolition of slavery, which had catapulted millions of young men on the labour market, and the beginning of a heavy immigration (CAMPOS, 2005) (WILSON, 1970). According to Wilson (1970), this new religiosity was connected with the broad expansion and the needs generated by this new way of life. The old Wesleyan ways could not supply such demands. The Wesleyan Holiness revival movement was in tune with these demands and certainly was also a product of it. The rise of this practical and emotional religiosity would provide the groundwork of Pentecostalism.

However, profound social changes in the United States did not let up in the middle of the nineteenth century, other changes occurred at the end of this century and the beginning of the twentieth century. But this second wave of changes took place predominantly in the urban world.

At the time, the United States was undergoing a strong urbanization and industrialization process, as well as a strong migration from rural to urban areas, and a strong immigration from Europe. According to the American Census Bureau, between the years 1877 and 1884, 1.6 million immigrants arrived, and between the years 1901 and 1910, 8.8 million immigrants[17] arrived.

The result of this process was the emptying of the countryside and the creation of an urban mass of people, hence the weakening of the social base of

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[17]BARRET, D. B..Annual statistical Table on Global Mission.In international bulletin of missionary research. 21. 1, 1997. Apud, CAMPOS, 2005.

the Holiness Movement that occurred in rural areas (CAMPOS, 2005: p.p. 105). On the other hand, much of this urban mass of people was comprised of poor, unemployed and sub-integrated people within the framework of this new model of society. This urban mass turned out to be the social base for the development of Pentecostalism.

In this sense we can say that Pentecostalism is really a continuation of the Wesleyan Holiness Movement, not only in theological ways, but also in social ways. However, its differences are clear in this process, Pentecostalism is the reflection of social changes in the urban world, and the Wesleyan Holiness Movement was the reflection of social changes in rural areas of the United States, and both are regarded as religiosity in an era of radical changes in the social structure. In fact, according to specialists, Pentecostalism utilized many aspects of the Holiness Movement, and adapted itself to a new social reality.

I would say that Pentecostalism and the Holiness movement are both a kind of religiosity that specialized themseleves in speaking to people seeking a secure place in society in a period of radical changes. This dynamics is different from the kind of religiosity of people or groups wishing to strive for a secure place in society[18].

Another important feature is that we can define Pentecostalism in general lines as a movement of religious reform within the Protestant Reformation. In a developmental history, we can say that, Pentecostalism is the last of the three major reform movements, namely Puritanism, Methodism and Pentecostalism. Their aspect is outlined in the way of a reform project within the Puritan Protestant Reformation, and in some core aspects, their religious message clearly differ from the views expressed by the churches and sects that appeared during the Reformation.

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[18] About the group conflicts in society throughout religious symbols or kind of religion, see: BELLAH, Robert N. *Uncivil Religions: Interreligious Hostility in America.*Frederick E. Greenspahn, Crossroad, 1987.

The famous researcher of Pentecostalism, David Martin, claims that this religious movement was able to cross the border between the Anglo and Hispanic world, a border that Puritanism and Methodism were not able to cross, their penetration was merely residual in the Latin world (MARTIN, 1990).

This developmental historic line allows us to connect these three great religious movements with great changes in social structure. Such movements were related to the rise of major social classes toward modernity. As I have already mentioned in this dissertation, the first movement (Calvinist) was related to the rise of Bourgeoisie and the social changes toward modernity; the second one (Methodism) was related to the proletariat and the changes brought about by the industrial revolution. The last was related to the mass of sub-integrated people and the spread of an urban periphery, namely a second strong urbanization process of modernity. In my view this is the key to understanding the social origins of Pentecostalism.

In the next chapters I will demonstrate how this general social characteristic of Pentecostalism, *i.e*., its "elective affinity", along with the rise of this specific social group, and the social changes related to it, has found a breeding ground to develop in Brazil and has made this country the heart of Pentecostalism today.

Below we have two charts showing the historical and denominational evolution that have occurred in Protestantism[19]. In the first chart we can see the major lines of development from Reformation to Pentecostalism; in the second one we can see the pre-history of Pentecostal denominations, particularly their relations with the Holiness Movement and the denominational connections of development of Pentecostalism.

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[19] This chart is from Text of the GNU Free Documentation License, Vectorisation of Image:Protestantbranches.gif by Tonicthebrown.
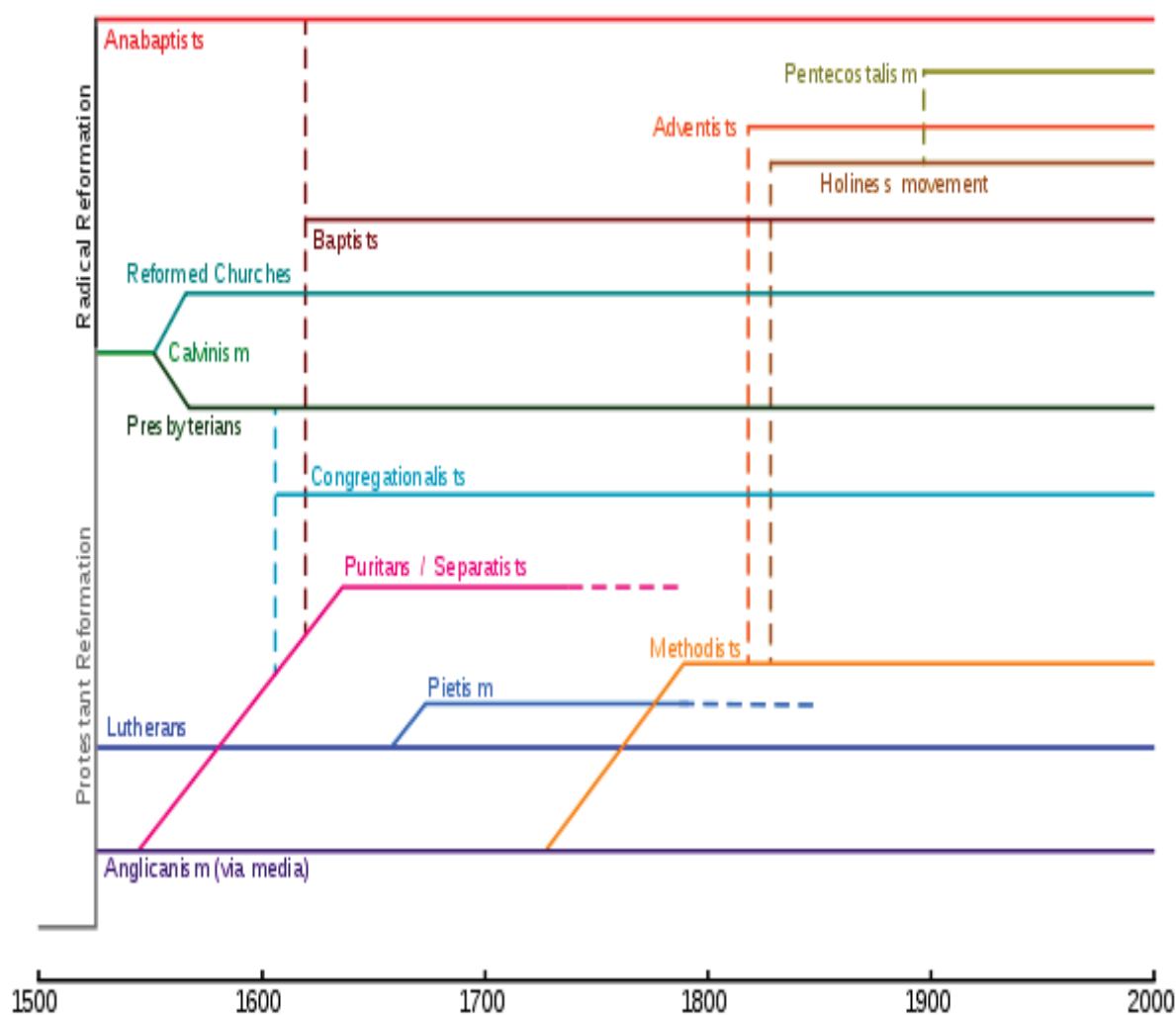
Historical Map[20]

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[20]   CAMPOS, Leonildo Silveira. *As origens norte-americanas do pentecostalismo brasileiro: Observações sobre uma relação ainda pouco avaliada.*REVISTA USP, São Paulo, n.67, p. 100-115, setembro/novembro 2005.

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                          │  Churches of Reformation │
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              ▼                    ▼                    ▼
    ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Lutheran Churches│ │ Reformed Churches/│ │ Episcopal Church/│
    │                  │ │   Presbyterians  │ │   Anglicanism    │
    └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
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Pietist Movement (XVII century); Reavivacionismo (XVIII-XIX centuries); Puritanism (XVIII and XIX centuries); Holiness Movement (XIX century)

| National association for | Gospel Alliance (1867) |

1900-
Social Gospel
Ecumenical Movement
Fundamentalism

Holiness Movement in Methodists and Protestants in the

| 1899 | 188 | 1895 | 1895 | 188 | 1898 | 1901 |

| Pentecostal Holiness Church | Church of God - Cleveland | Church of God in Christ | Church of Nazarene | United Holy Church of America, | Fire Baptized Holiness Church | Pentecostal Union |

Events of Topeka Apostolic Faith Movement (1901) - - → AZUZA STREET (1906)

1914
Assemblies of God General Council

1914
Church of God by Faith, Inc.

1914
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
1924
Pentecostal Church Inc.

Pentecostal of Assemblies of Jesus Christ,

1906
Apostolic Faith Mission
1907
North Avenue Mission – Chicago

1945
United Pentecostal

Influence of Durham (1907-1910) to Assembly Cristiana and their founders Louis Francescon and Peter Ottolini

2.3 The other origins of Pentecostalism: the influence beyond internal reality in the United States

In this section, I would like to resume the discussion on the origins of Pentecostalism, and I will also address the Pentecostal roots that are not related to internal aspects of the United States. I want to show how certain origins of Pentecostalism are related to international changes on the religious scene. In this regard I will show the changes that have occurred on the religious scene, which have allowed the rise of a non-rationalist religious discourse, such as Pentecostalism, especially the belief in supernatural powers such as "speaking in tongues" and "divine healing", so common in Pentecostalism.

In this regard, the crucial point is the departure from radical rationalism, which has marked the religious development of religion in the West. Thus we can understand how Pentecostalism originated beyond the United States and the borders of the Protestant Reformation Movement.

I will focus on two points: (1) understanding the origins of new theological ideas, which departs from a strong rationalization process; (2) the possible relation between these ideas and the development of religion in the twentieth century, particularly Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism. It is also important to bear in mind that it has had a strong influence on the "New Age Movement".

2.3.1 The turning point

In the last pages of "Die protestantischeEthik und der Geist des Kapitalismus", Max Weber writes, in a plaintive tone, about the fate of this world. Weber was pessimistic about the advance of capitalist society and its increasing rationalization, and says in Nietzschian lines that this society can

turn men into "*Fachmenschen ohne Geist, Genußmenschen ohne Herz*". However, in the same paragraph, he claims that nobody can predict the future,no one knows whether "new prophets will emerge at the end of this process, or whether there will be a return to "old ideas and old beliefs". However, Max Weber could not perceive, because it was still incipient in his time, that many of these "new prophets", who appeared in the bowels of that "old world", were in fact his contemporaries.

The impact of these new ideas and new prophets only became clear at the end of the twentieth century. They did not completely destroy the forces of the world that Weber had spoken about, nor can we say that these ideas made the world better, or even prevented the production of "specialists without spirit" and "hedonists without heart". However, these ideas were able to give new shape to the radicalization process of rationalization, bringing about within the religious sphere a departure from the rationalism that marks the trend of the major religious movements in the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. I intend to further discuss the theological innovations of these prophets.

Before that, it is worth mentioning that the period that preceded the rise of new religious ideas were no less rich from a religious standpoint. The nineteenth century was a period of new religious trends and some other blends of religion and science, forming scientific beliefs (scientism) that appeared in the western world (SHARP, 2006). However, what differentiates the religious movements of the early twentieth century is that they became giant mass movements, whereas those of the nineteenth century, although successful, in no way can be compared to the impact of Pentecostalism and what we call religiosity "New Age".

In Europe, various movements appeared, which sought to understand religious phenomena through a language and "scientific" experiments and/or philosophical beliefs, thus creating a wave of scientific spiritualism. Names such as the Russian Madame Blavatsky (1831-1891) and Alexander Aksakov (1832-1903), German Mesmer (1734-1815), the English F. Myers (1843-1901), the

French Allan Kardec (1804-1869) and Léon Denis (1846-1927), the Italian Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) among other mediums, as well as the famous Madame D'esperance and Eusapia Paladino, formed the constellation of this new religion. The most famous result of this religious-sociological point of view was the formation of the Theosophical Society by Madame Blavatsky, thus giving institutional directions to theosophy, as well as the Spiritism of Allan Kardec. These two movements spread across the world, and gathered a significant number of believers, but never actually became mass movements[21].

It would not be correct to claim that the most successful religious movement in the twentieth century is the direct result of the movements of the nineteenth century. However, we can certainly assert that there is a relation of influence among them. Interest in the occult, in communicating with the spirits, the idea of reincarnation and the "supernatural" powers of the mind that existed in the scientific spiritualism of the nineteenth century are present in some aspects of religion of the twentieth century.

Instances of these aspects are that the interest in communicating with spirits and reincarnation is present in a positive sense only in "New Age" religiosity. In Pentecostalism, it only appears as "exorcism", in the expulsion of evil spirits and demons. However, the interest in the potential of the mind is not only strongly present in the esoteric religion of the "New Age", but also in much of the development of Pentecostalism. The idea of "divine healing", "mentalization", "positive thinking" and Theology of Prosperity is related to the "power of the mind".

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[21]For more details see: SHARP, Lynn L. *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in nineteenth-century France*. Maryland, Lexigton Books, 2006.

OPPENHEIM, Janet. *The Other World: spiritualism and physical research in England, 1870-1914*. Cambridge, Press of University of Cambridge, 1985.

However, it is worth noting that the "scientific spiritualism" of the nineteenth century is characterized by a strong rationalization of discourse, often supported by positivism. In the case of spiritualism, there is a strict moral rigor typical of ethical religiosity combined with an interest in extra-worldly salvation. These aspects were actually in tune with the world that Max Weber described. However, all these characteristics are contrary to the dominant tendencies of a "New Age" religiosity, and to Pentecostalism as well.

I would also like to approach certain theological changes that occurred in the early twentieth century in the United States, built on Pentecostalism, but which were not a direct part of this movement. I believe that these theological innovations were decisive in the religious development of the twentieth century. In this regard, the most important movement is known as the "New Thought".

2.3.2 A Time of change: new theological ideas and their prophets

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a number of new religious ideas appeared in the United States, which came to be known as the movement of "New Thought". Alongside this set of ideas, there is also the famous "Christian Science". The basic core of these ideas that characterizes this movement revolves around the notion that man can cure diseases through the power of the mind. However, the concepts of the effects of positive thinking---law of attraction, healing, life force, creative visualization and personal power---are part of this and have evolved over time.

Many religious institutions in existence today are the direct results of this line of thought, such as the three distinct and major religious denominations within the American New Thought movement, namely Unity Church, Religious Science and the Church of Divine Science. The largest New Thought group in the world is Seicho-no-Ie, predominant in Japan. However, in my view, the most

important result of it is not exactly the spread of institutions nominally related to this movement, but the impact of ideas developed and disseminated by its founders and leaders in the course of the religious development of the twentieth century[22][23].

We can say in general lines that this movement is an American version of what happened to the scientific spiritualism in Europe[24]. Among them was the common expectation of relating science to religion, through the scientific method of entering the religious realm. However, some differences stood out immediately, the main difference being in the strong pragmatic interest of the American vein. While many European movements had religious transcendental interests, the American movement was concerned mainly about concrete and imminent demands to cure diseases.

In order to understand this movement, we just have to look into the ideas of its founders and major promoters. In these ideas, we can clearly see the paths that were traced by this movement. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the names of Phineas ParkhurstQuimby (1802-1866), Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849-1925) and Dr. Joseph Murphy (1898-1981).

Phineas ParkhurstQuimby is considered by many people to be the founder of the movement that later came to be called "the new thought movement". He was the first to systematize the ideas about healing the body through the mind, and he was influenced by the ideas of magnetism of the German Franz Mesmer. Besides studying mesmerism, it is known that Quimby sought other non-Christian sources to develop his philosophy and his method of healing, such as spiritualism, the occult and hypnosis (Mariano, 1999). Quimby spread his ideas and had many followers, but Eddy was the most recognizable figure whom he influenced.

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[22]"New Thought".*The Columbia Encyclopedia* (6th Edition ed.). Columbia University Press. 2007.
[23]Official web site of Divine Science. from http://www.divinescience.org
[24] There are many examples of this exchange. The most famous is the journey of Madame Blavatsky in America. Another example is the case of "Fox Sisters", the studies of American psychologist Willian James and so on.

Mary Baker Eddy is known worldwide as the founder of Christian Science, and also for her contact with Quimby. The level and type of contact that existed between them are controversial. Since childhood Mary Baker Eddy had a poor health, suffering from a chronic illness. During her life she had always sought alternative cures for the disease. Systematic prayers were stimulated by her mother, as well as homeopathy and other new therapies of her time, which her husband studied. After a long quest, she met Phineas ParkhurstQuimby, and at this juncture came up some historical controversies[25].

To Quimby's biographers, including his son, as to many who wished to tell the story of new thought, Mary Baker Eddy was directly influenced by Quimby and she was almost his disciple. She developed the Christian Science from his ideas. On the other hand, the followers of Mary Baker Eddy were adamant in saying that there was no such influence in her work, that she had built her Christian Science only from the Bible[26]. To us who holds the historical truth, it is not relevant to analyze the polarized positions of the followers or to look into some biographical accounts (SILBERGER, 1980) (VON FETWEISS,...). The main theological divergences between Eddy and Quimby are clear to us.

Some of her biographers claim that when she made the acquaintance of Quimby, Mary Baker Eddy felt a relief of her symptoms during the first contacts, but they soon returned. From this experience, she concluded that Quimby used hypnosis, and she was suspicious of his religious belief. (VON FETTWEIS,...) She went back home, disenchanted. Years later she went through a personal experience, which was decisive to her, and from that moment on she believed that the cure for all diseases was in the Bible.

The main difference between them is that while Quimby was seeking a spiritualistic science of healing, Mary Baker Eddy was seeking a Christian Science of healing, based on the scriptures of the Bible. What in fact united

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[25] MILMINE, Georgine. *The life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the history of Christian Science*. Baker Book House, 1937.
[26] See: http://christianscience.com/mary-baker-eddy-faq.html#major-influences.

them was that both were interested in a new theology that originated in the United States, i.e., the possibility of cure of the body through certain powers of the mind.

Out of the ranks of Christian Science came one of the household names in the history of the movement of new thought: **Emma Curtis Hopkins**. Many people believe that she was the founder of the movement of "New Thought". Because she had been the teacher of so many famous names of "New Thought", such as Melinda Cramer and Nona Books (co-founders of Divine Science), Charles Fillmore and Myrtle Fillmore (co-founders of Unity School of Christianity), Harriet Emilie Cady, author of Lessons in Truth, Annie RixMilitz (founder of The Home of Truth), and Ernest Holmes (founder of the Church of Religious Science), Emma Curtis Hopkins earned the nickname "Teacher of Teachers".

Soon after she joined the Christian Science of Mary Baker Eddy, Mrs. Hopkins became one of her most outstanding students, assuming the direction of the journal. However, it did not take long to have the first conflict with her master. Emma C. Hopkins did not accept Christianity as the only basis of Christian Science, and she wanted to incorporate other non-Christian elements into her theology. As a result, she was expelled from Christian Science, and then founded her own theological seminary in Chicago, the Christian Science Theological Seminary. But as her former teacher wanted to retain the name of Christian Science, she was forced to change her denomination, and named her theology "New Thought".

One of the most famous students of the "Teacher of Teachers" was **Ernest Holmes,** the founder of Religious Science, who influenced an important name of the late "New Thought", i.e., **Dr. Joseph Murphy**.

Line of influence

Phineas ParkhurstQuimby (1802-1866)

↓

Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910)

↓

Emma Curtis Hopkins (1849-1925)

↓

Ernest Holmes (1887–1960)

↓

Dr. Joseph Murphy (1898-1981)
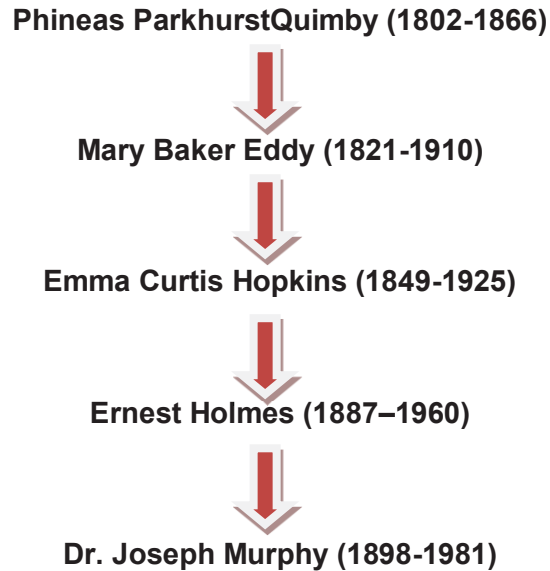
Dr. Joseph Murphy was born in 1898, Ireland, into a Catholic and economically stable family. As a teenager, Dr. Joseph Murphy was already interested in religion. He had first studied in the Catholic Seminary, in the Jesuit order. Before completing his study and becoming a priest, he left the Catholic Church. He moved to the United States and studied the sciences of religions, especially eastern religions. He also went to India and stayed there for many years. In the 1940s, he moved to Los Angeles, the capital of new religious movements of the twentieth century. There he met Ernest Holmes, and was ordained into Religious Science by Holmes in 1946, later on teaching at the Institute of Religious Science. In the same decade he became minister of the Los Angeles Divine Science Church.

We can understand him as a man who was the transition between the old prophets of the twentieth century and the new religiosity of the late twentieth century. Not only was he able to provide the theological basis for a new religious movement, but he was also able to spread his message to the mass.

In a theological perspective, he was a "disciple" of "old prophets" of "New Thought". He was interested in healing through the power of the mind, and really believed that the power of the subconscious mind was the essence of all religions. He also provided the basis of a new theology in the late twentieth century, i.e., the Theology of Prosperity. He sentenced thatGod is a God of love and kindness who wish that all human beings be happy, healthy and prosperous. These elements are the pillar of the Theology of Prosperity.

In the field of advertisement, he was indeed an expert. He used new technologies such as radio broadcasting, and was a master in the literary genre that became the industry of best-sellers of our time, namely the "self-help" literature. He wrote 36 books, many of which became best-sellers, such as *The Power of Your Subconscious Mind* (1962), *Your Infinite Power to Be Rich* (1966), *These Truths Can Change Your Life* (1979), *How to Use the Laws of Mind* (1980), to name but a few. He was really a prophet of the new religious movement.

First of all, we can say that the major movement described above began in Europe as an outgrowth of the rationalization process. It was the attempt to rationally colonize certain irrational aspects of the religious world. On the whole, we can say that this alliance between science and religion was an attempt to rationalize certain aspects of animism. However, in its development the irrational potential of religion became stronger. Indeed mystic and magical trends dominated its development, and scientific aspects were secondary when it became a mass movement.

In the middle and upper classes, these ideas somewhat lost their religious rigor, and were interpreted as a set of mystic and magical techniques to achieve a good life in the capitalist society (MARTELLI, 2008), allowing a major religious pluralism. Thus we can understand this movement as a typical religiosity of adaptation to the world (Rationalismus der Weltanpassung). In low classes it tended to a form of stronger religious dogmatism, and remained close

to a Christian base. On the other hand, the low classes tended to radical magic, at the expense of the mystic, interpreting all non-Christian manifestations as demoniac.

Secondly, in order to understand the direct influence of these ideas on the religious movements, we must divide them into two groups: New Age religiosity and the Neo-Pentecostalism Movement, because of certain differences between Neo-Pentecostalism and Pentecostalism.

We can say that New Age religiosity and Neo-Pentecostalism originated at the same time, and the influence of "New Thought" on them is obvious. We saw how the figure of Dr. Joseph Murphy was paramount to New Age religiosity and the Theology of Prosperity, the theological pillar of Neo-Pentecostalism. However, it is no easy task to prove the relation and influence between the "New Thought" movement and Pentecostalism. Only a detailed historical research could provide more insight into the matter, although we do have some understanding at the moment.

A first indication is the "Mecca" of new religious ideas in the twentieth century, which happens to be the city of Los Angeles. It has been the cradle of some important ideas, and many new religious movements came into being in Los Angeles. As we will see further, this is where modern Pentecostalism originated, and where Dr. Joseph Murphy actually lived. Being the capital of New Age, it is unlikely that these movements would not have had some sort of contact. Both movements were interested in religious forms of healing. The extraordinary ways of healing were the starting point of "New Thought" and Pentecostalism, as they are also present in New Age religiosity and Neo-Pentecostalism.

The arguments I have developed underscore that Neo-Pentecostalism and New Age religiosity are in fact different versions of the same religious movement, and are the direct product of the main change in religious ideas in the twentieth century, along with a departure from rationalism. In fact, they are typical inner-worldly religious movements that tend to adapt the religious

discourse to the message of salvation within the modern and capitalist society, *i.e*., consumption and hedonism.

On the other hand, these explanations have shed some light on the other influences of Pentecostalism and its theological roots beyond the borders of Protestant Reformation, particularly the influences that have contributed to the notion of "Divine Healing", a core concept of Pentecostalism. Such influences, as well as the break from rationalism, were fundamental to the construction of a religion with strong emotional and popular features that made it successful.

2.4 The New Prophets of Pentecostalism

In order to understand the specific aspect of Pentecostalism, I will focus on some historical details, as well as on two important names that contributed to the emergence of Pentecostalism: **Charles F. Parham (1873-1929)** and **Willian Joseph Seymour (1870-1922)**. I intend to provide some insight into important aspects of Pentecostalism.

Since Weber's studies on religion (WEBER, 1976, 1988), a considerable part of the Weberian tradition and his method has favoured the analysis of religious specialists to understand religion. The stratum of religious specialists has always been an important key to the Weberian tradition of religion studies. On the other hand, in Bourdieu's analysis on religion (BOURDIEU, 2000), the role of prophets is seen as a fundamental aspect of the religious dynamics. He has reinterpreted the Weberian categories of prophets and other religious specialists to understand the religious field.

In addition to these analyses, which are restricted to the religious field, in Social Sciences a specific methodology related to biographical analysis, namely biographical method has appeared. This methodology postulates that the life of

a person possesses all the characteristics of his own social group, and such biography has a sense only in relation to this group, according to Bourdieu and his concept of "biographical illusion" (BOURDIEU, 1996). This methodology provides an insight into the matter in a way that major surveys and other statistical methods do not. The field of biographical method aims to investigate a deepest emotional universe, such as the dreams, the dramas, the anxieties, the fears, the traumas of a specific social group (SAUTU, 1999)[27].

I will proceed with an in-depth presentation on Pentecostalism, by examining the life paths of founders of Pentecostalism, using both approaches (the religious specialists and the biographical method).

Charles F. Parham was a pastor of the Methodist Church, and he left his church because of his great interest in the new theology, which was pervading the realm of religion in the United States, particularly the notion of divine healing (ANDERSON, 2004). Parham founded the Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, and assumed the position of director. His institution practiced divine and spiritual healing, and material assistance to the poor. The institution also provided methodical training for young people who were looking forward to becoming missionaries (CAMPOS, 2005).

He is considered by many people to be the founder of modern Pentecostalism, by the very fact that he systematized a series of theological beliefs and practices that originated within the holiness movement (CAMPOS, 2005)(ANDERSON, 2004). The intellectual qualities that characterized his personality allowed him to undertake the cataloguing of the experiences of the spirit, particularly the experience of speaking in tongues. It is worth noting that Parham had a rationalist interpretation of the biblical passage of Pentecost. He interpreted this passage through the phenomenon called xenoglossy, which is

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[27]See: SAUTU, Ruth. *La recosntrución de la sociedad a partir del testemunios de los actores*. Buenos Aires. Lumere, 1999.

to speak in foreign languages unknown to the speaker, but known around the world. This is different from speaking in tongues, and it is a feature common in Pentecostalism[28] (ANDERSON 34: 2004). Parham then set out to provide evidence for his doctrine and strengthen his belief of speaking in tongues.

Another striking feature of his personality, besides his intellectual verve, was his racist attitude. At the end of his life Parham tried to trace a genealogical line that connected the "people of God" of Israel with American immigrants, seeking to trace their religion and their interpretation of Christianity as a religious movement of whites (CAMPOS, 2005).

However, the most famous passage in his life relates to his racism, it was not relating to this bizarre racist theory, but his relationship with his most famous pupil, William Seymour. Parham had obliged him to remain in the hallway, as Seymour was African American, so he was not allowed to attend class with his classmates. As we will see further, this experience probably influenced the ways of religiosity developed by Seymour.

Perhaps the argument that hails Charles Parham as the founder of Pentecostalism makes much sense from a theological standpoint. He had systematized a set of basic beliefs of Pentecostalism. However, from a sociological point of view, this argument does not stand up to scrutiny. The main characteristics which would outline the history of Pentecostalism as a mass movement, a religion of mass, as we know it today, are opposed to an emphasis on personality, and the type of religious organization that Charles Parham represents. His intellectualism and his racism put him in a position that departs from what Pentecostalism is supposed to be.

 Parham's interest in divine healing and other "experiences of the spirit" were marked by his intellectualism. He was indeed in tune with the movement of "New Thought" and its ramifications. In point of fact, he differs very little from Phineas Quimby, Mary Baker Eddy and Emma Hopkins. Therefore we postulate

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[28] The belief of speaking in tongues of Pentecostalism is divided into two manifestations. One that is speaking in foreign languages, as the apostles preached in foreign languages, and the other is speaking in tongues, unintelligible, a pure religious ecstasy.

that the legitimate founder of the Pentecostal movement, as we will see further, would be William Joseph Seymour. Seymour brought in his body (Social Class and ethnicity) and mind the most striking features of Pentecostalism.

William Joseph Seymour is a legend of Pentecostalism. Much has been written about the life of this black prophet of Christianity of the twentieth century, so it is hard to select what is true or false among these narratives, many writers might have been carried away by strong emotional feelings, either discrediting him or idolizing him.   However, there is no doubt about the importance and influence of his movement on Pentecostalism. I will try to emphasize the sociological aspects inherent to this prophet in order to better understand Pentecostalism.

William Seymour was a black man, the son of former slaves. In fact, he went through several religions prior to becoming the leader of a very specific model of religiosity. He was born in Louisiana and was baptized in the Catholic Church. As a teenager, he became a Baptist, and at age 25 he joined a black congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. On moving to Houston, he joined a church of the Holiness movement (CAMPOS, 2005)

In Houston, William Seymour met Charles Parham, and he attended his classes in the circumstances I have mentioned above. In that time, he came in contact with the ideas and practices of Parham that would heavily influence the new religiosity he championed. After this contact with Praham he moved to Los Angeles and founded an autonomous cell of this new model of religiosity on "Azusa Street" (BRUGGES; MACGEE, 1995).

At the time, the United States was not only undergoing an intense migration from rural to urban areas, but was also experiencing a heavy flow of poor immigrants from Europe as mentioned previously. These movements created a mass of city residents that had not been fully incorporated into urban life, and many of these people constituted the framework of the faithful of the new religiosity devised by Seymour.

The Apostolic Faith Mission founded by Seymour at "Azusa Street" was made up of blacks (African Americans), poor and a significant number of women. It was a show of religious ecstasy that frightened the middle class and traditional religions (CAMPOS, 2005). The speaking in unintelligible tongues, the cure of diseases and other miracles were accompanied by an "*Africanity*" of corporal ecstasy, with a lot of swaying and so on.

Another striking feature was the attempt to break down racial barriers. The prophet "felt in his skin" the American apartheid, and certainly the experience he had gone through with Parham had deeply affected him. He dreamed of a society without racial barriers, and hoped that the Holy Spirit could do this in the cult at "Azusa Street".

In truth there was a climate of freedom at "Azuza Street" and especially of subversion. There was a contestation against the religious order but also against the social order. The headquarters of the Apostolic Faith Mission was a place where blacks and whites, men and women alike shared a common space, promoting a noisy worship that sounded horrifying to the traditional religious classes, and the practice was considered anti-religious. The middle class and the elites did not appreciate it either, and it incited the already existing racism (ANDERSON, 2004). An anti-intellectualist position that marked the path of all Pentecostalism was already present at "Azusa Street". This "emotional cauldron" dissolved any rational statement.

The photograph below, which shows the leaders of Apostolic Faith Mission, with the figure of Seymour in the center, illustrates the atmosphere of coexistence between whites and blacks and men and women, and it certainly sounds as revolutionary.[29]

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[29] Image published in 1908. Obtained from http://jsr.as.wvu.edu/2002/stephens2.htm, image is now in the public domain. Transferred from en.wikipedia; transferred to Commons by User: Alaniaris using CommonsHelper. Original uploader was Nswinton at en.wikipedia

Proceeding with the analysis of William Seymour's trajectory, we can say that he epitomized the exemplary prophet, one who not only propagated his message, but also set examples in the course of his life (WEBER, 1976) (BOURDIEU, 2000). The essence of his message and the type of religiosity he presented to the world had two important aspects in his career: theological and social.

His life trajectory contains fundamental aspects of social turmoil in the United States in the nineteenth century. We can say that the social changes narrated previously became a personal form throughout the life of Seymour, i.e, as is wrote in John's Gospel "the Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us", social history of that time became flesh and made his dwelling among us. He was born in the then rural state of Louisiana and had migrated to the city, living in the suburbs of Los Angeles in the same condition of millions of Americans, he had not only observed the great population mobility, but had also lived through it. During this period he embraced many religions, according to changes on the religious scene. As experts have said, Pentecostalism is a son of the Holiness Movement. In fact, Seymour came from the Holiness Movement in order to found Pentecostalism. His personal history can be compared to the history of the origin of Pentecostalism itself.

From a theological standpoint, Seymour adapted the new American theology of divine healing and the "experience of the spirit" to his audience of believers, i.e., blacks and poor immigrants from the suburbs of Los Angeles. He created a "practical theology" in popular ways and mass religion, in which the faithful just need one's own body and no prior training to be touched by God. He left the intellectual verve of Charles Parham and other new American religious specialists such as Mary Baker Eddy. In his worship, the Holy Spirit "spoke" directly to people. And he added to it the typical body language of African religions and other popular religions.

From a social standpoint, he sought to build a space where the marginalized sectors of society would not feel the pressure of the mechanisms that segregated them. In his cult the prejudices of class, race and gender fell apart. He was able to offer the audience the emotional relief they most wanted. As an exemplary prophet, he channels the feelings of people, and gives answers to their social and personal dramas and anxieties.

In the early days, the social base of Pentecostalism was an important aspect of its development. We can identify a specific social vocation in this religion, and certain scholars interpreted Pentecostalism as a "religion of disinherited", or sects of proscribedminorities (CORTEN, 1996) (CAMPOS, 2005) (NIEBUHR, 1992) (MARRA).

It is important to recall that from "Azusa Street", many other important names in Pentecostalism appeared, such as Florence Louise Crawford (1872-1936), who founded the Apostolic Faith Church, and William Durham (1873-1912), who organized the North Avenue Mission. Missionaries from Durham's circle, such as Louis Francescon, Daniel Berger and A. Gunnar Vingren became known. In point of fact, these last three individuals brought Pentecostalism to Brazil (MARIANO, 1999) (CAMPOS, 2005).

The most prominent religious denominations that came to be known from "Azusa Street" are the Assembly of God and the Church of God in Christ.

2.5 The expansion of Pentecostalism Worldwide

Pentecostalism is currently the most powerful spread of Christianity (ANDERSON, 2004). Christianity is still a powerful religion in terms of numbers today, and is capable of winning over Moslems around the world, but it is only possible to do so because of the force of Pentecostal proselytism.

Although my objective in this dissertation is to analyse Pentecostalism in Brazil, in this section I would like to briefly present some numbers and descriptions regarding the spread of Pentecostalism around the world, how its pattern has been, and how it has been established on all continents. I believe it can help us better understand how Pentecostalism has expanded in Brazil.

The first step to understand this spread is to present the notion of "waves of expansion" of Pentecostalism adopted by many scholars in this field.

The Waves of expansion

As used by many scholars, I will also adopt the classification that divides the historical development of Pentecostalism into waves of expansion. These waves are commonly called classical Pentecostalism (first wave), charismatic Pentecostalism, (second wave). As for the third wave, I will call it Neo-Pentecostalism, based on the studies of Ricardo Mariano and Paul Freston.

I believe this is the best way to understand, at least in simple terms, the most important changes and characteristics of the Pentecostal movement. Pentecostalism is in fact a reformation within religious Reformation, i.e., a rupture along the lines of Reformation and its movements. In fact, there are some important "reformations" within the history of Pentecostalism.

Although scholars of Pentecostalism commonly use the schema of "waves of expansion" to describe de evolution of Pentecostalism, there are

some variations in this nomenclature. I will not debate nomenclatures, because I think this is not the most important aspect of this analysis. I will only present in general lines how I re-construct this form to explain the development of Pentecostalism.

I understand that these "waves of expansion", from the creative core of new religious ideas, not only relate to the religious message, but also to the way the religious message is conveyed and offered to the mass, and also how the new forms of administration of "religious goods" translate into a numeric expansion of Pentecostalism[30].

When the first wave of expansion, called classical Pentecostalism[31], appeared in the United States, it began spreading worldwide almost simultaneously. In the first decade of the last century, Pentecostalism had already reached many areas of the United States and many parts of the world. In Brazil, the first missionaries arrived in 1906 and 1910. The main characteristics of classical Pentecostalism were the belief in the imminent return of Jesus, and in a strict moral rigor.

On the North American scene the most famous and successful denominations of classical Pentecostalism were: **Church of God in Christ** (historical Afro-American Pentecostal Church), **International Pentecostal Holiness Church,Assembly of God**.

The second wave, which is called **Charismatic Pentecostalism**, is marked by two important features: the influence beyond the boundaries of Pentecostalism with a strong influence from historical churches of Reformation and the charismatic movement in the Catholic Church; the use of the new technologies of media in the dissemination of religion, especially the radio. The main theological characteristic of this movement is the acceptance that the gifts

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[30]In this section I will present the waves of expansion in the United States that has had an influence around the world. In the next chapter I will present the waves of expansion in Brazil.

[31]*The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition*. 2008. http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-Pentcstl.html.

of the Holy Spirit are available for Christians today, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

From contacts among Catholics, the charismatic renewal movement in the Catholic Church appeared, and it became a strong movement within Catholicism. But along with this influence, some renewal movements in traditional churches of Reformation occurred. Many traditional churches changed their name adding the term renewal. This contributed to a major spread of Pentecostalism.

With this second wave begins the weakening of moral rigor with the arrival of the initial base of Prosperity Theology. An important name of this change was Aimée McPherson (1890-1944) (ANDERSON, 2004). She was a media star in her Pentecostal programs on the radio and was among the pioneers in adapting Pentecostalism to the cultural industry and the media.

The **third wave** of expansion in the United States was called **mainstream church renewal.** It was understood as the third period of the Holy Spirit in the twentieth century. However, what interests me most is not the third wave in the United States, but the set of changes in Pentecostalism that has occurred in Latin America. These changes have shaped what I call **Neo-Pentecostalism.**

As I will describe in more details in another chapter, Neo-Pentecostalism can be defined from its new place of dissemination, namely Latin America. From this "wave" Latin America has played a key role in Pentecostalism, not only as an importer of religious models, but also as an exporter.

In this "wave" there is also a radicalization of inner-worldly interest. These churches increasingly offer solutions to the dramas of daily life. It occurs especially in the prominence of "Theology of Prosperity", which is the dominant theological feature of Neo-Pentecostalism.

2.6 Pentecostalism: a religion of Periphery

One of the most important hypotheses which supports this work is the relationship between the periphery of the world and Pentecostalism, particularly with the specific social structure of this periphery where a strong exclusion prevails, and its relation with the spread of Pentecostalism. In this section I will show some dates and descriptions that can support this hypothesis[32].

Regarding this thematic, the first elucidative date is the distribution of Pentecostals around the world, i.e., how Pentecostals are spread over continents. As shown in the chart below, more than half of Pentecostals in the world are in Latin America and Africa, and are almost nonexistent in Europe.

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[32] Although I have mentioned that the ideas developed here are specifically related toBrazil, some ideas apply to this phenomenon in other contexts.

The Pentecostal in the World[33]
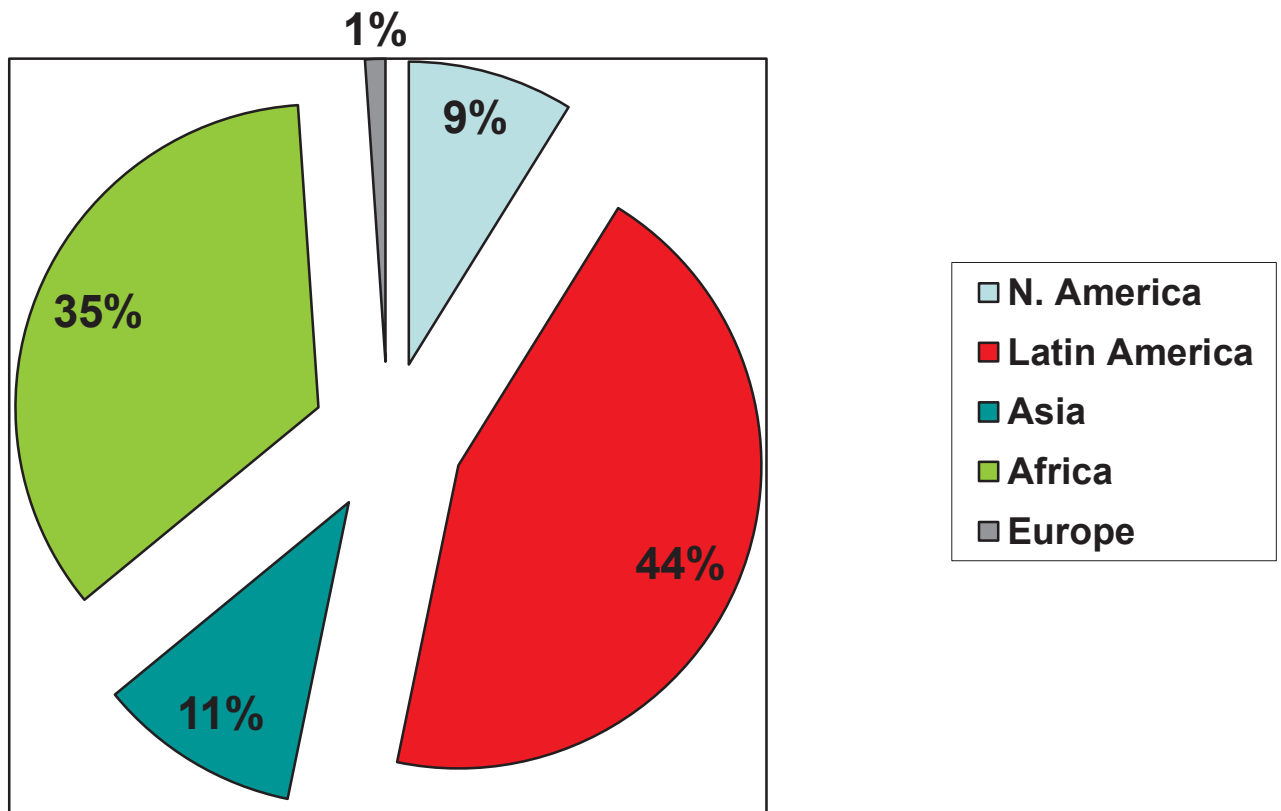
Still on this chart, it is easy to infer that the concentration of Pentecostals is on the least favoured continents, where social inequality is stronger. Although North America is the continent of origin of Pentecostalism, its development has occurred more intensively in Africa and Latin America.

Europe

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[33]   World Christian database.

With regard to the European case, two aspects can be analysed: one is about the size related to other continents; and the other is about the social classes that are attracted by this religiosity in Europe. Both aspects attest the social vocation of Pentecostalism.

The first point is clear in the last chart, on the continent with the highest level of social equality and inclusion (Europe), Pentecostalism is almost nonexistent. There are only one percent of Pentecostals in Europe. Only Portugal has over two percent of Pentecostals in its population (ANDERSON, 2004). Thus the typical social base of Pentecostalism is weak in Europe.

Although this religiosity is so small in Europe, it attests its social vocation. The core of its followers in Europe is made of poor immigrants, mainly coming from Africa and Latin America (DOZON, CORTEN & ORO: 2003). The giant denominations of Pentecostalism from Latin America, like *Assembly of God* and *Universal Church of the Kingdom of God* have many churches in Europe and seek followers among the recently excluded from European society, mostly underprivileged immigrants.

Pentecostalism timid growth in Europe is in tune with the increase of the sub-integrated immigrants on the world market. There are already quite a few Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches in most capital cities of Europe.

The United States of America

The face of Pentecostalism in the United States of America today is a result of the "third wave", i.e., Neo-Pentecostalism. Its main force is within the Hispanic population. Among the six million of Hispanics who live in the United States, 20 percent are Pentecostals (ANDERSON, 2004). Pentecostalism has spread in the poorest sectors of the North-American population, and is composed mostly of Hispanics.

In the same way in Europe, most followers are immigrants. In the United States, these immigrants are mostly Hispanics and Brazilians. In general, Neo-Pentecostalism has not been successful within the traditional North-American membership. Caucasians, African Americans, Hispanics or Asians have already been integrated into a social network for some time, mainly in schools, churches, families and the community as a whole. (GARRARD-BRUNETT, 2003)

In the United States, Pentecostalism continues its main social vocation, seeking its followers among people who are on the fringes of society, in the periphery of the blessings of the capitalist society and wait for a salvation "in this world".

Africa

Africa is the second major Pentecostal continent in the world; Lagos, the capital of Nigeria is the largest Pentecostal city in the world. Pentecostals today represent 12 percent, or about 107 million of Africa's population, according to the World Christian Database. South Africa and Zimbabwe are the two countries where Pentecostalism has the fastest growth. In South Africa, 40 percent of the population is influenced by Pentecostalism (CORTEN, 2003) and the Pentecostal Apostolic Faith Mission is now numerically as strong as the Dutch Reformed Church. In Zimbabwe, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God have almost as many adherents as the Catholic Church.

In Portuguese-speaking African countries there is a large number of Brazilian Pentecostal denominations, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. In Mozambique Neo-Pentecostalism and especially the Brazilian neo-Pentecostal church *Universal Church of Kingdom of God* is growing fast in large cities and suburbs, in lower classes and lower middle classes (SILVA, 2003). This

Brazilian Church owns the TV channel "Miramar" and holds 80 percent of its audience in Mozambique.

Because of the social and cultural aspects of Africa, Pentecostalism has been the most capable form of Christianity to penetrate this continent. Its oral structure (HOLLENWEGER, 1976) and magical tendency have affinities with the traditional forms of African religions. The high level of poverty generates large social groups of poor and has contributed to the development of Pentecostalism. The only significant barrier to the further spread of Pentecostals in Africa is the presence of Islam in North Africa.

Latin America

Latin America is now the heart of Pentecostalism. There, we find 44 percent of Pentecostals in the world, approximately 144 million people (ANDERSON, 2004). Brazil is now the first Pentecostal country in the world. In 2000, according to the sociologist of religion Ricardo Mariano, Pentecostals were 18 million and have increased in 8.9 percent a year. Today Pentecostals are 24 million in Brazil (World Christian Database). Among the 2.5 million evangelicals found in Argentina, almost all of them are Pentecostals. In Chile, a traditional Catholic country, Pentecostals are already 20 percent of the population.

The social base of this religious movement includes mostly the lower classes of the urban world, whose followers spent only few years in school. The main ethnics are blacks, mestizos and descendents of Amerindians. A survey made in Brazil in 1996 attested this tendency (MARIANO, 1999). This survey found that 11 percent of Pentecostals were illiterate and 68.3 percent had only an elementary education (four school years). It also showed that 8.2 percent were unemployed, and 27.2 percent among the employed did not have a regular employment. According to this survey, 45.3 percent of these

Pentecostals were colored. On the other hand, Anderson (2004) asserts that one of the largest Pentecostal Denomination in Argentina is made up mostly of descendents of Indians, who are the poorest sector in Argentina. This data shows that Pentecostalism is the new religiosity for the dominated classes of our time.

Conclusion

At the end of this chapter, it is worth noting that the origins of Pentecostalism are not only related to internal theological changes in the United States and to Protestant Reformation tradition, but also to the cultural origins of certain actors who founded the Pentecostal movement in the United States, namely African Americans. We can understand how the development of a new religiosity is closely related to radical social changes and is also a product of these changes. In other words, we can assert that these new religiosities are the religious answers to the new social challenges and demands confronted by new social groups.

In this line of reasoning about Pentecostalism, the social position of individuals in society is more important than their cultural origin, *i.e.*, the condition of ex-slave or sub-integrated in the urban periphery plays a more important role than a supposedly common past in Africa[34].

As we have seen in this chapter, the origin of Pentecostalism is socially related to the urbanization phenomenon in the United States, and its impact, particularly the "new social world", was brought about by this phenomenon. In addition, the population mobility, which has helped generate this urbanization, has played an important role as well.

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[34] Regarding this debate I do not claim that cultural features do not have their relevance. Such traditions can work as paths of language to convey something. However, such cultural traditions are secondary in this rationale.

These ideas and findings are relevant and help us understand the development of Pentecostalism, especially in Brazil. In the next chapters, I will demonstrate how this pattern of religion, inspired by the emergence of Pentecostalism in the United States, has found a breeding ground in Brazil. The social elements that have brought about the emergence of this religion in the United States---as we have seen in this chapter--- can also be noted in the social changes brought forth in Brazil in the course of the twentieth century. Certain social groups in similar social position have found in Pentecostalism religious answers to similar social challenges.

Chapter 3

Neo-Pentecostalism: the way of religious prosperity

Although Pentecostalism has been in existence for one hundred years, it has only become a mega religious phenomenon in the last 30 years, undergoing aggressive expansion in the religious market since the 1970's, as can be seen from the following numbers. According to the Annual statistical Table on Global Mission[35], in 1970 there were 74 million Pentecostals, comprising 6% of the world's Christians, while in 1997 there were 497 million, or 27% of all Christians. Thus its growth was over 300% in 27 years. Future estimates place the number of Pentecostals at around 1.14 billion in 2025, with 44% of all Christians in the world. In this regard, Neo-Pentecostalism has played an important role in the last wave of Pentecostal expansion.

Because of this we must understand Neo-Pentecostalism separately, and this chapter will analyze it within the context of Pentecostalism in Brazil. The changes that took place in Neo-Pentecostalism offer insight into much of what made Pentecostalism such a successful recipe.

3.1 Introduction: Neo-Pentecostalism

Neo-Pentecostalism and its internal variations have been one of the most studied phenomena in the sociology of religion; this theme has surfaced repeatedly throughout this work. This has inevitably produced a long list of names used in the cataloguing of these variations, which obliges us to explain what we mean by the names used, such as the term Neo-Pentecostalism.

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[35] BARRET, D. B.. Annual statistical Table on Global Mission. In international bulletin of missionary research. 21. 1, 1997.

Starting in the late 1970's Pentecostalism began to acquire new characteristics as it experienced a new wave of expansion, as the most specialized literature on Pentecostalism attests. During this period, particularly in Latin America, and with special emphasis on Brazil, some Pentecostal churches arose which innovated in the administration of their "religious goods" and became an important vector of expansion of Pentecostalism in the world (ORO, CORTEN & DOZÓN 2003). Many of them are present in all corners of the globe, such as the exemplary case which we will study in this chapter: the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (IURD, acronym in Portuguese) which is present in over 170 countries.

It is this movement that we call neo-Pentecostalism. This new wave of Pentecostal expansion, which is the result of significant changes in Pentecostalism, is especially related both to the way it markets its message and to changes within these messages themselves[36].

The most striking general features of this movement business logic in the administration of the church and of religious goods, prosperity theology as a theological basis, a tendency to use a more intense magical religiosity, a war against the devil in opposition to the traditions of popular religions, the religious faithful predominantly composed of lower social sectors (social base of the pyramid), a strong intra-mundane magical discourse, the use of media and an ability to use the cultural industry (which belongs to the whole gospel movement), organized insertion in politics, and so on (ORO, 1992) (MARIANO, 1995) (MARIANO, 1999). These characteristics will all be analyzed in more detail in this chapter.

Another important factor that characterizes this wave of expansion that I call Neo-Pentecostalism is that although its initial impulse is the result of the

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[36] According to the article of Giumbelli (2000) that analyses the classifications of Pentecostalism, the term Neo-Pentecostalism is used by many sociologists of religion in reference of this process I describe here. Such list includes many names: Mendonça (1994), Sanchis (1994), Mariano (1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1998), Monteiro (1995), Bobsin (1995), Campos Jr. (1995), Gouvêia (1996), Moreira (1996), Campos (1997), Oro (1997), Queiroz (1997), Sieperski (1997b), Mafra (1999), Oro e Semán (1999), (Pierucci1996; Prandi 1996) .

action of missionaries coming from other continents[37], Latin America became an important exporter of religious denomination to the world (ORO, CORTEN & DOZÓN, 2003). Even the more traditional Pentecostal denominations are using the aggressive proselytism of Neo-Pentecostals and try to create units of their denominations in other countries.

The success of Neo-Pentecostalism has generated another phenomenon, something we might call a "wave of neopentecostalization". The impact of neo-Pentecostalism does not occur only because of its numerical success in relation to recruitment of the faithful, but also from its influence over other denominations which came from other expansionary waves of Pentecostalism and over other non-Pentecostal churches. Many churches began to adopt the Neo-Pentecostal methods of managing their churches and relating with their audience of believers (MARIANO, 1999) (SOUZA & MAGALHAES, 2000).

To understand this phenomenon of Pentecostalism, i.e. Neo-Pentecostalism, I will present an analysis of a religious denomination which represents one of the most successful cases of neo-Pentecostalism, the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. This denomination will work here as an example whereby the main features of neo-Pentecostalism are more highly visible, with almost caricatured features, almost as a Weberian ideal type. This church has always been a leading force within the Neo-Pentecostal movement, spearheading a movement in expansion. According to Giumbelli (2000) there is a consensus among scholars of Neo-Pentecostalism that the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is the most important empirical reference for Neo-Pentecostalism.

But before examining the case of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, I intend to discuss a basic point of Neo-Pentecostalism. I will write about

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[37] In the Brazilian case, the emphasis in the fight against the devil, (one of the practical-theological aspects that marked the emergence of the Neo-Pentecostalism) was brought by Canadian missionaries (Walter Robert McAlister) who influenced pastors and members in the State of Rio de Janeiro. Although the action of these missionaries was important for a break and creating a new niche in Pentecostalism, the development of neo-Pentecostalism occurred at the hands of Latin Americans (MARIANO, 1999).

the main theological characteristics, or rather the discourse, of Neo-Pentecostalism.

In order to do this I intend to place Neo-Pentecostalism within the context of the most prominent religious changes that occurred in the twentieth century, as a break with the rationalism, the "new age" religiosity, and the Prosperity Theology.

3.2 The Prosperity Theology

I want to demonstrate how Pentecostalism was in line with the main theological and cognitive transformations of the twentieth century. Its emergence occurs in the context of a break with the religious rationalism that marked the development of Western religion, and is also in line with the theological innovations which invaded the United States of America around the turn of the twentieth century, especially the notion of divine healing.

In this cognitive theological and religious development, Neo-Pentecostalism presents itself as another manifestation of this process. By incorporating Prosperity Theology as the theological basis of its religious movement, Pentecostalism came into line with the new model of religion which arose in the late twentieth century, and adapted this model to its particular audience of followers, i.e., the poor of the big cities. Focused on the pursuit of well-being in this world of the "here and now", an eclectic mix of ideas, including Oriental teachings, the occult, shamanism, the Self-Help literary genre, and spiritualism, which from the 1970's began capturing the interest of mainstream society in central capitalist countries, assumed a Christianized form and was packaged for the lower classes in Neo-Pentecostalism. Thus this movement is the Christian and popular version of the new model of religiosity that emerged in the 1970's.

3.2.1 The Main features of Prosperity Theology

Prosperity Theology arose as a closed set of religious ideas in the 1970's in the United States of America, but whose origins date back to the 1940's.This theology is also referred to as *Health and Wealth Gospel, Faith Movement, Faith Prosperity Doctrines*, and so on. The North American Pentecostal preacher Kenneth Erwin Hagin (1917-2003) is considered the "father" of Prosperity Theology. He tapped many sources of the "New Thought" movement, such as divine healing, positive thinking, hypnotism, and so on to elaborate his "theology".

These ideas were rapidly absorbed into Pentecostalism. They were the theological base of the last innovation in the Pentecostal movement, i.e., Neo-Pentecostalism, which incorporated this theology as the essence of a new message that would enchant millions of believers around the world.

The main and foundational theological statement of this movement is that Christians have the divine right to enjoy the blessings of the material world, meaning that Christians have the right to achieve perfect health and material realizations. The theologians of the theology of prosperity say that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ freed all his followers from the evils of this world.

To achieve these blessings or enjoy his "rights", the believer must use only his faith and the power of his words. So, with the help of his faith, these words become divine decrees. A good example of this relationship with God and the religious world is very clear in the preaching of the Neo-Pentecostal minister Manuel, reported in the book of Ricardo Mariano (1999):

To pray is to determine results. . . We determine what we want to happen in the name of Jesus, so that He will. . . Everything you determine with confidence, with faith in Jesus' name, will be held. The disease, misery, everything will be solved by God. . . (Indianapolis, 1992)

By this logic, God is in the same position of primitive deities, i.e., He is a hostage of the desire of the believer. There was not much He could do to escape the orders of his spoiled children.

In this context another figure plays an important role: the devil. He is the agent who cunningly plots to bring disgrace to humans in the forms of disease and material misery, for example. Thus, beside a weak faith, the Devil serves as an explanation for the failure of the believer in social life and in his personal health, which is very common among the masses of poor followers of Pentecostalism. Therefore, the fight against the devil and his legions of demons is an important feature of Prosperity Theology and Neo-Pentecostal Churches sell amulets and other forms of protection against the devil (MARIANO, 1999) (MARIZ, 1997) (WYNARCZYK, 1995).

In this relationship in which the believer must show his faith to God and thus to obtain a series of material blessings in this life, the tithing and other forms of donations earn a role in the theological practice of theology of prosperity. Believers are encouraged to enter into a network of betting as if in a lottery with God. The higher the donation to the church, the more the believer will receive in return; the value of tithing measures the size of his or her faith and trust in God.

Prosperity Theology can be initially understood as the main manifestation of the turn of hegemony from Theodicy of Suffering to Theodicy of Fortune (WEBER, 1976). Prosperity Theology has reinterpreted the meaning of suffering, giving it unprecedented value in the history of Christianity. Suffering no longer has the positive values that were found in theodicies of suffering; now suffering is once again a sign of disgrace, anger, or abandonment of the deity in relation to a particular person. The cross is no more the symbol of Jesus' suffering in his love for humans, and is now the symbol of victory against the devil and all ills which come from him. The cross is now only a magical amulet in spiritual war.

As a result, the struggle for recognition also takes another direction. While the rewards reserved for another world in heaven after death have not entirely been abandoned, they have become secondary because of the growing value of the blessings of "this world". Material prosperity and access to the wonders of consumption of the modern world, allowing a joy of the "here and now", are sought as a reward for those who serve the "Lord".

On the other hand, Prosperity Theology is also one of the products of the rupture with the religious rationalism and therefore the return of magic on a large scale in the West. Although this theological movement took its form when it was incorporated into Pentecostalism, the general ideas that guide its practices and world view are virtually the same that guide what we call "new age" religiosity. It can be understood as the version of magical religiosity which has reached the poorer classes.

Among all classes to which this theological movement arrived, its ideas are very direct and clear with regard to its religious project, i.e., the elaboration of a typical religiosity of adaptation to the world (WEBER, 1976, 1988). Its intention is to establish a religion in harmony with moral values and worldviews more widespread and popular in our time, without clash or conflict with them, and is thus a religious discourse that both fits the ambitions of consumption and success of our time and the expansion of hedonism as a mass behavior. Religious practice has then become a set of magic-religious techniques for achieving success within society's prevailing standards which rejects the radical asceticism that would clash with such hedonistic values (MARTELLI, 2008).

3.3 The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: a success history

3.3.1 Introduction

Our main objective in this thesis is neither the production of a wide range of data about Pentecostalism, nor a detailed description of this movement, but rather the pursuit of theoretical means that allow us to understand, even preliminarily, what Pentecostalism is from a sociological view. Thus I've chosen to select an exemplary case of the growing Neo-Pentecostal movement which, through analysis of its features, will shed light on the spirit of this social and religious movement. I believe that through the developmental path of this denomination, many of the main characteristics of Neo-Pentecostalism can be seen clearly.

The reasons that led us to elect the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) as an exemplary case is its outstanding success in the religious market, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. This church is considered the most important multinational denomination in the periphery of the capitalist world by sociology experts Ari Pedro Oro, André Corten, and Jean-Pierre Dozon (2003). These authors maintain that because of these features:. . . *It is not only a significant phenomenon in relation to Brazil, is a phenomenon that helps to understand the new forms of religion in today's transnational world*. (ORO, CORTEN & Dozón: 14, 2003) The UCKG is more important than the Pentecostal Mexican Church "*Luz del mundo*" and the Ghanaian "*Pentecost Church*", both multinational powers of Pentecostalism.

Other aspects of the UCKG also make it a useful illustrational model of this movement, such as its status as a Latin American denomination which is present in over 170 countries, its use of a magic radicalized discourse, a wide control of various media, business logic in its administration, and so on.

Finally, the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is a portrait in well-defined lines and colors of the new model of religion that has been making inroads into the peripheries of big cities of poor and developing countries even as it has already reached the "new poor" of the big cities of the so-called developed countries.

3.3.2 The History of the UCKG in Brazil

The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God began with the creation of the "Nova Vida" (New Life) Church. The foundation of this church is also the origin of Neo-Pentecostalism in Brazil. The "Nova Vida" Church was founded in the 1960s in the city of Rio de Janeiro by Canadian missionary Robert Walter McAlister (MARIANO, 1999). The dissident groups within the Nova Vida Church marked the initial expansion of the Neo-Pentecostal movement in Brazil. From these dissident groups emerged such important names in Brazilian Neo-Pentecostalism as Edir Macedo, Miguel Ângelo, and Romildo Ribeiro Soares, more commonly known as "R. R. Soares".

Among these new leaders, a dissident group including Edir Macedo (today the controversial leader of UCKG[38]) and his brother-in-law R.R. Soares (Leader of the International Church of Grace) was dissatisfied with the perceived elitism of the Leader McAlister. Because of this they decided to found a new religious group, which later became an exemplary case of neo-Pentecostal success. Thus, in 1977 the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God was founded in a suburb of Rio de Janeiro.

Before speaking of this Church it is important to present a brief biography of its leader, as his life history has close bearing with the development of his church, and to some extent, to the discourse with which the UCKG markets its message around the world, i.e., the possibility of social ascent for the poor and miserable, or simply the entry into the world of material consumption, which appealed to the ambitions of poor youths who longed to transform their status as excluded citizens, as in the case of Edir Macedo.

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[38] The Pastor Edir Macedo was accused of quackery, charlatanism, embezzlement. He was imprisoned in 1992, accused by five believers who alleged that they had donated money to the church in exchange for miracles that did not happen. In 1995, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 5 million reais (2,7 million dollars) for the crime of tax evasion. In 1997, there was a new penalty for the same crime amounting to 98 million reais (54 million dollars). Edir Macedo has many problems with justice and public opinion.

Edir Macedo was born into a poor family of immigrants parents from Northeastern Brazil, an especially poor region of the country. During his adolescence he lived in the neighborhood of São Cristóvão, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro. His religiosity was not much different from typical Brazilians or other Latin Americans; that is, he was traditionally Catholic, but attended churches and practiced the most magical religion of Indian and African origins, attending the Umbanda[39]. At eighteen he converted to Pentecostalism and joined the "New Life" Church. After that he broke with the Church and began his successful career as a neo-Pentecostal leader.

During the first years of the church, Edir Macedo took total control, centralizing power in his hands. In a few years he had spearheaded the expansion of his church in Brazil and throughout the world, and over a period of thirty years his life changed radically. He had enjoyed a rapid rise in social status, leaving his job in a lottery office to centralize control of a worldwide religious organization possessing a media empire, political influence, and an mega economic power.

3.3.3 The expansion of the UCKG

The expansion of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God has always been impressive. Eight years after its foundation it had 356 temples in 14 states of Brazil; in 1989, twelve years after its foundation, it had grown to 571 temples in the Brazilian territory; in 1995 this number had become 3000; today scholars believe that there are 5000 temples and 15,000 pastors. According to sociologist Ricardo Mariano (2003) during the 1980's the UCKG grew 2,600 percent in Brazil.

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[39] The Umbanda is a typical Brazilian religion, it is a mix of African religious tradition, spiritism of European origin and Indian religion.

The UCKG has embarked upon a crusade of worldwide expansion and is now present in almost two hundred countries, amassing success stories in countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, the Ivory Coast, Argentina, and Venezuela, as well as some failures in the U.S.A. and Mexico (ORO, CORTEN & DOZÓN: 14, 2003).

In 1985, eight years after its foundation, the UCKG opened its first temple outside of Brazil in Paraguay. However, the year of 1986 is considered as the inauguration of its worldwide expansion when the UCKG opened its first temple in the United States of America. This process started in the mid-1980s and began in earnest from 1990, when the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God intensified its expansion around the world. In the early nineties the UCKG spread in Latin America, Africa, and Portugal.

In South America, in 2001 the UCKG had 70 temples in Argentina and 14 temples in Uruguay; in Venezuela, where the UCKG only arrived in 1995, there were 60 temples in 2001. In 2003, the UCKG had 52 temples in Colombia and 15 in Chile. However, the expansion in Central America was much more reserved, without repeating the spectacular growth achieved in South America (ORO, CORTEN & DOZÓN: 49-52, 2003).

The UCKG's expansion in Africa was characterized by the same speed that marked its general spread. It is speculated that today there are more temples of the UCKG in Africa than in Latin America (except Brazil). The ports of arrival in Africa were the Portuguese speaking countries, particularly Angola (1991) and Mozambique (1992). Thereafter the UCKG conquered space in a great portion of the continent.

South Africa is an exemplary case of the UCKG's success on the African Continent. The first temple was founded in 1992, and a year later there were already 17 temples in this country, 115 temples six years later, and in 2001 there were 181 temples. In the Ivory Coast, another successful case, in 2001 the UCKG had 40 temples. It is important to note that this expansion follows the Neo-Pentecostal vocation, which involves a typically urban religiosity. Despite

the fact that Africa is a continent where only 40 percent of the population lives in urban areas, the scope of the UCKG is almost exclusively in urban areas (DOZON, 2003) (DROZ, 2003) (CRUZ e SILVA, 2003) (CORTEN, 2003).

Besides this rapid expansion, the UCKG also excels in two areas characteristic of Neo-Pentecostal churches, namely, the media and politics. In Brazil the UCKG owns the second largest Brazilian television network, the "Rede Record".

The "Rede Record" also has other sub-channels such as the International Record, which has affairs on all continents, and also the Record News, a cable news network, as well as another smaller channel, the "Rede Mulher". The UCKG also has an extensive network of radio stations with 62 radio stations across the Brazil (06-03-2002, Carta Capital, Brazilian Magazine). In the area of printed media, the UCKG owns the newspaper "Folha Universal", which is distributed in churches and has smaller newspapers owned by municipalities around the country. Besides all of this, it owns three magazines: "Esther", "Mao Amiga", and "Plenitude" (FONSECA, 2003).

Outside Brazil, the biggest highlight of the UCKG's active role in the media is in Mozambique, where it owns the TV network Miramar, broadcasting to 80 percent of the country. Wherever the UCKG cannot buy TV and radio stations, it rents schedules at other stations. In the print media the UCKG also has smaller newspapers in other parts of the world, such as "Tribuna Universal" in Portugal, "Universal News" in the U.S.A., "Faith in Action!" and "City News" in England, "Stop Suffering" in South Africa, "Tribune Universelle" in France, and so on.

The use systematic political action is another widely-known feature of evangelical organizations. Sociologist Paul Freston examines this phenomenon in detail in his seminal book *"Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America"* (2001). The case of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is not different from other big Pentecostal organization, and in Brazil it holds influence over a large number of congressional members and one senator.

In the Brazilian elections in 2002 the UCKG elected 16 congressmen and one senator who is nephew of the Bishop Edir Macedo, the supreme leader of this church, and elected 19 parliamentarians in ten states of the Nation.

3.3.4 The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: an analysis of its success

What we will present below are some explanations that allow us to understand the astonishing religious success of Neo-Pentecostalism via the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in its performance on the marketing of religious goods. Thus, we seek to expand our understanding of Neo-Pentecostal expansion. In this regard, we will focus our attention on the organizational innovations operated within the UCKG that we believe to be an explanation, at least in part, of its effectiveness in the "market of faith" in competing against other religious organizations.

About these transformations we will direct our attention to two aspects that we believe to be essential in this process: firstly the adaptation of the UCKG to the logic of the cultural industry of late capitalism like no other religious organization had done before it, and secondly, a model of innovative administration in offering magical-religious goods. It is important to emphasize that while the UCKG does not hold a monopoly over these practices, the pioneering nature of its use of them helped give the UCKG a considerable advantage in the dispute for adherents within the religious market.

And yet, as a result of this conceptual study, we ultimately propose the use of the term "company of magical service" to grasp the cultural and political significance of the performance of the main neo-Pentecostal denomination that arose in the context of religious changes of peripheral societies such as the Brazilian one, namely the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God.

While the two aspects highlighted in the preceding paragraphs (administrative restructuring in the distribution of religious goods and adaptation to the logic of the cultural industry) are inseparable from a practical point of view, and are closely correlated, I will present them separately only for didatic purposes.

From this perspective I will work to present arguments support my hypothesis that the success of the UCKG is not only due to an effective response to strictly religious matters, but more importantly, because it knew how to fulfill or promise to fulfill the needs of "this world" concerning the acquisition of dignity by obtaining consumptive power in the capitalist marketplace (or the illusion of participation). This success was also related to the UCKG's ability to offer promises of immanent salvation through a religious language which is dominant among the poorest sectors of the population; this is also a religious language on the rise in the west, *i.e.*, the magic or magical cognition.

And as a central concern of this work I will try to demonstrate how this occurred because of ingenious transformations in the administration and in the offering of magical religious goods to the masses in the molds of a company well-attuned to the dynamic cultural industry. The UCKG knew how to offer the right answers and use the most effective means to offer this answer to the social stratum that support the masses of the faithful, namely the periphery of large and medium-sized cities. The effects of these changes resulted in a unique religious structure in the history of religion, a structure which is beyond the traditional conceptual dichotomy between church and sect, and also the traditional roles assigned to priests, magicians, sorcerers, and prophets[40].

3.4 An attractive religious language: magic, prosperity theology, and moral flexibility

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[40] These changes will be debated in other moments of this chapter.

In light of this framework, we can infer that the success of the religious style of the UCKG occurred due to its improved ability to adapt to changes both in Brazilian society specifically and to peripheral societies in general, such as those that underwent heavy modernization during the twentieth century. It was able to develop a type of religious discourse which sounded like a spontaneous voice to significant portions of the new peripheral urban populace - once more the urban periphery - and did not clash with the anxieties generated by the values of contemporary society or with the religious language of its new believers.

In terms of religious conversion, new followers were not forced to withdraw from contact with the deities that were important to them (in this aspect of neo-Pentecostalism it is shown as the reverse mirror of popular magical religions), the devil and his demons (the entities of African or indigenous religious according to neo-Pentecostal interpretation) continue to be part of the lives of such believers. In Neo-Pentecostalism, the world remains delighted by supernatural entities.

Moreover, followers of Neo-Pentecostalism do not need to completely reject worldly pleasures, as occurred in the beginning of Pentecostalism. They are now encouraged to use the "divine grace" to consume the wonders of modern society (buying clothes, cars and whatever else is in fashion). Many times during the history of religion resentment of excluded social strata in relation to the dominant strata was a powerful motivation for religious rejection of the world, but this does not apply in neo-Pentecostalism. In this religiosity believers want to participate in the "Beatitudes" of the dominant classes, which does not foster the emergence of a value system in opposition to established values, but rather an adaptation of those values that make up the greater society.

Although the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God does require of its faithful some behavioral changes, such as abstinence from alcohol, the

conservative use of non-revealing clothes, and so on, these rules of behavior do not approach the strong rejection of the world that existed in the churches during the first expansion of Pentecostalism, or asceticism that existed in other Protestant movements (MARIANO, 1999).

In terms of these behavioral changes, it is noteworthy that such requirements are not in any way understood as moral prerogatives which must be obeyed in order to obtain the Lord's grace, and are not in this sense considered forms of sacrifice (sacro-officio). If these "requirements" are not fulfilled, this failure is interpreted as a manifestation of external influences which stem from the evil forces of hell, and disobedient believers are thus seen as victims. In the practical theology of Neo-Pentecostalism what ensures the achievement of blessings by the faithful is that very faith, and such faith can be demonstrated through regular participation in religious services and payment of tithes. Evil forces in turn can be removed through the participation in the church services dedicated to *descarrego* (spiritual immunization, literally "unloading") and by obtaining magical amulets widely offered by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God.

This last feature of the UCKG is also a general tendency of our times in that religious conversion (in most cases) is no longer a personal and collective (familial) drama (PRANDI, 1999). It is now possible to change churches in a manner that parallels switching brands of new products in the marketplace, as if a person who always bought Volkswagen cars now becomes a General Motors customer.

Indeed, the field of struggle or tension established by the UCKG's style of action does not occur in a sphere in which worldviews or projects of long-term salvation clash against other conceptions of life. However, the argument used to call the "conversion" or better, the main weapon of the warlike arsenal of its proselytism, is the supposed efficiency in solving the immediate problems and everyday issues in this world, not just psychological, expensive field to almost all religions, but also problems of material and emotional matters.

The daily demands related to modern life, such as the need to secure employment and form meaningful emotional ties, are the blatant focus of church service proselytizing, with church teachings offering the promise of solutions to such problems in a way that claims greater efficiency in this regard[41]. This process is not unlike that in which a modern company receives money in exchange for services rendered. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is also presented also as a competitor to other non-religious institutions in solving the problems of this world, without questioning the nature of these problems at any time.

Indeed, the UCKG has prepared a discourse which requires very little of the faithful, in general only their presence and payment of tithes and other offerings. In practice it promises almost everything that the believer needs and dreams without extensive demands, which makes its discourse very attractive to those who have little to lose in this world. Thus, it has assumed the role of a large modern company which sells its products full of promises and dreams and just demands money in return.

3.5 The religious specialists of Neo-Pentecostalism: some notes

Regarding the conceptual adaptations of classic Weberian sociology of religion and the reality of the phenomenon on which we focus in this chapter, one aspect of the religious structure of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God deserves our attention, namely the role played by religious specialists in the dynamics of supplying religious goods in relation to the faithful.

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[41]   It is not uncommon to hear a pastor of the UCKG saying that certain problems, because they are large, can only be resolved by the UCKG. He recognizes that other evangelical churches can help the faithful, but if the question is paying off a very large debt, or buying a car or a house, only the UCKG has the *strength* to do so.

It was never an easy task in the sociology of religion to elaborate a classification that clearly distinguishes the roles of the prophet, the priest, and the magician-wizard which would help investigations of this size. Often in empirical analyses those elements that characterize these roles are interconnected, thus complicating efforts to classify them from a conceptual point of view.

However, in very general traits — and following the methodology of ideal types — we can say that a magician is characterized by individual action supported by his personal charisma and through magical recipes and prescriptions, usually aimed at solving everyday and personal problems of the individuals who use his or her service. For example, in his book "Das religiöse Feld" (2000), Bourdieu defines the magician as a free, autonomous, and itinerant businessman.

From this point of view the priest is the religious specialist who has linked his activities to a body of priests, not just his personal charisma; his action is governed by tradition, by the charisma institutionalized in the position he holds, not derived from the unique attributes of his person. He is thus a "guardian" of established tradition.

The prophet, like the magician, possesses power centered on his personal charisma, but his action aims to announce a promise that is supported in general by ethical assumptions, in which requirements of a certain behavioral rigor differ from the simple performance of ritual purity that magicians usually prescribe.

In the interpretation of Weber, it is the prophet who, by announcing salvation in "another world", opens the possibility of a dual interpretation of the world, whose development and sophistication depend on a literate priestly class of specialists who arise at a historic moment that later reinterpret and transform the initial promise to a tradition. This kind of prophet is what Weber calls the ethical prophet, one that upon announcing his message — this is the source of his personal charisma — establishes a growing process of tension between

religious values and the values established in the world. The other kind of prophet is the exemplary prophet, whose charisma is directly linked to his conduct of life.

These classical definitions, which could be applied with relative success in many religious designs and historical periods, are not able to help us when we face the question of Neo-Pentecostal religions. One of the main characteristics of the priestly classes would be a period in which a distance from the world occurs. During such a period, candidates for priesthood receive a rigorous intellectual training in which they become experts in the sacred scriptures. In this process they receive the charisma of tradition which will personify them. This period of incarceration is also important for immersion in the world of sacred ideas, in which abstract values became more important and more highly valued than the immediate needs of everyday life.

This whole process is also essential for the formation of a dual transcendental conception of the world, characteristic of this model of priesthood, which in turn becomes an important pillar of support of an inevitable tension with the world. Only then after moral learning is it that the religious specialist may administer the distribution of divine grace, which in this case are goods that lead to salvation. When we transport this ideal typical model to the reality of the phenomenon discussed here, once more we find an opposite scenario.

The team of pastors of the neo-Pentecostal churches — their "religious experts" — almost never receives training in intellectual matters, characterized by a period of detachment from the world. In this respect there is a concerted effort by their superiors to prevent such an experience from happening. Care is taken so that the religious specialist (pastor) does not distance his interests from the interests of the average believer.

In the case of neo-Pentecostalism, it seems that if the religious specialist is closer to the masses, he tends to be more effective in his role. With the pastor viscerally connected to the wishes of the masses he plays a role similar

to that of the icons of the mass media, turning the religious service into a show that should also entertain the masses.

The most striking example regarding this training of religious specialists in neo-Pentecostalism was narrated by Ricardo Mariano (1999) in a book about neo-Pentecostals. He reports that Bishop Edir Macedo (UCKG) opened a theological school to train his pastors, but soon realized that those who went there developed certain interests of a religious nature that somehow distanced them from the faithful, making the pastors who did not attend school much more effective in the task of herding the faithful. When Edir Macedo realized this he immediately closed the theological school.

The religious specialist of Neo-Pentecostalism neither strongly represents a master of religious ceremonies, who would have a high degree of concern for maintaining traditional rituals, nor resembles the traditional model of an intellectual interpreter of the prophetic message and the holy scriptures, who would have as a main objective the moral purity of these messages.

The absence of strong traditional features, demonstrating once again the strong modern aspects of the UCKG, leaves no room for a traditional rite of rigid structure. So fluid and flexible are the structures of the religious services that there is not even a designated time for the service to end. And the practical and intra-mundane theology of the UCKG leads to greater emphasis on biblical interpretation and the receiving of blessings from the Lord, while downplaying the moral demands stressed by other Christian religions. These aspects have greatly influenced the role of the religious specialist.

In Neo-Pentecostalism, a religious specialist is much more like a game show host who must entertain the masses than a traditional priest. The case of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is also emblematic in this regard.

In the UCKG the conception of a qualified pastor has never been guided by the notion of religious virtue, just as the success of this denomination is also not measured by theological achievement, but by membership numbers of believers. Rather than a theological formation that measures the performance of

the priest based in terms of pastoral persuasion and/or doctrinal influence, the UCKG always enlisted "entrepreneurs with low or no theological training, but that should show great ability to attract audiences and generate dividends for the church, according to the know-how corporately administered by the Bishops" (PRANDI, 1996: 258).

This point is crucial to our argument, for the profile of the pastors of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is based on the assertion that those qualities that are most effective in the fight for believers are the same ones that operate in the religious socialization that takes place between the church and the faithful. This often consists of an inoculation of the normative and ethical content of Christianity. As the "priestly career finds himself compelled to incorporate new abilities, like those until recently most suitable to businessmen and more markedly artists, gymnasts and TV stars, among other qualities" (PRANDI, 1999: 3), it was also forced to abandon one typical feature of this function: the refusal to abide and evaluate the conduct by criteria that are not the values that define a religiously qualified way of life.

On the other hand, the religious specialist in Neo-Pentecostalism is neither an autonomous religious entrepreneur who offers his magical services to his customers for free, nor offers consultations in small independent organizations, according to the typical forms of magical religiosity. Unlike magicians who perform magical services in exchange for rewards guided in non-religious goods, the traditional model of a priest is characterized precisely by the downplaying of such rewards in the name of one thing, in fact, which can reward someone who motivated by religious interests, such as a pure and simple glory of his faith and success in obeying the religious norms it represents.

However, in the UCKG there is neither a place for the priest nor the wizard who has magical personal charisma. It is, instead, a magical charisma of possession of the church itself, which determines from beginning to end the composition of the cast and the success of its religious specialists (pastors). Its offering of magical service is strongly controlled institutionally, functioning as a

centrally distributed magical service, and this is one of the main innovations of the UCKG.

This new role of the religious specialist in Neo-Pentecostalism described above is a central key for the understanding of the new religious function which was created by Neo-Pentecostalism, *i.e.*, a company of magical services.

3.6 Restructuring the administration and distribution of religious goods

Neo-Pentecostalism, a movement in many ways captained by the UCKG, especially in the manner in which it applies to the theology of prosperity, has a dynamic of expansion that cannot be adequately captured with the concepts of sect and church that Max Weber took in studies by Ernst Troeltsch. Even if the UCKG presents itself as a "church," one must be careful to consider the uniqueness of this organization in terms of its sense of social action which it has helped to establish within the culture. Without a critique of notions that appear in the description that agents make of themselves, understanding the meanings and motivations that guide and shape social action is severely limited and may not exceed the provinces of common sense.

All forms of fellowship, church communities such as the CEBs, and conservative groups like Opus Dei and TFP (Tradition, Family, Property)[42], operating within the very hierocratic structure of Catholicism, illustrate that the format of the sect is a necessary condition of any movement that can be seen as innovative in terms of religious interests. Sacramental grace, for example, remains the cornerstone of the relationship between the Catholic priesthood bearer of religious virtue and institutional charisma and Catholics (practicing or

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[42]   This group was the most important conservative group during the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985). They were the religious and ideological face of Brazil 's rural oligarchy.

not), whose path to salvation is paved by the accumulation of good acts and the atonement of all sins through the sacraments.

Why, then, are the concepts of sect and church inadequate to describe the central elements of Neo-Pentecostalism in the characterization of how they are and were institutionalized in a denomination such as the UCKG? What was missing in these concepts and present (in an opaque manner) in the phenomenon which we want to understand that justifies the use of terms such as "culture industry" and "company of magical services"?

First it is necessary to make very clear the notion that the analytical performance expected of these terms has to do with the fact that they are strange from the perspectives of the sociology of religion. In other words, it is in the same condition of the coined notions to capture the dynamics of external phenomena to what we conceive - in the crack opened by Weber - as the rationalization of values established by the religions that the concepts of "culture industry" and "company of magical services" are able to show the specificity of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God and complex meanings and motivations that it provides to its followers.

In seeking to highlight important differences, especially in the form of managing and requiring religious virtue, sect and church are concepts that, in one form or another, and in all cases in which they are employed talk about religious interests that produce tension between the world and reality. If the strength of those interests is corroded by replacing a religiously motivated virtuous life with an update of divine grace through the sacraments, as occurs in the relationship that the church imposes on its believers, the priestly action is, even in this case, confined to a complex motivation formed by religious interests, in the sense of what Weber called the ethic of conviction.

It is, moreover, based on those religious interests and the tradition that the priests linked to a church that the hierocracy can be broken and a sect founded. So it went with Luther and, in our view, still occurs in divisions within the Catholic Church and other bodies of priests.

Religious movements of this nature allow us to understand, especially in their more essential and explanatory aspects, the concepts such as sect and church. In these cases, Weber is very current. What is left unclear by these concepts — and that is present in an opaque manner in the Neo-Pentecostalism — is precisely the replacement of religious interests, both among the priests and the faithful, by a logic that in none of its aspects is in tension with the world.

Thus, the most we can achieve with the notions of sect and church is a description of the absence of those features that are typical of an ethical religiosity, *i.e.,* a source of tension and criticism of institutionalized reality. In short, with such notions we are brought to the point where there is substitution between the interests and the rationalization of values that are typical of religion by some other set of motivations whose apprehension requires the formulation of concepts, so to speak, positive, *i.e.,* intended to sociologically establish themes that are present in place of those religiously systematized interests and values.

Thus, aware of this requirement, I propose to employ the concept of "culture industry", also suggesting the formulation of the idea of "company of magical services", to shed light on the peculiar way that the spell is institutionalized in a capitalist society in such a way that it can always eliminate, via industrialized culture, the sources of tension and criticism of the "principle of reality".

3.6.1 A company of magical services

We do not have historical descriptions of a religious institution that supported itself through the organized offering of religious goods of a magical nature, such as the UCKG and other Neo-Pentecostal churches have done. Although in popular Catholicism the faithful routinely appeal to the saints in

seeking the solutions to everyday problems, and also use "amulets" such as rosaries for protection, the Mass as a ritual remains the lynchpin of this religion, and the religious institution is not distributing these goods to the masses. Even though the Catholic Church has also "sold" religious goods in other historical moments, these religious goods were related to the need for salvation in "another world", as with the sale of indulgences, which sought the forgiveness of sins. Traditionally, religious institutions were involved in distributing goods of a soteriological nature. These institutions were the only means for achieving the salvation of the soul, and everyday problems normally stayed in the hands of sorcerers and itinerant magicians.

In light of these features, institutions of this kind of religiosity, which are best represented by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, can be classified as companies of magical services. The business sense is justified not only because many of these religious institutions venture successfully into the corporate sector, which have radio and television, publishers, record companies etc. In fact, ownership of these companies would be incorporated to modern form of the culture industry to make its proselytism.

The term "company" is most strongly justified by the fact that these religious institutions have innovated at applying business logic to manage religious goods of a magical nature. This applies in two ways. The first, an aspect already noted, refers to a centralized, almost corporate manner in which magical services are offered, something new in religious competition. And second, it operates from the rate of offers of new "religious products" related to the supply and demand of consumer goods. In the UCKG there is always a steady production of new magical-religious "therapies" and "products", such as new magical amulets to protect against evil entities, in a manner that parallels the marketing of consumer goods in the larger capitalist society.

Thus it was the introduction of this market logic into religion that provided much of the successes that these churches, or companies of magical services, have reached in the religious marketplace. The administrative innovation has helped these churches move forward with significant success in fields where

there was a strong tradition of magical religiosity. This modern and efficient way of attracting followers adapted to magical-religious worldviews, who mostly come from the lower classes, explains the success of these religions as compared with the afro-Brazilian religions in the peripheries of Brazil and those with a strong Indian influence in other Latin American cities and also in Africa.

Indeed, they seek to create great monopolies of magic. What happens to the religious scene, especially in the poorest sectors of the population, is a phenomenon similar to what happened in periods of expansion of the capitalist system. At that time, the emergence of large companies ruined with the activity of small traders. In the same way, and focusing on the metaphorical value of this example, we can say that the actions of the UCKG and other Neo-Pentecostal institutions that follow their style, have also marginalized the activities of small and medium religious specialists who offer magical-religious goods.

The model adopted by the UCKG of a modern business management style in the marketing of magical religious goods, combined with an aggressive proselytism in the media, is rapidly occupying the space that was formerly occupied by small *terreiros* of African-Brazilian religions in Brazil, wizards, shamans, *mães de santo*, and other operators of magic. Finally, the UCKG has specialized its product for a specific niche of the religious market, *i.e.*, a magical worldview meant for the social strata of urban peripheries.

3.7 Conclusive Notes on Neo-Pentecostalism

The first conclusive note about Neo-Pentecostalism we can say is that this religious movement has as a key to its success a fabulous ability to adapt itself to the most recent changes of our world, including changes related to society, technology, theology, and values. Neo-Pentecostalism was always one

or two or three steps ahead in relation to other traditional religions of the West in terms of this capacity to adapt to changes.

In terms of social changes, it is noteworthy that Neo-Pentecostalism is the religious expression of the changes in social structure, that is, the rise of a new kind of social class or fracturing of the class composed of by the new urban poor. Neo-Pentecostalism may also be the kind of religion that best and most intensively makes use of the new technological media resources. While in the beginning radio was used, today the use of radio is combined with TV. In the theological field Neo-Pentecostals were quick to adapt to the changes of their time. Just as Pentecostalism knew how to absorb the novelty of "divine healing" and so on, Neo-Pentecostalism was adept in incorporating the novelty of the "return" of magic. And finally, Neo-Pentecostalism understood the main values of its time and knew how to adapt to that scenario. Thus, it elaborated a radical intra-mundane religiosity in tune with the needs of consumption and hedonism, rejecting ascetical practice in life.

These are the recipes of success of Neo-Pentecostalism.

Chapter 4

Pentecostalism: a Brazilian experience

4.1 Religion in Brazil: an introduction

Before embarking upon an analysis of Pentecostalism in Brazil it is necessary to present a brief general panorama on religion there. In light of the profound changes which occurred in Brazil examined in the previous chapters, especially the expansion of Pentecostalism, we will now focus our attention on the role which Pentecostalism plays in the Brazilian religious and social scenes.

The most basic feature of the religious reality in Brazil is that it is an overwhelmingly Catholic country. Although this scene is changing and Brazil is no longer officially Catholic, it is still culturally Catholic. The heritage of Catholicism can be seen in each religious and cultural manifestation, even that as an opposite referential.

Because of its process of colonization as a colony of a Catholic State (Portugal), Brazil was also an Official Catholic Country. Only from the proclamation of the Republic and its new Constitution in 1891 did Brazil officially became a secular country). However, this legal change notwithstanding, the Catholic Church has always had many privileges in relation to the secular Brazilian State.

For a long time being Brazilian was a synonym with being Catholic, and during the colonial and imperial periods only Catholic people could be Brazilians. This process has forged a traditionally Catholic country, one in which other religions have grown in the shadow of domination. As we will see below only Pentecostalism, and especially Neo-Pentecostalism, has been able to threaten this domination, a domination that has weakened rapidly in recent decades.

According to the IBGE[43], in 1940 Catholics made up 95% of the Brazilian population. In 1980 this number had fallen to 89 %, but this fall has been accelerating. In 1990 Catholics were 83% and in 2000 they were 73% of the Brazilian population. According to the *Datafolha* Institute, in 2010 the Catholics were 61% of Brazil's population. On other hand, the Pentecostals have grown rapidly.

As an introduction of this chapter I will present the most important religious groups in Brazil: Catholics, historical Protestants, Pentecostals, Spiritualists and adherents of Afro-Brazilian religions. Next I will present some evidence which can corroborate in numbers the general characteristics of Pentecostalism and specifically the pillars of my hypothesis herein, i.e., that Pentecostalism comprises a religion predominantly of the dominated segments of modern capitalist society. As features we can highlight Pentecostalism as religion of the peripheral urban strata, dominated classes (the poor and sub-integrated members of society), dominated gender (women), and dominated ethnic groups in Brazil (blacks, indigenous, and mixed raced peoples).

4.1.1 Brazilian Catholicism

Brazilian Catholicism is an ample religious movement which crosses all social classes, geographic regions, and generations which comprises many sub religious groups. Due to these characteristics it is not easy to relate Catholicism to a specific class or social segment. A general feature of Catholicism in Brazil is its heightened presence in rural areas, especially the rural regions of Northern and Northeastern Brazil (ALMEIDA, 2001). The region with the lowest percentage of Catholics is the Southeast, which is the most urban and industrialized region of Brazil. Because of this, Ricardo Mariano says (19:

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[43] The IBGE is the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

2001): *The more rural the region is, the Catholic Church has better performance. The more urban the region is, its performance is worse*[44].

Within Brazilian Catholicism we can highlight some forms of Catholicism: **Popular Catholicism, Conservative Catholicism ("traditionalist"), Progressive Catholicism (Liberation Theology),** and **Charismatic Catholicism;** moreover, to these groups we can add a particularly Brazilian category, *i.e.*, **"non-active Catholics"**.

The **"non-active Catholics"** is a group of people who declare themselves as Catholic but do not actively participate in catholic activities. They were born into a Catholic family but do not have regular contact with this religion's ceremonies. We can say that they are a product of catholic domination; while they are culturally catholic, they are not religiously so. According to a IBGE Census (2000), this group represents 40% of Brazilian Catholics.

Popular Catholicism is intrinsically linked with the colonization process. This form of Catholicism arrived in Brazil with poor Portuguese immigrants but quickly became a form of religion for African slaves and native Indians. From this encounter some elements of African and Indian religiosity were incorporated into popular Catholicism. This form of Catholicism was dominant during colonial times and in rural areas of Brazil. While expressions of this religiosity can be seen in the interior of Brazil, its influence in the urban world in not strong. The main characteristic of this religiosity is that it is a form of magical Catholicism in which the catholic saints play a preponderant role, acting as personal and familial divinities[45].

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[44] *. . .quanto mais rural é a região, melhor a performance da Igreja Católica. Quanto mais urbana, pior seu desempenho.* (MARIANO, 16: 2001).
[45] For more details, see:
QUEIROZ, José J. (org). *A religiosidade do Povo.* Edições Paulinas. São Paulo, 1984.

Conservative Catholicism in Brazil peaked during the period of military dictatorship in Brazil, specifically in the 1960's and 1970's. This movement was never numerically an expressive group, but had influence in the internal politics in the Catholic Church and secular politics. The most famous organization of these forms of Catholicism was the TFP (Tradition, Family and Property). Even today this movement continues to defend traditional catholic values against the changes of modernity. During the time of the Cold War its main enemy was the advance of Socialism, and this movement has always provided staunch opposition to Agrarian Reform in Brazil. The social base of this movement is formed by the medium-sized and large landowners. "Opus Dei" also has some followers in Brazil, and this phenomenon can be understood as a renewed version of an older version of conservative Catholicism[46].

On the opposite side is the **Progressive Catholicism** which is organized around the theological Latin America movement, namely Liberation Theology. This religious movement is a product of a theological line which incorporated the ideology of the political left into religious life. It thus developed a religious stance based on the political and spiritual opposition to all forms of oppression and social injustice. Its forms of organization are the "CEB's" (Base Ecclesial communities) and thematic organizations, namely the Pastorals. Such movements were strong in the 1970's and '80's but began losing power beginning in the '90's.

Charismatic Catholicism today represents the strongest tendency in Brazilian Catholicism and, as such, seems posed to prevent further losses of

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ESPIN, Orlando O. *A Fé do Povo: reflexões teológicas sobre o catolicismo popular.* Edições Paulinas. São Paulo, 2002.

[46] For more details see:
 ARENARI, Brand & NEVES, Fabrício. *TFP - Die rechte Militanz.* INFOTERRA, Zürich, v. 18, p. 05 - 06, 01 abr. 2002.

the catholic faithful in Brazil. This phenomenon can be seen as the Catholic answer to Pentecostal expansion (ALMEIDA, 2001) or as revival Catholicism. Thus, this response has embodied the incorporation of many aspects of Pentecostal religiosity such as pop star priests, body expression during religious ceremonies, the systematized collection of tithes and donations, ample use of the media (TV and radios channels), strong proselytism, and so on. The religious elements which mark the difference between them come from the control of high Catholic Church hierarchy over this movement. The result of this control is the structure of Mass and a severe vigilance over mystical and magical tendencies, which prevents magical radicalizations. The Catholic devotion to Mary is also a point which marks a major difference between them[47].

4.1.2 Spiritism

Spiritism or Kardecism is a religion that was founded in the nineteenth century by Frenchman Allan Kardec and envisioned as a mixture of science, religion, and philosophy, in tune with the religious scientism that flourished at that time. Its doctrine is based on rationalist interpretations about communications with spirits, interference of spirits in material world, and reincarnation (STOLL, 2003). The number of adepts of this religion in Brazil is not so strong, fluctuating around 2% to 3% of the Brazilian population (IBGE and DataFolha), but its influence is outstanding in Brazilian cultural life. Books, films, and TV series with spiritist themes are almost always leaders in sales and viewer ratings.

However, the main characteristic of Spiritism in Brazil which helps us in this analysis is its social class position. We can say that this religion is a typical religion of middle class Brazilians with very low membership in the lower

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[47] For more details see: OLIVEIRA, P. *A renovação Carismática Católica: uma análise sociológica, interpretações teológicas.* Petrópolis, Ed. Vozes, 1978.

classes. Thus, this religion bears an important point of comparison with other religions, especially Pentecostalism (BOHN, 2004).

In relation to members of other religious groups, Spiritism members on average possess more advanced educational degrees, higher incomes, and so on. According to data from the IBGE the spiritists average twice as many years of study as Pentecostals and triple the income of Pentecostals.

4.1.3 Afro-Brazilian Religions

The Afro-Brazilian Religions are the religions which come from African traditions in Brazil. These traditions were brought to Brazil by African slaves and became incorporated into the popular culture of the country.

There are two main traditions among the Afro-Brazilian religions: Candomblé and Umbanda. Candomblé is more closely associated with strictly African origins while Umbanda is a mixture of Amerindian, African, and Kardecian traditions. Both were always popular religions with strong magical features.

In the past these groups were largely studied by specialists of Religion, much of whom thought that they would be (specially, Umbanda) the genuine Brazilian Religion because of its syncretism which was in tune with Brazilian society (PIERUCCI, 2004), but it did not occur. These Afro-Brazilian religions have undergone sharp losses in membership, losing half of their followers between 1980 and 2000 (PIERUCCI, 2004).

The major change in the Brazilian religious scene that affected the Afro-Brazilian religions was the radical expansion of Pentecostals. The strong proselytism of Pentecostalism has attacked the Afro-Brazilian religions, accusing these religions of devil worship and the casting of curses, in a manner that could almost be characterized as a spiritual war. In addition, Pentecostals

(most notably, Neo-Pentecostals) have introduced a new logic of supply of magical religious goods and have thus come to dominate the new Brazilian popular religion scene.

4.1.4 The Evangelical Protestants

In Brazil the religions and religious groups which had their origin in the Protestant Reformation are called Protestants or "Evangelicals." They form the second largest religious group in Brazil; according to *Datafolha Institute* (2010), 25% of the Brazilian population. The Protestants are divided into two big groups: the historical or traditional Protestants and Pentecostals.

The historical Protestant group is comprised of the Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church. Adventists, Methodists, and the so-called Immigration Protestants, which are composed of the Lutheran Church, came from German immigration.

Although the Protestants are the second largest Brazilian religious group with 25% of the Brazilian population, the historical Protestants were never very expressive on the Brazilian religious and cultural scene. As attested by Sociologist of Religion Pierucci (2004), traditional Protestantism is stagnant and some specific cases have been in decline. The vitality of Protestant growth comes from Pentecostal expansion.

4.2 The arrival and development of Pentecostalism

The stages of Pentecostalism

As it is used by many scholars, I will also adopt the classification which divides the historical development of Pentecostalism into waves of expansion. These waves are commonly called Classical Pentecostalism (the first wave), Charismatic Pentecostalism (the second wave), and the Neo-Pentecostalism (the third wave).

I believe that this classification offers the best way to understand, at least initially, the most important changes and characteristics of the Pentecostal movement in Brazil. Just as Pentecostalism is a reformation in religious Reformation, i.e., a rupture with some features of the Reformation and its movements, there are some important "reformations" in the history of Pentecostalism.

Although the scholars of Pentecostalism commonly use the schema of "waves of expansion" to describe the evolution of Pentecostalism (MARTIN, 1990) (FRESTON,) (MARIANO, 1999) (BURGUESS; MACGEE, 1995), there are some variations on this nomenclature (GIUMBELLI, 2000). I will not enter into a debate as to the most appropriate nomenclatures, because I don't consider this among the most important aspects of the analysis which is to be made here. I will only present in general terms how I re-construct this form to explain the development of Pentecostalism.

I understand these "waves of expansion" from the creative core of new religious ideas, not only relating to religious message, but also relating to the form by which the religious message is managed and offered to the masses, and also to how the new forms of administration of "religious goods" reflect a numerical expansion of Pentecostalism. In short, these have to do with where the new ideas which took place in the hearts and minds of men arose.

In this regard, i.e., in reference to the "waves of expansion" of Pentecostalism, I will base my explanation specifically on the ideas from two sociologists of religion, Ricardo Mariano (1999) and Paul Freston.

I would also like to note that the process embodied in the three waves of expansion was a common one in all continents except Asia. Many scholars agree that the case of Pentecostalism in Asia is different form of expansion of Pentecostalism (ANDERSON, 2004). Because of this, I will not argue that the theories developed here can explain the case of Pentecostalism in Asia, although some ideas may in some ways be of use for other cases outside of Brazil and Latin America.

The first wave of expansion, called classical Pentecostalism, happened in the rise of this religiosity. Almost at the same time at which this religiosity arose in the United States, Pentecostalism began its expansion around the world. In the first decade of the last century, Pentecostalism had already arrived in many regions of the United States and around the world (CAMPOS, 2005) (ANDERSON, 2004).

The first Pentecostal missionaries arrived in Brazil in 1910 and 1911. They founded the "Congregação Cristã" (Christian Congregation) and "Assembléia de Deus" (Assembly of God) in Brazil. Nevertheless, what is more important for us here is not the dynamic of expansion, but the characteristics of this first wave.

In terms of these characteristics, some are obviously shared by all the waves of expansion of Pentecostalism; still, we can highlight those that have marked each wave in Brazil, and serve as distinguishing features. In the case of classical Pentecostalism, we can say that its most striking singular features were the emphasis on speaking in tongues, strong asceticism (the moral rigor and the rejection of the customs of the upper classes), expectations of an imminent return of Christ, and the belief in divine healing (MARIANO, 1999).

Among these aspects, I would say that the one of upmost sociological interest is that of acute asceticism. This is the main element that distinguishes this first wave of expansion from the others. Neo-Pentecostalism, in particular, is marked by its liberalism in relation to customs and its worldly interests. In classical Pentecostalism, however, there was a certain rejection of the world which disappeared with the development of Pentecostalism, as we will see later in this chapter. In many of the movements comprising this wave there was an expectation of salvation outside the world which would occur, they believed, upon the return of Jesus Christ (MARIANO, 1999).

It is also noteworthy that the strong asceticism did not allow its magical tendencies to become radicalized. In classical Pentecostalism related characteristics ideal type of ethical religiosity were stronger than in other waves of expansion, especially when compared with Neo-Pentecostalism, where magic part is dominant.

Another characteristic of this wave was the high degree of prejudice which they suffered at the hands of both Catholics and Protestants. As we have already pointed out, this behaviour was largely unrelated to religious prejudice, and instead manifested itself as a result of discrimination based on class.

With respect to classical Pentecostalism, I must say that although Pentecostalism contained the core elements of a religion of the masses, it was only after the changes that took place during its development that it truly became a genuine religious of the lower classes. Only after the "second wave" of Pentecostalism did it spread in degree and especially in numbers around the world. Early Pentecostalism was just an incipient aspect of the religious scene.

In North America, in particular, the most famous and successful denominations of classical Pentecostalism were the **Church of God in Christ** (historical Afro-American Pentecostal Church), **International Pentecostal Holiness Church, Assembly of God**, and so on. The Brazilian scene featured

as the main denominations of this wave the "**Congregação Cristã**" (Christian Congregation) and the "**Assembléia de Deus**" (Assembly of God).

The second wave, which is called **Charismatic Pentecostalism,** is marked by two important features: influences which extended beyond the boundaries of Pentecostalism, notably from historical churches of the Reformation and from the charismatic movement in the Catholic Church, and the use of the new media technologies, especially the radio, in espousing its religious views. The main theological characteristics of this movement are the acceptance that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are available for Christians today, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

The charismatic renewal movement in the Catholic Church, which became a strong movement in Catholicism, resulted from the initial contact with Pentecostalism. Other renewal movements in traditional Reformation churches also came about due to such influence. Many traditional churches changed their names, adding the term 'renewal,' signifying great Pentecostal expansion.

This change which first occurred in the United States has spread around the world, especially in Latin America. The 1950's saw the birth of many such renewal churches in Latin America. Radio was an important means of propagation and the notion of Divine Healing was the most important aspect in this expansion in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In this "second wave", Divine Healing was more important than "speaking in tongues."

The **third wave** of expansion in the United States was called **mainstream church renewal.** It was understood as the third period of the Holy Spirit in the twentieth century. However, what most interests me is not the third wave in the United States but the set of changes within Pentecostalism which occurred in Latin America. These changes shape what I call **Neo-Pentecostalism.**

As I will describe in more detail in the next chapter, Neo-Pentecostalism can be defined from its new place of diffusion, i.e., Latin America. As a result of this "wave" Latin America will play an important role in Pentecostalism, not only as an importer of religious models, but also as an exporter.

This wave is further characterized by a radicalization of inner-worldly interest. Increasingly theses churches offer solutions for the dramas of daily life. This especially occurs in the prominence of the Theology of Prosperity, which is the dominant theological feature of Neo-Pentecostalism. I will dedicate the next chapter to a discussion of this wave.

From an analysis of the chart below, drawn from the studies on the development of Pentecostalism in Brazil carried out by sociologists Ricardo Mariano and Paul Freston, the key features of this latest wave of the expansion of Pentecostalism can be noted in comparison with the other phases of expansion. It is worth noting that although the framework refers to the development of Pentecostalism in Brazil, several of these expansionary phases are in line with the development of Pentecostalism in other parts of Latin America and some other regions of the world.

Table on the three waves of expansion of Pentecostalism in Brazil

Phases of Pentecostalism	Year begun	Main denominations	Main characteristics	Dominant social class
Classical Pentecostalism	1910	Assembly of God and Christian Congregation in Brazil	Anti-Catholicism; gift of tongues, belief in the imminent return of Christ, salvation in paradise, sectarianism, asceticism, and radical rejection of the world.	The poor, poorly educated, because their religious choice was discriminated against and persecuted by both Catholics and historical Protestants.
Deutero-Pentecostalism	1950 (São Paulo)	Evangelho Quadrangular, O Brasil para Cristo, Deus é Amor, Casa da Benção.	Evangelism to the masses with help of radio and open-air worship; theological emphasis on divine healing; denominational fragmentation and national visibility.	The poor, poorly educated, mostly migrants from the Northeast of Brazil.
Neo-Pentecostalism	1970 (Rio de Janeiro)	Igreja Nova Vida, Universal Church of Kingdon of God (IURD) and Cristo Vive.	Radical opposition to Afro-Brazilian cults, exorcism (fight against the devil), business logic, flexibility to the habits (not asceticism).	The poor, poorly educated; Caucasian leaders

Among the characteristics presented above, we can say that the growth of the role of media and the development of an intra-mundane discourse (immanent salvation) is notable not only in Brazilian Pentecostalism, but is a characteristic of Pentecostalism in general. The case of the radical opposition to Afro-Brazilians cults is likewise only a Brazilian version of the systematic battle against the devil, which is part of the third wave of Pentecostalism.

4.3 The social position of Brazilian Pentecostals: numerical data view

After outlining the principal religions and religious groups of Brazil, I now wish to present numerical evidence which helps to demonstrate the main characteristics of Pentecostalism which support some theoretical hypotheses of this dissertation. Among these hypotheses, the assertion is in reference to the relationship of Pentecostalism to a specific class or social group. In this regard, I postulate an expansion of Pentecostalism as related to the growth of a specific social type created through the expansion of capitalism, a social type comprised of the dominated classes of modern, capitalist societies, markedly associated with the peripheries of this expansion, with an emphasis on the Latin American, and especially Brazilian, realities. As we pursue this line of questioning, we seek to understand the factors related to the urban periphery, a periphery inhabited by members under-integrated into the fabric of society, which contributed to the appearance and expansion of the Pentecostal religiosity. Pentecostalism, then, must represent a model of religiosity in harmony with the anxieties and ways of life of this class. In order to further explore this hypothesis, I present below data on Pentecostalism in Brazil which will shed light on this phenomenon by illustrating the social characteristics of a religion

dominated by the poorly-educated, the economically underprivileged, the racially dominated segments of Brazilian society (blacks, browns, and mulattoes), with a high percentage of female adherents, and of an overwhelmingly urban composition (i.e., with very limited membership in rural areas).

The charts and tables presented below contain data from one of the most thorough studies to date on the spatial distribution of Pentecostals in Brazil, part of a collaborative effort between Brazil and France seeking to construct an atlas of religious diversity in Brazil. This collaboration involved the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), Institut de Recherche Lirle Développement (IRD-Paris), and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRSParis).

With respect to the assertions posited above, the results of this Atlas of religious diversity in Brazil are striking. The authors assert that:

> "the demographic and socioeconomic profile of the Pentecostals contrasts greatly with that of the Brazilian average (between -85% and +85%). From a demographic point of view, Pentecostals inhabit urban zones more than rural ones, are composed of more women than men, more children and teens than adults, and more blacks, mulattoes, and people of indigenous descent than whites." (BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003 40)

In the following paragraphs I will analyze these findings in more depth, dealing with each characteristic separately.

The primary motivation of this work relates to the striking growth of Pentecostal religiosity. Thus the chart below demonstrates the manner in which, beginning in the 1980s, evangelical Protestants, fostered by Pentecostalism, assumed the role as the most dynamic segment of Brazilian religious mobility and began altering for the first time the Brazilian scenario of religious affiliation. The Catholic dominance, which for so long had bore the appearance of a semi-

official state religion in the country, began to wane. It is worth noting that over the last thirty years Catholic membership has decreased by almost one third, while the number of evangelical Protestants quadrupled.
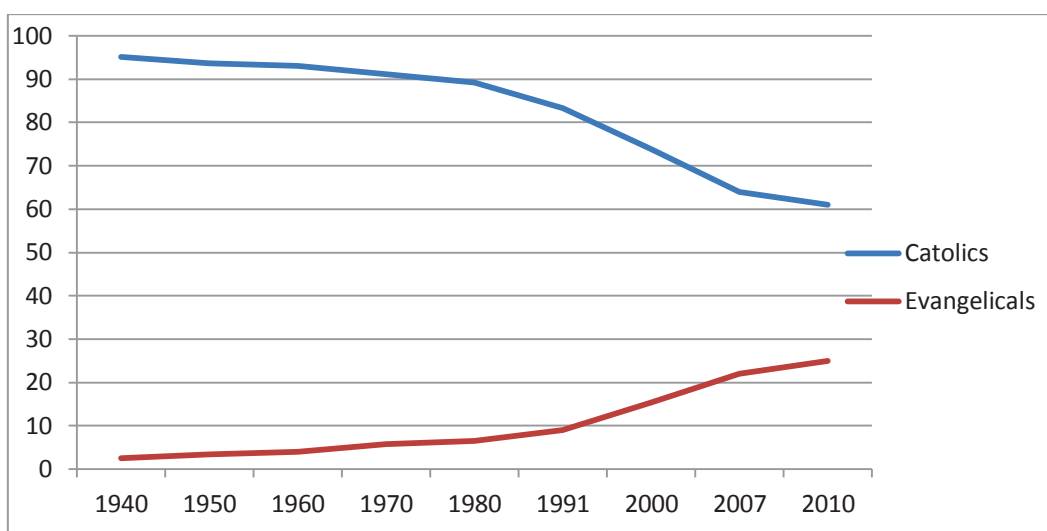
The following charts (*Catolic Evasion/ Historical Evangelicals Evasion*) demonstrate the way in which this mobility played out on the religious stage. The Catholic Church played the role of a nearly universal donor, losing members to all religious segments, while Pentecostal ranks grew, bolstered above all by former Catholics and evangelical Protestants. According to data from CERIS (**Centro** de Estatística Religiosa e Investigações Sociais, 2004), among those who left Catholicism, 59% migrated to Pentecostalism, and of those who left historical Protestant churches, 50% joined a Pentecostal one, making Pentecostalism the movement which received the most members from the other religious segments in Brazil.

Catolic Evasion

■ Pentecostal ■ H. Evangelicals ■ Others religions ■ nonreligious

11%

16%

14%

59%

H. Evangelicals Evasion

- Pentecostal
- Others H.Evangelicals
- Others religions
- Catolics

50 · 21 · 1 · 27
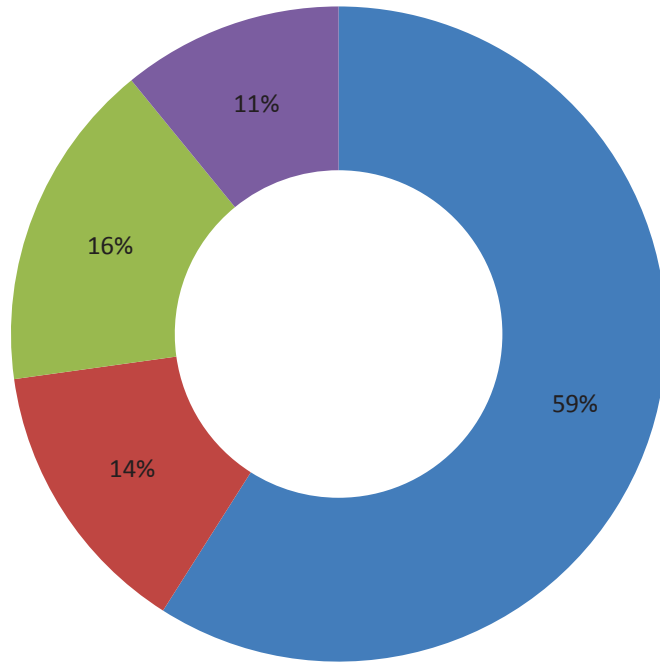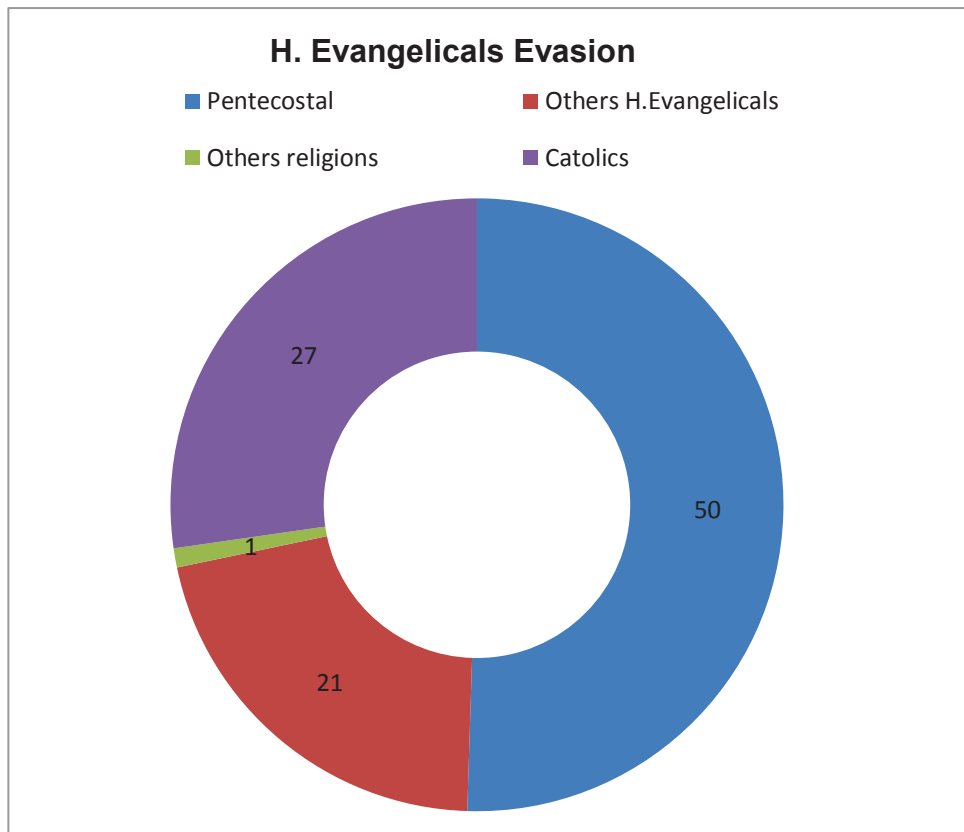
This table illustrates the general patterns of Brazilian religious movement and highlights the rapid expansion of Pentecostalism.

4.3.1 Pentecostalism, a religion of the urban periphery:

Ever since its appearance in the USA, as we saw in Chapter 2, Pentecostalism tended to establish itself in the sub-integrated classes of the urban communities that that arose around the beginning of the 20th Century. While this occurred in the poverty-stricken outskirts of Los Angeles, attracting blacks, women, and working class immigrants, such expansion was largely unaccompanied in North America's rural communities. This process fostered the development of a religious language for these urban strata, and the main

features of this Pentecostal movement remained similar as it began spreading around the world. Pentecostalism experienced its most rapidly accelerated growth in the urban poverty of Brazil and Latin American during the 1980s. In Africa, too, despite the more rural dynamic of that continent, Pentecostalism's striking success took place in urban areas (ANDERSON, 2004). The data presented below tend to confirm this pattern in Brazil.

With respect to the spatial distribution of Pentecostals in Brazil, this urban presence can be seen on both the macro and micro level; in other words, the lower levels of Pentecostal membership in the country's most rural states contrast with high church membership in the large state capitols.

Brazil exhibits a general trend in which the more rural and traditional the region, the higher the numbers of Catholic ranks above the national average, a phenomenon which offers a surviving glimpse of the Catholic dominance that has largely evaporated over the last three decades. In this respect, according to the Atlas of religious diversity in Brazil, the northeastern ("*sertão*") region of Brazil, an area predominantly rural and traditional, maintains between 90 and 96% of the Catholic population.

From a demographic perspective, Catholics appear as the polar opposites of Pentecostals, as described by BRUSTLEIN & JACOB (2003):

"Catholics inhabit the rural areas much more than the urban ones, are composed of more men than women, more elderly than adults, and more whites than blacks, browns, and indigenous members. With respect to economic aspects, Catholics are characterized by a strong prevalence of people engaged in agricultural activities, and thus their predominance in the rural areas." (BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003: 21)

When we turn our attention to the capitols and Brazilian metropolitan zones, however, the number of Catholics plummets just as the ranks of

Protestants—especially Pentecostals—soar. According to the Atlas of religious diversity in Brazil, in 2000 the city of Rio de Janeiro was 54% Catholic, Vitória, the capitol of the State of Espirito Santo, was 56% Catholic, and Brasília 66% Catholic, all of which were percentages well below the national average for that period[48].

Yet the most striking aspect concerning the spatial distribution of Pentecostals is that this group is not only concentrated in urban areas, but on the outskirts of such areas. The highest concentrations of Pentecostal faithful are found in the poverty-stricken regions of large and medium-sized cities, thus forming belts that encircle the more central urban areas inhabited by the middle and upper classes.

"Pentecostals are generally concentrated in the "first ring", i.e., the ring that surrounds the central metropolitan areas. In many such areas, among the most important in the country, one encounters a configuration in the shape of a ring, a manifestation that is strongly present in almost all districts and subdistricts of the periphery." (BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003:41)

An excellent example is the city of Rio de Janeiro. The farther one travels from Rio's upper class neighborhoods, known as the 'south zone,' the more numerous becomes the Pentecostal population, a phenomenon which creates a kind of belt around these areas. According to the Atlas of religious diversity in Brazil, less than 8% of those living in Rio's 'south zone' were Pentecostal, while in the poorer, spatially removed areas of this region Pentecostals made up between 14% and 17 % of the population. This same socio-religious phenomenon can also be observed in other state capitals of Brazil, such as São Paulo, Vitória, Belém, Recife, and Belo Horizonte (BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003: 52).

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[48] The numbers of Catholics in these capitals are certainly much lower today. BRUSTLEIN & JACOB's study was based on statistics from the 2000 Census. More recent studies estimate Catholic member losses at from 10 to 15% in the last decade. In the 2000 Census, 73.8% of the Brazilian population was Catholic. In 2010, however, according to the Instituto DataFolha, only 61% of the population identified themselves as Catholic.

This same phenomenon is repeated when we cast our gaze at the cities near these capitals. Elevated numbers of Pentecostals tend to be concentrated near these urban peripheries. In another book, Romero Jacob (2006) highlighted the situation of certain municipalities of greater Rio de Janeiro, such as Belford Roxo, Duque de Caxias, and Nova Iguaçu, where Pentecostals comprise roughly 30% of the population, making these areas the most Pentecostal regions of the country.

Thus Pentecostal expansion has arisen in concert with Brazil's model of economic development. As a highly urban movement with a distinct urban outskirts character, composed of social groups who remain poorly integrated into the capitalist society which has emerged, Pentecostalism thrived in the geographical and social conditions it encountered in Brazil, those same conditions in which Pentecostalism has flourished in the U.S. since its inception. The question of urban geography is one of the chosen affinities of the Pentecostal model of religiosity that can aid in an understanding of this religion's success in Brazil, as can the relationship of this religion with a specific social class.

4.3.2 Pentecostalism: a religion of the poor, female, black, and mulatto

As we expand our analysis into other areas, indicators relating to gender, ethnicity, and social character become just a sharp as those referring to the social class of Pentecostals. In very general terms, Pentecostalism has grown among those sectors of society which can be refered to as dominated in the manner employed by Pierre Bourdieu. This backdrop can help one understand Pentecostalism as a religion of the dominated classes of modern capitalism. These notions will be explored further later in this work. I'd now like to point to some statistics concerning Pentecostalism.

In terms of gender, a study carried out in Brazil in 1998[49] found that 63.7% of Pentecostals were women, a significant departure from the national average in which women comprise 52.3% of the general population, as well as the situation of Brazilian Catholics, for whom males maintain a majority[50]. In the same study, however, analyses of the gender composition of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus), the denomination which was highlighted as an emblematic case of Brazilian Pentecostalism, the proportion of women reached 80%.

In studies by Brustlein & Jacob, Pentecostalism attracts more women than men by -15% to +15% in reference to the Brazilian average.

With respect to the Pentecostal ethnic groups, there is no doubt whatsoever as to the predominance of blacks. As a result, many researchers have sought to analyze Pentecostalism as a manifestation of African cultural traditions, or even as a specific African spirituality (HOLLENWEGER, 1976) (HOLLENWEGER, 1997) (ANDERSON, 2004). Nevertheless, the present work emphasizes other interpretive guideposts and rather than concentrating on cultural roots, highlights the importance of Pentecostalism's social roots. In this light, what is most striking are the social conditions of the ex-slaves in America, conditions which isolated them into an underprivileged class. In Latin America, other underpriviledged groups were in a very similar situation: Native Americans and mulattoes. The chart below clearly illustrates this ethnic disparity.

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[49] ALMEIDA, Ronaldo. *Transito religioso no Brasil.* São Paulo Perspec. vol.15 no.3 São Paulo July/Sept. 2001.

[50] These data are confirmed by a recent study of the FGV: NERI. *Novo Mapa das Religiões.* Rio de Janeiro:FGV-CPS, 2011.

Pentecostal ethnic groups in relation to Brazilian average[51]

Etnic Groups							
Whites							
Blacks							
Asians							
Mulattos							
Native Americans							
-60	-40	-20	0	20	40	60%	
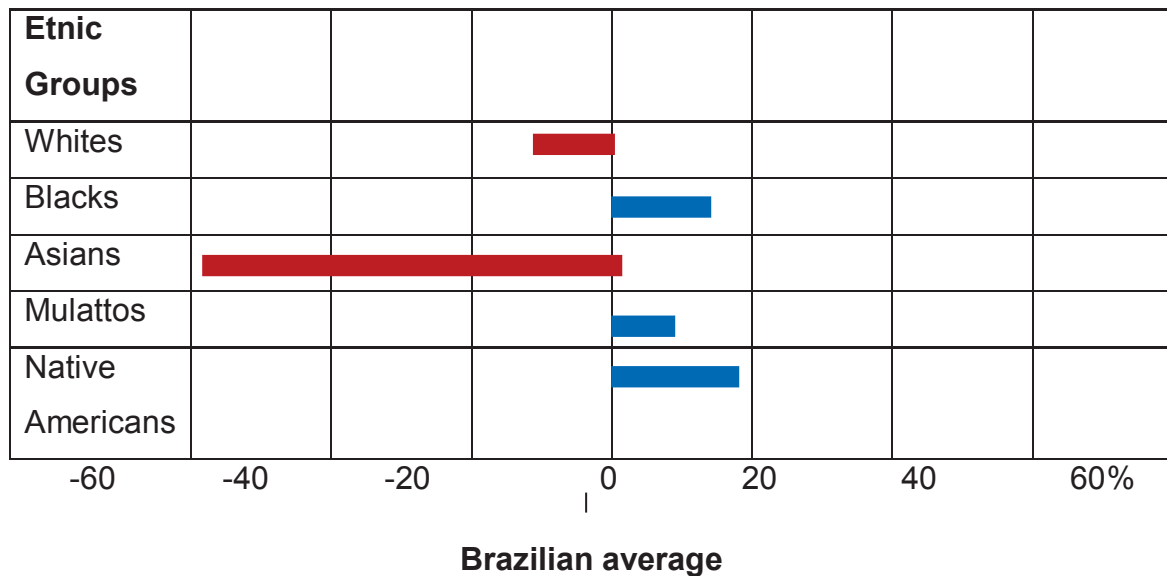
Brazilian average

According to IBGE data from 2000, Pentecostals are at a disadvantage when compared to other Brazilian religious groups with respect to educational achievement as well, possessing on average fewer years of academic study. Their group average was 5.3 years of formal education.

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[51] Source: IBGE, 2000. BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003.

Years in School
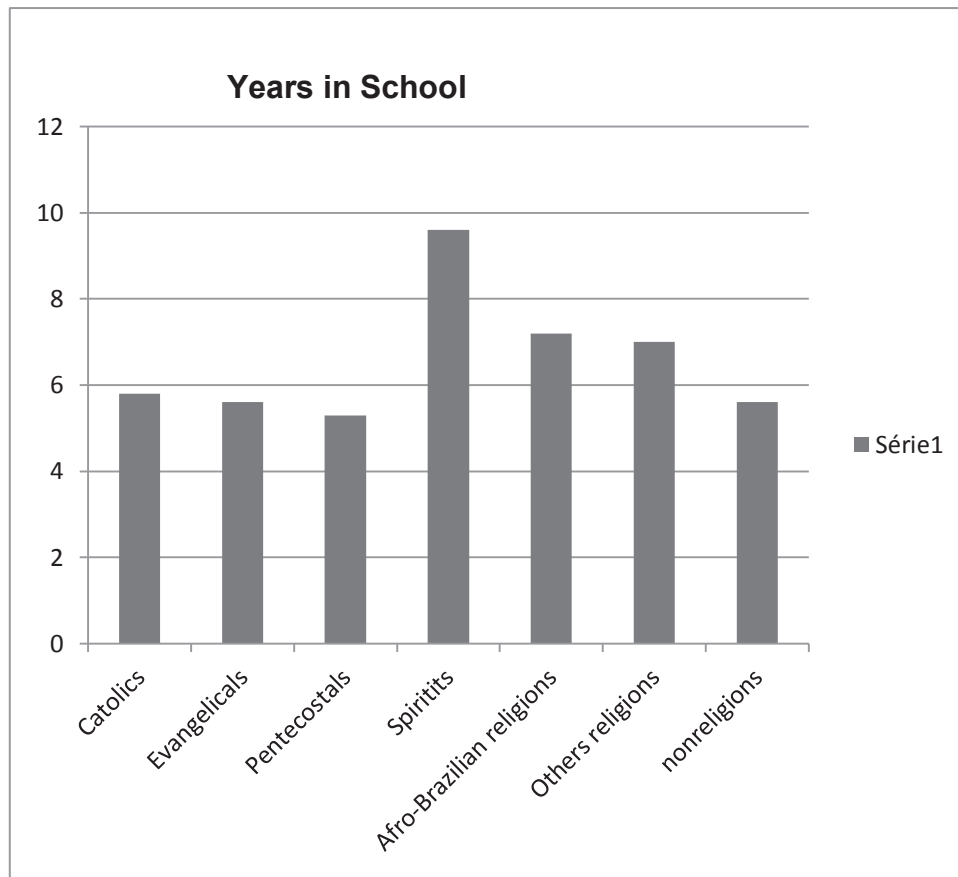
According to Almeida (2001), less than 40% of Pentecostals earned a high school diploma, and only 2.8% received a college degree. The table below, based on Almeida's studies, compares the educational rankings of Pentecostals and Spiritists, a religion typically composed of middle-class members. These two religious segments reveal positions of class in Brazil.
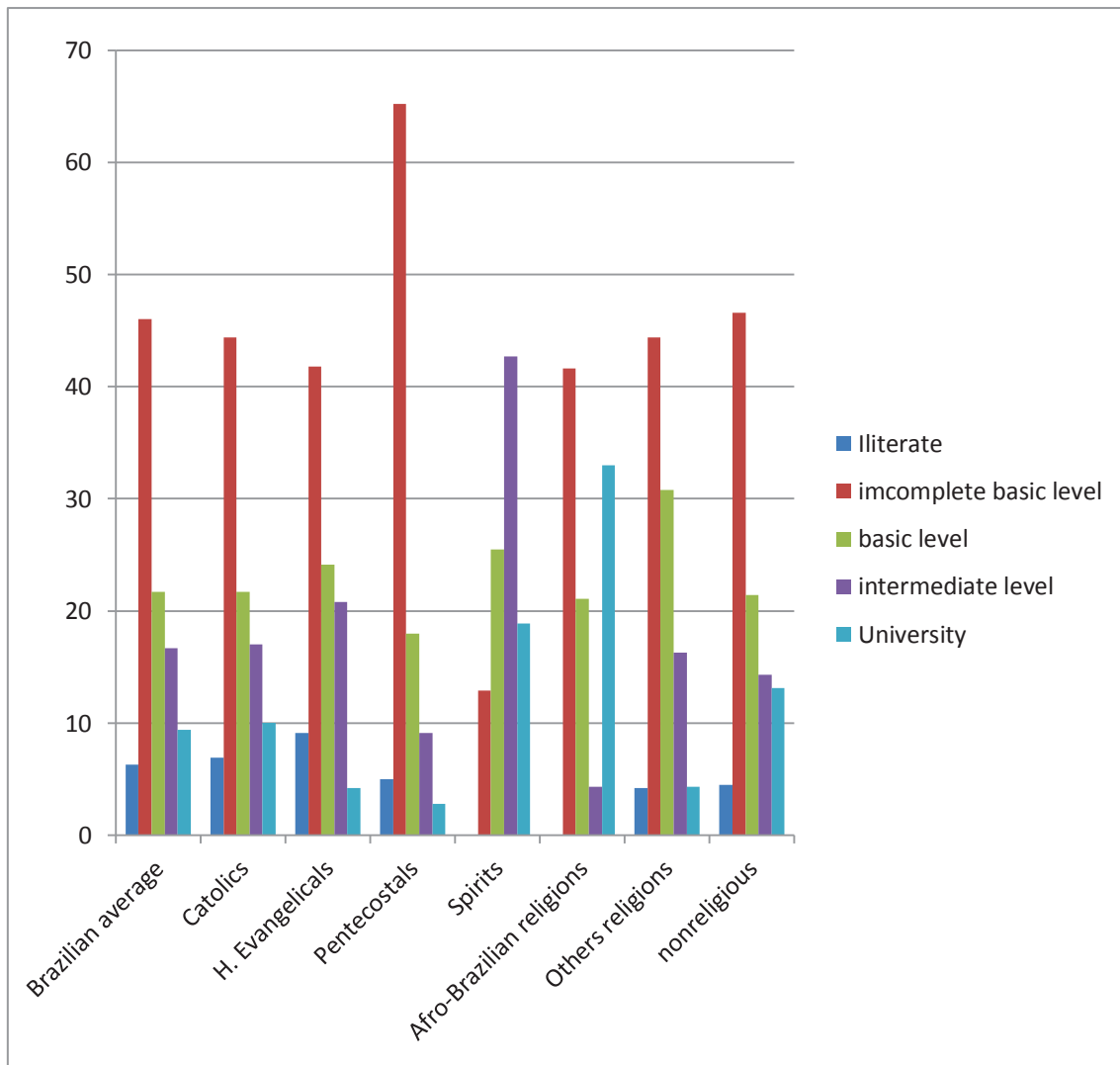
As far as income and workforce positioning, Pentecostals can largely be characterized as what sociologist Jessé Souza called 'structural riff-raff'. This characterization is based on this segment's relatively low income, clandestine worker status (a status that precludes many official benefits), and above average participation in personal service activities. According to Brustlein & Jacob (2003), the chance of finding a Pentecostal engaged in personal services is 50% higher than for the average Brazilian.

Pentecostals in labor market in relation to Brazilian average[52]

Position in the labor market									
Informal domestic									
Domestic									
Employee									
Informal employee									
Employer									
Self-employed									
	-60	-40	-20	0	20	40	60	%	

Brazilian average
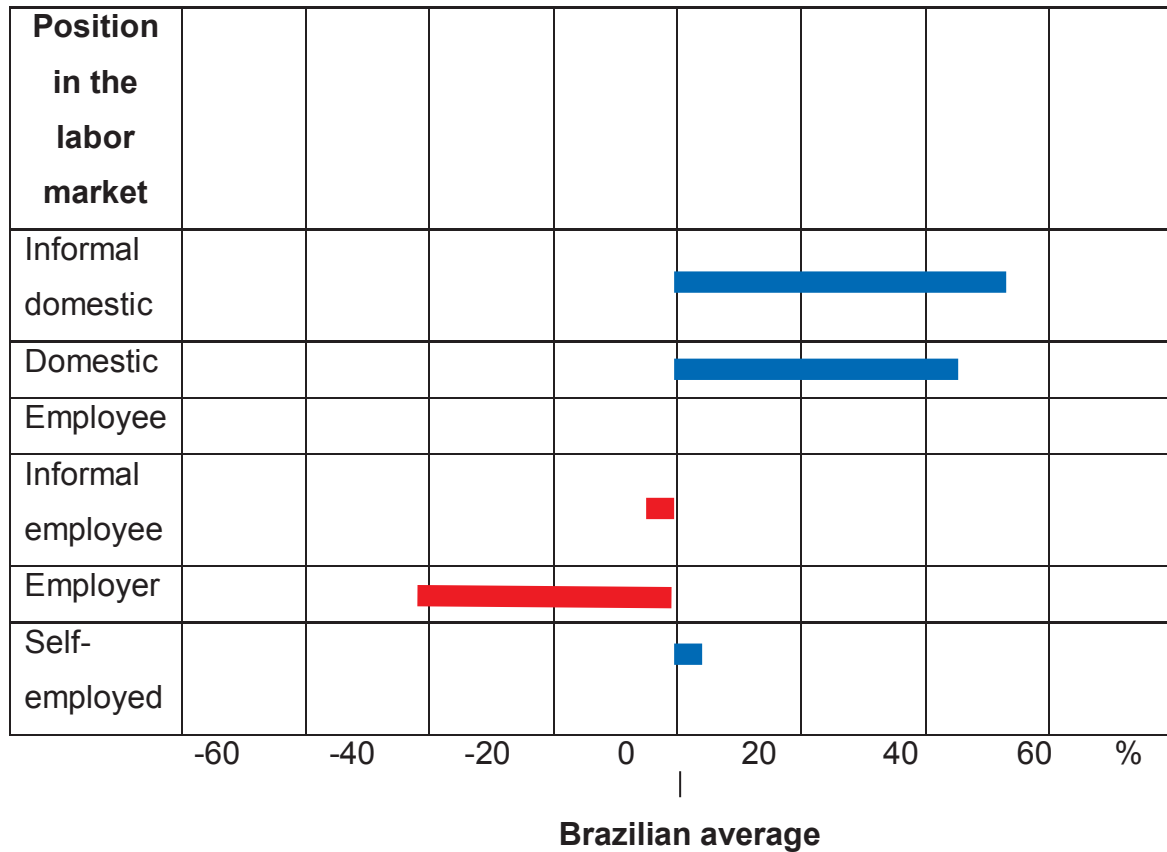
As the chart above illustrates, Pentecostals are engaged in domestic work much more frequently than the general Brazilian population. Not only does such work carry strong psychological and social associations with Brazilian slave labor, it is an activity that garners very low wages, receives very little social value recognition, and requires much more physical than mental activity.

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[52] Source: IBGE, 2000. BRUSTLEIN & JACOB, 2003.

Pentecostal income in relation to Brazilian average

Minimum Wage								
Fewer than 1								
1								
2								
3								
4-5								
6-10								
11-								

-60 -40 -20 0 20 40 60 %
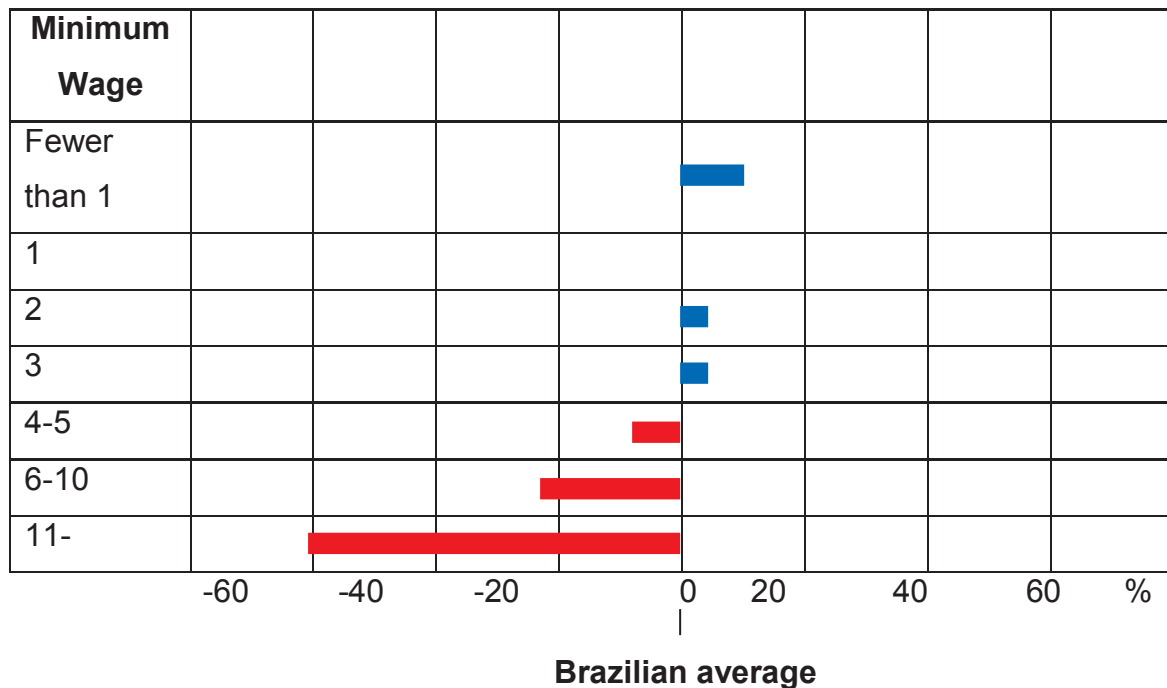
Brazilian average

Pentecostals earn much less than the Brazilian average. Among the religious groups, Pentecostals earn the least, a statistic that echoes the data presented above.

These datasets position Pentecostalism as a religion typically belonging to the poorer classes, living on the outskirts of the urban world, condemned to lower incomes and schooling, and marked by the strong presence of women, blacks, mulattoes, and Native Americans.

Such characteristics are not unique within the Pentecostal religious scene; they are, instead, in acute synchronicity with the development and modernization model known as peripheral, which will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Brazilian modernization and social structure:

understanding a peripheral country

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at establishing correlations between the religious social movement called Pentecostalism and the development of the Brazilian society. Therefore, we will discuss the theoretical views that support the answer to the question that has guided this work, i.e., the expansion dynamics of Pentecostalism in the largest Pentecostal nation in the world – Brazil. Thus, this question can be understood as the analysis of the combination of a specific type of society (Brazil) and a singular religious model (Pentecostalism). What is in the development of the Brazilian society that makes it a favourable place for the expansion of a religious movement with the features of Pentecostalism? Why is Brazil the world's largest Pentecostal nation? These are the questions that have guided this chapter, in which I present a theoretical explanation of the data presented in the previous chapter (Pentecostalism: a Brazilian experience)

In other words, this chapter is justified by the fact that during this study we sought explanations outside religion, that is, in society, to understand the religious context. In this case, one of the central hypothesis of this study, indicated in previously given data, shows us that Pentecostalism expanded mostly notably in some peripheries of modern society, with nearly no penetration in societies that present aspects quite close to what we consider classical cases of modernization; such as European societies. Therefore, an unavoidable question arises: what is there in such societies that draws them to the Pentecostal type of religiosity and, consequently, moves this religious model of societies away from European ones? For this reason, this chapter is an effort to present the general characteristics of the shaping of a society that suffered distinct processes of modernization, that which we call *peripheral modernization,* and how this kind of modernization, as well as certain social types generated by it, keep remarkable affinities with Pentecostal religiosity, which explains why these religions have succeeded in these regions.

To answer these questions, we will briefly resume the central arguments presented in the previous chapters, and relate them to the development of Brazilian society, especially the distinct type of modernization that took place in

Brazil, a peripheral modernization. The explanation for the relation between Brazil and Pentecostalism is divided in three great lines of discussion: (1) the relation between the Brazilian social structure and Pentecostalism; (2) the specific social type generated by this society and Pentecostalism, and (3) the predominant model of religious cognition in Brazilian society and Pentecostalism. However, before discussing these topics, I will present the concept of peripheral modernity, a model of society not found among the classic concepts of the sociologic tradition – models based on the polarities of the traditional and modern world. Such concept is the theoretical tool which allows us to build an explanation for the success of Pentecostalism without resorting to old and mistaken notions of classic theory of modernization, as well as to move away from culturalist approaches of Pentecostalism and Latin America, as explained in Chapter 1.

In regards to the Brazilian social structure (1), the central element is found in the existence of a great social gap, an abyss typical of peripheral modernizations and averse to the long process of construction of economic equality, political and cognitive construction that have marked the course of central modern societies. This great economic gap has produced, on one hand, a mass of sub-integrated individuals eager to be integrated into the social dynamics. This scenario projects us into the social universe of Pentecostalism, as well as its substrate, or rather, the social raw material of most of its religious promises – the integration, or illusion of integration, into society for those who, somehow (socially, ethnically, economically etc.) do not belong in it. Regarding this aspect, we I will further the discussion on the relation between peripheral modernity, social inequality, mass of sub-integrated people, and Pentecostalism, thus establishing correlations with the data presented in item 4.3.1"Pentecostalism, a religion of the urban periphery".

Regarding the specific social type (2), we consider the individual belonging to the mass of sub-integrated. In the previous chapter, item 4.3.2 "Pentecostalism, a religion of the poor, the female, the black, and the mulatto", we presented the main characteristics of Pentecostal followers, those coming

from a new dynamics of the capitalist society, and resulting from its expansion on the periphery. In such case, if the model of society in peripheral modernity – discussed in this chapter – holds affinities with Pentecostal religiosity, the social type of this society drawn by this religiosity is the mass of sub-integrated subjects in this society.

Finally, we will relate the religious cognitive model (3) of these societies with practices and beliefs in Pentecostalism. In this regard, we emphasize the striking presence of a magic and religious cognition in lower classes in Brazil, and its relations with the renewed magic found in the Theology of Prosperity.

With the presentation of this chapter, we expect to lay the foundations for a theoretical association between the structure of the Brazilian society and the rise of Pentecostalism, most notably between social classes and Pentecostalism.

5.2 Peripheral modern societies: beyond old modernization and culturalist view

The worldwide expansion of Capitalism has generated other kinds of modern societies which retain the distinguishing features of modern society, such as the modern state, the market economy, and so forth. These societies are quite different from the central societies of capitalism (SOUZA, 2000), especially in regard to social structure. A Brazilian sociologist has called the formative process of these societies "peripheral modernization" (SOUZA, 2003). An understanding of the outstanding sociological features of this societal type throughout the social and historical Brazilian experience is the main goal of this chapter.

In seeking to understand the singularity of the process of Brazilian modernization, sociologist Jesse Souza has expanded the possibilities for an understanding of certain aspects of capitalism which were partially obscured to

intellectuals in central capitalist societies (SOUZA, 2003) (SOUZA, 2009) (SOUZA, 2010). These hidden facets are the result of features and striking contradictions of the capitalist system that were more present in the periphery than in the centre. But before addressing the contradictions and the different social structure of peripheral societies, it is important to explain the general features which Souza attributes to peripheral modern societies. (It is worth remembering that this concept is in regard to Brazil and Latin America.)

In his explanation about the Brazilian modernization process, Souza (2000) stands apart from the evolutionist notion on the development of the Brazilian society. The predominant vision has held that Brazil was not sufficiently modern, and that most of its problems resulted from the pre-modern period and pre-modern social relations. This interpretation was based on a closed modernization theory. On the other hand, the strong culturalist tradition in Brazil has postulated that the development of Brazilian society was anchored on an emotional Brazilian type with strong roots in the Latin world. Souza argues that the problems of the Brazilian society are typically modern problems, and do not arise from presumably pre-modern features or cultural origins (2000). He says that while Brazil is a complete modern society, it possesses a different kind of modernity – a peripheral modernity (2003).

According to Souza, Brazil can be seen as a modern society because the regulations which modulate life in this society are purely modern, and the main institutions of this society are modern as well. The Modern Liberal State and Market Economy regulate and evaluate the life of individuals in this society. Besides, the existence of individual paths of ascension in society and social mobility are typically modern characteristics. The forms of modern life organization and human modern relations are present in this society. However, a fundamental pillar of the modernization process in the North Atlantic does not occur in Brazil and other peripheral modern societies, i.e., the incorporation of the value of unconditional equality among its members. During the modernization of its institutions, expansion of the capitalist market and industrialization process, Brazil has created a mass of sub-integrated

individuals, a mass of "sub-humans" with striking differences compared with modern European Lumpenproletariat—a difference which will be analyzed in more detail later in this chapter. Souza calls this process the "naturalization of inequality" (2003).

According to Charles Taylor in his book "*Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*" (1989), the distinguishing feature which ensures a society's status as modern is the notion of equality is the notion of equality. He postulates that a radical notion of equality only arose during historically modern times. In other types of societies, values like honour were a hindrance to the development of a radical conception of equality (TAYLOR, 1989). According to this view, there has always been a "naturalization" of inequality, meaning that all people and societies accepted categorical differences among humans, the idea that some were "more human" than others. The caste system in India and medieval European states are good examples of inequality naturalization, both in the East and the West. This model of inequality naturalization, then, is still in existence in peripheral countries like Brazil.

One result of this process is the formation, on the one hand, of more homogeneous and egalitarian societies in central capitalist countries, and on the other, societies with brutal social and political inequalities on the periphery. Thus, in regard to equality, there came about societies that were very different from capitalist central ones. Although there are class differences in central capitalist societies, these differences are related to access to certain privileges of class and lifestyle. In peripheral societies, however, class differentiation occurs in the very same way as in central societies, but with the addition of a categorical difference between classes of people, some of whom are considered much more human than others[53].

In his book "*Modernização seletiva: uma reinterpretação do dilema brasileiro*" (2000) (Selective Modernization: a reinterpretation of Brazilian

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[53] For more details see SOUZA, Jessé. *Die sozialeKonstruktion Der PeripherienUngleichheit*. Wiesbaden: VS Wissenschaften, 2006.

Dilemma), Jesse Souza asserts that, in Brazil, a selective modernization has occurred in which a part of the population was integrated within traditional modernity, while the other was abandoned. However, a more thorough understanding of the most important aspects of this result can only occur when we move away from the idea of separate national realities and turn our attention to a global capitalist society[54][55]. This changes what had previously been a concept of a purely geographical nature into a relational concept. It also allows us to distinguish the existence of something that could be called the "global middle class".

In this regard, I refer to the group of people fully integrated into the capitalist society, who share its core values regardless of regional differences which are, actually, secondary in this process. There are no significant differences between the middle class of Germany, France, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, the USA, Mexico or Canada, just as there is also a mass of the unskilled in Brazil, Argentina, Romania, Bolivia, Peru, India, and so on. This mass of disqualified, excluded, or simply sub-integrated capitalist social class comprises the "structural riffraff" on the periphery that has gradually ceased to be a characteristic marking countries of the so-called Third World, to also show the dark face of capitalism in Europe, which for nearly one hundred years was

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[54]   In much of the human sciences, but especially in the social sciences, since Herder through names like Franz Boas and Gilberto Freyre, there developed the idea that societies, especially nations, are in possession of a unique cultural essence that differentiates and partly isolates them from one another. The radicalization of this culturalist view led us to believe that social processes are always unique and interchangeable, confined to certain social settings. The development of this radicalization, which was so dear to the late nation states that needed to develop a strong national ideology to unify people and large areas under the same flag, as was the case in Germany (birthplace of these ideas) and Brazil, has given us an almost metaphysical vision of culture, conceiving the existence of a "national soul." To elaborate the notion of periphery it is first necessary to break these essentially culturalist stories. This vision allows an understanding of the existence of institutions and values which, though not equal, are very similar to "govern" and assess the lives of human beings in many different corners of the globe.

[55]   No society in the world has expanded with such force and scope as the European society in the imperialism period; so it's hard to think of societies without relating them to Europe. This relationship becomes clearer in America; given the intensity of relationships and strong migration, it can be understood as an extension of Europe with regard to its most important values and institutions.

able to keep it hidden from our view[56]. This happens due to the intense migration of the globalized world, which allows these wretches to go into the world in search of a better life.

The result of this process is the formation of a radical differentiation between social classes, forming an almost unbridgeable chasm between them, a universe which is hard for a European of the late twentieth century living in a society which has undergone several long processes of equalization to imagine. Peripheral modern societies in Latin America are like the third excluded in traditional sociological analyses, these societies are disconnected from the traditional and classic modern axis. They are neither traditional societies nor classic modern ones, but they are not incomplete modern societies (as postulated by the evolutionist vision); they are, instead, complete peripheral societies.

The bases for the development of Pentecostalism, as we know it, developed within this specific type of modernity. In peripheral modernity, social structures coexist in a way never seen in other societal models, i.e., the notion of social mobility along with a brutal social, political, economic, and cognitive inequality.

As discussed in the above paragraphs, peripheral modernity has incorporated features of classic modernity, among them a comprehensive view of social mobility, in which the individuals believe and trace their path of life based on the idea of individual social ascension, an important issue in capitalist economics. Nevertheless, as also pointed, peripheral modernity did not allow for a long process of formation of a relative equality among individuals, but a naturalization of a radical inequality, a defining feature of non-modern societies. From this social and specific structure, Pentecostalism developed its main religious promise: the integration of the sub-integrated into society, that is, the fulfilment of social mobility in a brutally unequal world. Thus, Pentecostalism

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[56]   One example is the city of Berlin. Nowadays it is possible to see a large number of beggars, children at traffic lights and a growth in service maids coming from poor countries.

moved alongside with the main social expectation of the poor in these societies, i.e., their dream of ascension.

The social structure described above is replicated in the emergence and expansion of Pentecostalism. As seen in Chapter 2, Pentecostalism first appeared in the USA, amidst the social sub-integrated people in the beginning of the American modernization in the late 19th century and early 20th century. In that period, while the black population and the poor immigrants were not fully North-Americans, not yet totally integrated to that society, Pentecostalism attacked social, economic and racial segregation in a society that appeared to be heaven for personal ascension. However, in the first half of the 20th century, the North-American economic acceleration integrated its individuals in a different fashion, i.e., via the consuming market, everyone was able to buy and consume, everyone felt as being North-Americans. This way, the strength of Pentecostalism, that is, its disseminating centre is no longer the USA, eventually migrating to Latin America. In the present USA, Neo-Pentecostalism is a religion practiced by the newly-arrived Latinos, those not yet integrated to that society – a fact that reproduces the social history of the early days of Pentecostalism.

On the other hand, this social structure favoured the main social vocation of Pentecostalism: the mass of sub-integrated individuals. This is an unquestioned proof that the creation of a mass of sub-integrated people to the dynamics of the capitalist society helps us understand the "preference" for Pentecostalism on the periphery and, most notably in Brazil.

5.2.1 The Brazilian case: the formation of a social structure

Which were the historical and social processes that allowed for the formation of this mass of sub-integrated individuals to the dynamics of the Brazilian society? How is this related to the dynamics of the global society? The following paragraphs present a description of the process that generated this

mass of sub-integrated people who, later, formed the army of Pentecostal followers.

During the formative process of the Brazilian society, a mass of "sub-humans" was socially produced from the colonial period up through late modernity. Such "sub-humans" were deprived of modernity incorporation (especially in cognitive aspects), and socially produced only as a precarious labour force to serve economic interests. Such social development was analyzed by important names in Brazilian sociology for each period of Brazilian societal formation. With regard to the formation of the sub-integrated people during the colonial period, we can highlight the work of Darcy Ribeiro in his book "O Povo Brasileiro" (The Brazilian Folk), most notably his concept of "ninguendade". During the initial period of the industrialization and urbanization process we can highlight the work of Florestan Fernandes and Maria Sylvia de Carvalho Franco. For contemporary timess, i.e., Late Modernity, the work of Jesse Souza should be emphasized.

Ribeiro (1995) explores the process by which masses of people lacking a strong sense of identity and cultural roots were socially constructed during Brazil's colonial period. Ribeiro called this process and social position "*ninguendade*", meaning something akin to "nobodiness". These human beings were reified, and used as a precarious labour force (without any specialization), and were treated almost like animals.

According to Darcy Ribeiro (1995) the formation of this mass of "sub-humans" during the colonial period was the result of cultural encounters among different peoples. Such peoples were Native Americans, Portuguese and other European populations, as well as African slaves. The first impact occurred with the formation of *mestizos* or "mamelucos," as they were called in colonial Brazil. These people were usually the offspring of a European man and an indigenous woman. The child who resulted from this relation was not considered an Indian by the tribe of his mother, nor a white man by his father. In fact, he/she was a cultural nothing, without roots and without any particular affection of his/her ancestors. Thus, this new social type was socially produced to be a sub-human

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performing the least dignified duties of this society, mere beasts of burden, as it were.

Another stage in this process, as narrated by Darcy Ribeiro, began with the arrival of African slaves. The core of the slavery process, by its very nature, is based upon the matter before us, i.e., the social manufacturing of sub-humans. This process was made considerably worse, and particularly horrific, with the removal of any shred of the slave's dignity. The African slaves who were taken to Brazil were extracted from diverse African nations with highly unique languages and traditions. It was thus impossible for them to communicate with one another, and these slaves found themselves culturally and linguistically isolated from the rest of the Brazilian society. Having lost all connection with their cultural roots, slaves in Brazil were produced by the colonial society as hollow beings without a soul, in possession merely of their bodies.

Thus, these bodies devoid of souls were like disposable animals to feed the colonial economic machine. With these specific historical and social features, these were the individuals who formed the first wave of socially produced sub-humans, not only in Brazil, but in many areas of Latin America. The fate of these Latin American colonial sub-humans was forged through the expansion of the modern world; while they were also part of modernization, they represented another less attractive and decidedly sinister part of this process. It was during this period that the formation process of peripheral modernity began.

This formation of sub-human masses underwent transformations with the arrival of the industrialization process in Brazil. Sociologist Florestan Fernandes has extensively investigated and analyzed the ideological and socio-economic elements behind this process. In addition to Florestan Fernandes, we point out the work of Maria Sylvia de Carvalho Franco in her book "Homens livres na ordem escravocrata" ("Free men in the slave power structure"). In his famous books "O negro na sociedade de classes" (The black in class society) and

"Revolução Burguesa no Brasil" (Bourgeois revolution in Brazil) Florestan Fernandes concentrated his investigations on the Brazilian Modernization issue. He demonstrated how the arrival of industrialization and urbanization in Brazil was terrible to newly-freed slaves and other social indigents lacking–European origins.

According to Florestan Fernandes and Franco, blacks were not prepared to penetrate this new society and compete on equal terms. It was a world that was completely alien to them. The process narrated by Florestan was very similar to Bourdieu's writings on Algeria in his analyses on this country, i.e., a collision of social, cognitive, cultural, and economic structures which facilitated a process of social domination.

Based on Florestan Fernandes' analyses, the formation of the different paths of modern society—whether peripheral or central—becomes partially clear, especially with reference to different social structures. In this regard, another factor that prevented the possibility of the appearance of a "structural riffraff" in central European countries, besides the phenomenon of the expansion of the bourgeois universe and its attraction for all other classes, was the existence of waves of immigration ("systematic expulsion") in the nineteenth and twentieth century. These waves, made up of the poorer segments the European population, moved west to the Americas, Italy, Germany, England, Ireland, Poland, France, and Spain, among other countries, were the birthplaces of masses of humans whom the capitalist economy could not always absorb.

In the Americas, especially in Latin America, the impact of immigration was one of the factors that shaped the emergence of the dominant ethnic features of the "structural riffraff" in these countries. The dominant racist ideology facilitated, at the time, the incorporation of newly arrived Europeans in the Americas at the expense of blacks, Indians, and *mestizos* who, subsequently, formed the foundations of a class of citizens who were unskilled and excluded from the system. (FERNANDES, Florestan. 1975) (SOUZA, Jesse. 2006)

However, this process of the Brazilian social structure formation became more radical as of the 1980s. The strong economic crisis of that period accelerated the growth of slums and the ranks of sub-integrated masses. During this period, economist Edmar Bacha coined the term "Belindia" in reference to Brazil, the term meaning a mixture of Belgium and India, i.e.*,* the social structure of Brazil presented elements reminiscent of both small, rich Belgium and big, poor India. It was in light of this society that Jesse Souza constructed his theory about the Brazilian society. According to Souza, this mass of "sub-humans" took new forms in the capitalist society as a mass of sub-integrated people, which he divided into two big groups or class fractions: "*ralé estrutural*" (structural riffraff) (2009) and "*batalhadores*" (fighters)(2010).

These sub-integrated masses are made up of a large destitute class in Brazil, characterized, in general terms, by a precarious and informal integration into the labour market, and low and precarious access to the benefits of the state. On the other hand, this group plays the role of second-class citizens. These two sub-groups are the fractions of this class; the first one, "*ralé estrutural*" (structural riffraff) represents the sectors at the base of the social pyramid with low possibilities of ascension, and the other fraction, the "*batalhadores*" (fighters), represent the up-and-coming sectors of society which have developed alternative ways to become integrated into society as a dynamic force of change in the social structure.

The term "structural riffraff" refers to the mass of people who is not incorporated or is simply sub-incorporated into the market. This mass is comprised of individuals who do not perform key roles for the essential productive functions in society, thereby becoming expendable humans (SOUZA, 2009). For a better understanding of this situation, we must remember that the market is one of the main institutions that evaluate individuals in modern society, so if the individual plays no role in the market, he is quite possibly on his way to social indigence.

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Within this framework such individuals occupy the fringes of the labour market performing duties considered undignified by other parts of society. Thus there is a mass of people involved in trash removal, cleaning services, and other menial forms of service labour. Within the hierarchy of modern society, which distributes social status on the basis of degree of specialization, if one does not have a specialized ability, one must do any sort of undervalued work to survive.

To complement this analysis, I refer to Max Weber's concept of class situation (*Klassenlage*). This notion tells us that class situation is measured by the individual's ability to bargain within the economic universe. It is evident that members of the "structural riffraff" are those with the weakest bargaining position. Their disqualification to the demands of the market places is far behind the normal "starting point". As workers who only have their physical effort to offer the marketplace, and whose cognitive abilities are not valued in this context, they are seen as beings on a par with animals.

In Bourdieusian terms, we can define it as the class which does not have any important "capital" to offer the social world. If the elite usually controls "economic capital", and the middle class tends to control cultural capital, the structural riffraff is devoid of any important "capital."

These two perspectives (Weber and Souza) are clear in a narrative by Bourdieu in his book about Algeria (2006):

Competence judges without control because the rational methods of recruitment do not apply to this unarmed army of labourers. For those who have neither a diploma nor qualifications - the vast majority - the freedom to choose an occupation is reduced to nothing and employment can appear through sheer luck, like orientation. They are available for any and all jobs, because no hirer truly knows how to react to a nobody. . . ("The low-level worker – says a sales clerk – serves for anything; in other words, for nothing". Says another, "He is not

a worker, he is an underling meant to serve the workers.") "To each one his luck", "To each one his fate". . . (BOURDIEU, 2006: 60)[57]

For these individuals whose "starting point" in the race leaves them at a terrible disadvantage, there is only the launch into "*the interstices and marginal fringes of the system. . . the dip in the proletarian leisure, disguised slag, concealed in idleness, or even in the systematic loitering and random or permanent crime* ." (SOUZA, 2003)

As Jesse Souza (2009) notes, the "structural riffraff" should not be mistaken for the traditional Marxist concept of lumpenproletariat. The old Marxist concept is unable to comprehend the capitalism of our times. Souza argues that the most important function of the lumpenproletariat was acting as reserve army to press the proletarian, and a class supposedly able to be incorporated in times of economic expansion. Such a scenario was only possible in capitalism's early days when the technical requirements of work were low. Today the "structural riffraff" is worthless when the need to hire employees arises, because this class, characterized as only a "body," cannot supply the demands of the labour market. (SOUZA, 23: 2009)

Another important aspect in the process of formation of this stratum is its means of reproduction and maintenance of class status. From his readings of Bourdieu and Brazilian sociologist Florestan Fernandes (especially the book "The integration of blacks in a class society"), Jesse Souza points out the formation of a precarious familial *Habitus*, generated by the floating condition in which the individual is exposed to the market. Men very frequently leave their homes and families to look for a job because they do not have a fixed place in

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[57]   *La competenciajuegasin freno porque los métodos racionales de reclutamiento no puedenaplicarse a este ejército de peones igualmente desarmados. Para todos aquellos que no poseenni diploma nicalificación — lagranmayoría —, lalibertad de elegirprofesión se reduce a nada y um empleo no puede ser sino efecto de lasuerte, al igual que laorientación. Disponible para todos losempleos porque no está verdaderamente preparado para niguno. . . ("El peón — dice um empleado de comercio — sirve para todo, esdicer, para nada."Ydice outro: "No es um obrero, es una criada al servicio de losombres".) "A cada uno su suerte", "A cada uno su destino". . .(BOURDIEU, 2006:60)*

the labour market or any very stable position in social life. Such a process represents the dismantling of the family as a secure social unity which could give material, social, and affective support to an individual during social struggle.

This precarious familial *Habitus* will undermine the chances of this individual to assimilate the cognitive skills required by the market, thus condemning these members to a perpetuation of their condition, that of "structural riffraff."

The other class fraction analyzed by Souza is the "*batalhadores*." The term "*batalhadores*" means "fighters", or "warriors," and refers, in fact, to people who employ monumental personal efforts to achieve social ascension. The debate about this class fraction is related to the ascension of 30 million poor inhabitants in last eight years in Brazil (28 million people left class E and D and migrated to class C), who soon were called members of a new middle class. This name originated due to these members' enhanced participation in the consumer market, and whose 'material ascension' can be perceived in strictly economic terms. Souza and his group offer a sociological analysis which finds this class fraction distinctly lacking the characteristics associated with the traditional middle class. They have no control of "cultural capital" or precious free time for entertainment or the accumulation of "cultural capital" which marks the middle class. They work hard, up to ten or twelve hours a day, and in most cases must divide their time between work and school or private university since, in Brazil, public university education is the privilege of the middle and upper classes. Working during their childhood and youth is a very common reality for them, in which each day requires a tremendous challenge.

The social history of the "fighters" is very similar to that of the "structural riffraff," yet with a small but important difference: they are able to develop alternative means to achieve ascension in social scale. When we analyse the social drama and challenges of this class fraction (SOUZA, 2010), we can

discern the same origins as that of the "structural riffraff." The pivotal question that determines the success or failure of each *batalhador* is in reference to the maintenance of family unity or to the discovery of an effective substitute for family structure which can offer affection, discipline, belief in the future, etc. (SOUZA, 2010). Among the "structural riffraff" and the "fighters," the fragile family unity and the precarious familial *Habitus*, besides the absence of capital heritage are the challenges to be met. The "*batalhadores*" represent the class fraction that was able to overcome this challenge.

This personal effort finds two important support axes. On the one hand, the maintenance of family unity, which can find support in non-traditional figures in the bourgeois family, i.e., the absence of the father figure or even of the mother figure can be replaced by a grandmother or an uncle; and on other hand, religion (especially forms of Pentecostal religion) can, in some cases, substitute the role of the family in the formation of an individual.

These fractions of a big class of destitute Brazilians are directly related to Pentecostal expansion, for Pentecostalism skilfully developed in tune with this class, and successfully adapted its denominations to the movements of these class fractions.

The following graphs clearly reveal the Brazilian social structure, in which the mass of destitute becomes the negative dynamic force of peripheral societies, and their most remarkable and distinguishing feature. Such data are more evident when compared to those presented in the previous chapter.
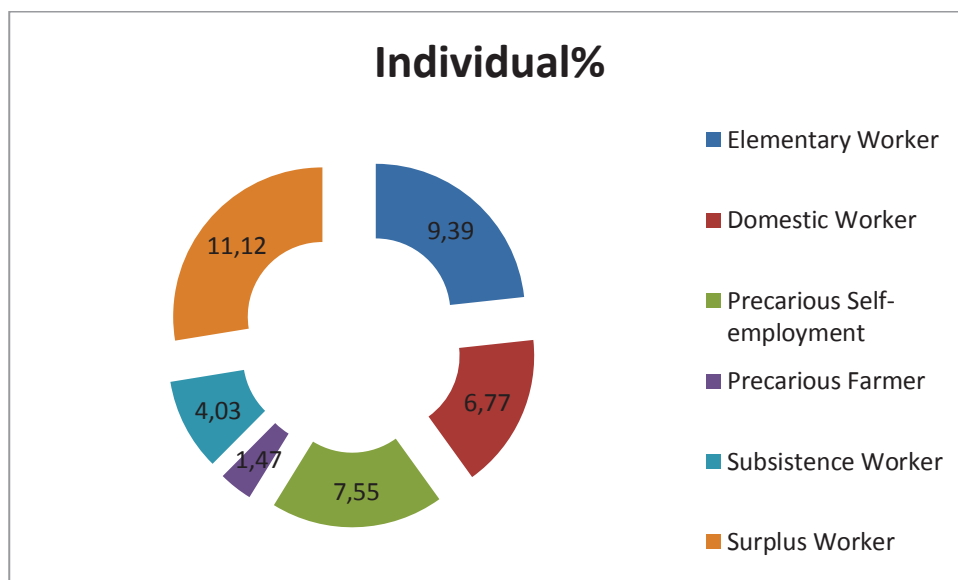
Positions of the destitute and non-destitute classes in the Brazilian Population, 2006
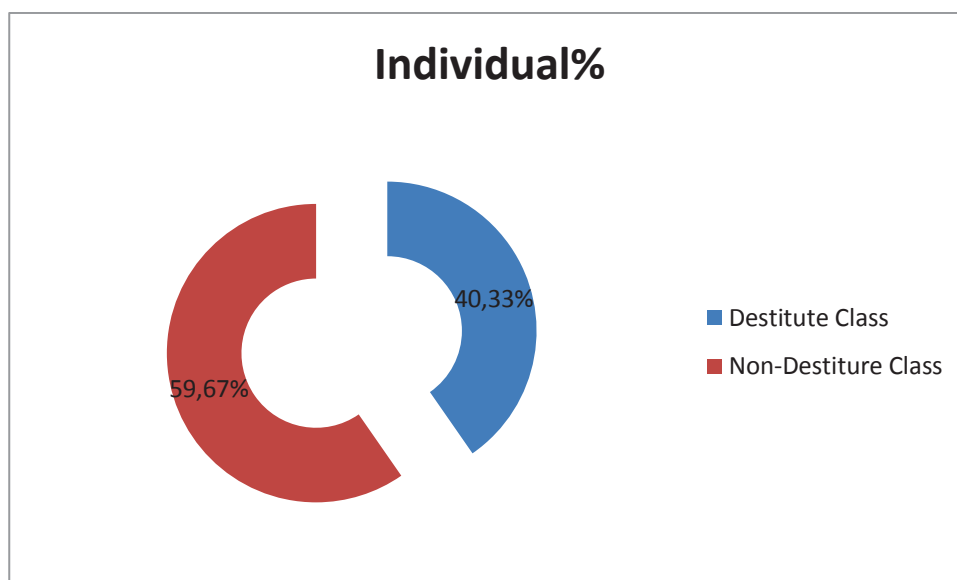
The general presentation of the feature that marks such society is evident in the above figure, that is, a greater number of destitute classes fully integrated into society. This graph restates the idea of a sub-integrated mass eager to be integrated into society.

Next graph shows the distributions of destitute and non-destitute social sectors according to their working functions, showing, then, the classification criteria adopted in this study.

Total of Brazilian Destitute Classes in Details, 2006

Individual%

- Elementary Worker
- Domestic Worker
- Precarious Self-employment
- Precarious Farmer
- Subsistence Worker
- Surplus Worker

11,12   9,39   6,77   7,55   1,47   4,03

Total of Brazilian non-Destitute Classes in Details, 2006

Individual %

- Expended Worker
- Self-employment with assets
- Employer
- Manager and Specialist

6,76   4,03   10,42   38,46
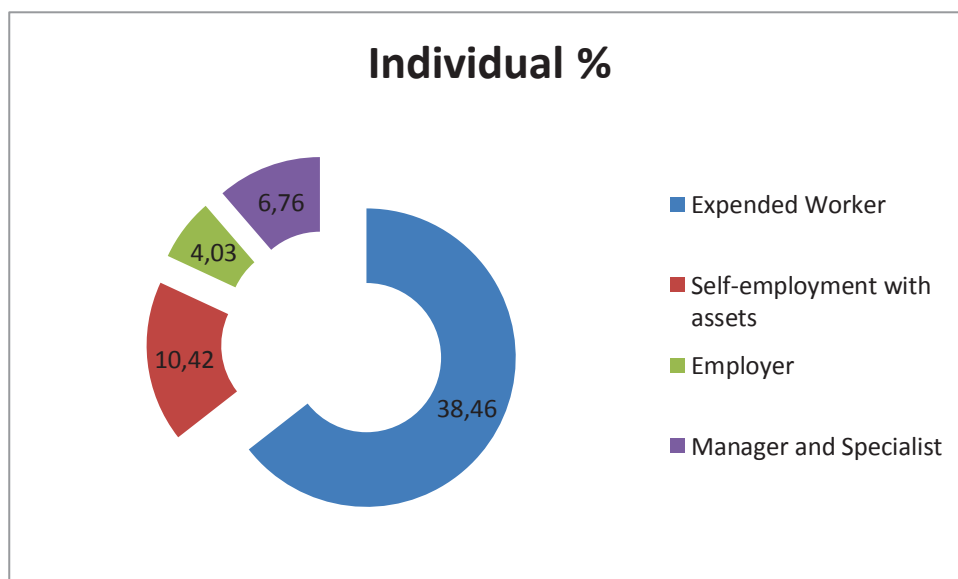
In the following figure regarding gender and race, we can compare and relate data presented in the previous chapter. This comparison shows us the relation between a class of controlled individuals and Pentecostalism.

Gender and Race in Destitute and Non-Destitute Class, Brazil 2006
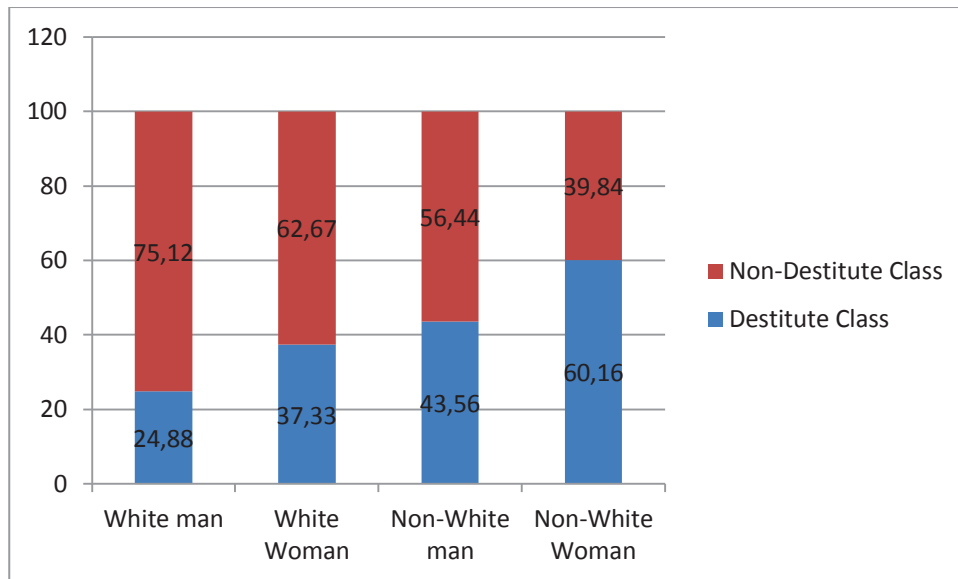
5.3 The religious socialization in periphery

The concept of selective modernization is crucial to understanding the cognitive development of religious societies on the periphery, through which one can see the unique path trod by those societies. Unlike central societies, where modernization represented a radical rejection of cognitive magical world, in peripheral societies there was a tolerance to magic in its development manifested in several ways. If nowadays there is a return of magic in "new religious movements" in the West, which is the case of Western peripheries, we call it a second wave of expansion of magic in reference to the not complete disappearance of magic in the periphery.

A key aspect refers to the type of religiosity of Latin Catholicism. The tolerance of magical thinking existing in this part of Catholicism was radicalized in the tropics, in the form of a popular Catholicism. The cult image of Our Lady in Latin Catholicism is a striking example, even stronger in Latin American Catholicism when we consider the example of the cult of Our Lady of Aparecida in Brazil, and Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico. The cult of catholic saints became an almost private cult of deities in Latin America – close to the cult of ancestors or family spirits.

Popular Brazilian Catholicism is permeated by these examples, where images of saints are placed upside down as punishment for not meeting the requests of their supplicants. In the preface of "Casa-Grande e Senzala" (*The Masters and the Slaves)* Gilberto Freyre recounts examples of this:

"It never ceased to be in the Brazilian patriarchalism, even more than at Portuguese, perfect intimacy with the saints. The baby Jesus was missing only crawl with the boys home. " . . (FREYRE, 2005: 34)

Family worship and the proliferation of religious brotherhoods have interpreted catholic symbols in such a specific way that made Catholicism a magical religion in Brazil[58]. In practice, the cult of saints and ancestors turned Christian monotheism in polytheism in practice, and the world, a "magical garden".

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[58]In all societies that developed an ethical religiosity, this process did not occur without the priestly classes or prophets (religious experts) implement a strict fight against magic typical of the masses. Ancient Judaism is an exemplar case in which the prophets fought hard against magical inclination of the mass. In the late nineteenth century, the fight against magic in France occurred from a state policy which joined the state and Catholic priests. In colonial Brazil, this was not possible precisely because there was not a strong and autonomous class of priests (it is the trivial case in which the priests piously obeyed the landlord), which allowed religious values and ideas to get in "tension" with the world.

The custom of burying the dead in the house - in the chapel, which was a part of house - is typical of the patriarchal spirit of family cohesion. The dead remain under the same roof as the living. Among saints and devotees flowers. Saints and dead were part of the family (FREYRE, 2005: 38).

In much of Latin America, the Jesuit missions represented the enclaves of ethical religiosity amidst the ocean of magic, but their impact has always been small in relation to forms of popular religiosity, and their activity has always found strength in the dominant sectors. Their action never interested the metropolis (Portugal), which felt threatened by the powerful Jesuit order, let alone the economic colonial elite (rural oligarchy). Therefore, the political structure of the colony was averse to a rupture with the magic[59]. Gilberto Freyre says that, in Brazil, the family won the Church: *The farmhouse (Casa-Grande) won the Church in Brazil, specially the impulses which the Church initially expressed to be the owner of the land. Once the Jesuit was won, the plantation owner was dominating the colony almost alone* (2005: 84).

The geography of the colony contributed to the formation of a magic view of the world. The city (understood as the universe rationally controlled) was scarce, with predominance of the direct contact with nature. Such scene has always been a significant component in the development of a magic culture. The non-urbanization is a central aspect to understanding a concept magical world, because as urbanization has transformed radically the relationship

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[59]A more elaborate argument in this regard was made by sociologist Eurico Cursino dos Santos. He said that the centre of formation of values of colonial Brazilian society is in the relationship between the colonial policy and actions of the Catholic Church in Brazil, more specifically in the consummation of an agreement called "O padroado de Cristo". According to Eurico dos Santos, in the "padroado de Cristo" the "project" of colonization of Brazil would be drafted, but not an armed and political conquest in its narrow sense, rather a project of cognitive- and valorative colonization, in which the ethical elements of Catholic Christianity that had penetrated into Portuguese society were "softened" in its implementation in Brazil. This advocated building a framework of values that allows for the realization of Portuguese economic interests in Brazil. In this regard, the major issue was the social construction of the slave: a model of economy based on slave labour would work only in a society that naturalized a brutal distinction between categories of people to the point that one of these types was considered a domesticated animal for work, without generating a conflict or an awareness of a significant part of society.

between man and nature. The city represents a relative control over nature, which, in turn, provides greater security to man coping with nature. If the forest or country man has only a passive attitude towards nature, giving meaning to its movements through magical thinking, it is in the city where the possibilities of giving a rational meaning to the world are largely made possible. In this regard, Freyre argues: *Fear which communicates the fact that we are still so close to the virgin and live forest and survive in us, diminished but not destroyed, the indigenous animism* (2005: 201).

The other strong component operator of magic in Latin American religiosity is the syncretism found in the magic religious traditions of both black and indigenous populations, who have a radically magic religiosity. In the shadow of official Catholicism, healers, shamans, "pais-de-santo" and sorcerers of all kinds have always reigned in Latin America. Though derived from the dominated classes, the basis of their religious clientele, their services were also requested by other classes. Magic, as a religious practice of the periphery, at least before what I named "the second wave of magic", was marked by the provision of small-scale magic religious services, or operated by autonomous wizards and sorcerers, as well as frequent itinerants.

Latin America as a whole, as well as Japan[60], is a society which has incorporated a range of values and modern Western institutions, without making a radical rupture with the magic. In the case of Latin America, this selectivity of incorporation of modern Western values is also manifest between the classes in which the pervasiveness of culture magic appears stronger in the lower classes.

What should be emphasized here is that the possibility of rational conduct of the action was not universal; it was restricted to certain segments of modernity. In many other places, especially in peripheral modernities, a large proportion of the population has never experienced this radical break through

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[60]For more details see: BELLAH, Robert.*Tokugawa Religion: the cultural roots of modern Japan.* New York, The Free Press, 1985.

the incorporation of the cognitive model of rational representation with the world – magic has always been a constant for them.

Thus, while magic religious cognition seems to be a novelty in central countries and global middle class, it never ceased to exist on the periphery. It is now presented only as a second wave of expansion, a renovated and refurbished version of old magic[61].

Thus, we can conclude that, without this past history of non-rupture with the cognitive model of magic religiosity, possibilities of success for Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism would be limited in Brazil; since such affinity of religious discourse was certainly a key aspect for the success of this religiosity in this country. This partially explains the fact that Brazil is the largest Pentecostal nation in the world. As stated elsewhere in this study, conversion to Pentecostalism did not represent a radical break with the religious past of the faithful, as the deities of the religious universe of magic afro-catholic syncretism continue to exist with minor alterations in the magic-religious Pentecostal life. In addition, the substrate of magic religious cognition has never ceased to exist after conversion, that is, the possibility of divine and supernatural intervention in the basic problems of everyday life at any time or situation.

Within this process of development, Pentecostalism and, especially Neo-Pentecostalism, was the religious current that incorporated and led the expansion of this form of religiosity, in other words, a renewed magic adapted to the urban peripheries, and distinct from the old magic religiosity of rural life. As they migrated from the country to the cities, the poor peasants immersed in the magic afro-catholic syncretism, in which saints and *orixás* shared the same space, converted to Pentecostalism, but remained in their magic universe in which God intervenes in the world on a daily basis by "operating miracles" related to their health, to their affective/sex and financial/professional life. Nevertheless, this kind of renewed magic, which inherited the old religious

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[61] What makes it a second wave of expansion, and not a continuity of the magic, is that the foundation of the first churches with Neo-Pentecostal features occurred after the intervention of foreign missionaries, coming from central capitalist areas. We will analyze these historical details in the next chapters.

Brazilian tradition, was also able to adapt its promises to the new social reality of its faithful audience. Its main promise is social ascension and, consequently, but not secondarily, access to the consumer market. In this new urban world, of rapid modernization and increasing hegemony of the capitalist discourse, Pentecostalism offers magic-religious means to a population excluded from the benefits of the capitalist promises to have access to that universe.

These aspects of the formation of the Brazilian society, i.e., the presence of a mass of excluded individuals looking forward to social inclusion, and a strong tradition of magic religiosity in the popular culture, established a solid and fertile ground for the expansion of a Neo-Pentecostal religiosity, one that brought modern answers to modern expectations. Therefore, Pentecostalism and its more dynamic variety, Neo-Pentecostalism, is a religiosity that was adapted and produced within these new and purely modern expectations. In other words, it promised a long-desired inclusion and ascension according to an earthly promise, not an unearthly one in a post-mortem paradise and resulting from a whole life of sacrifices. To promote and "confirm" this promise in a language appreciated by its target audience, it uses the language of magic religiosity.

To conclude this chapter, we can say that we have presented the socio-religious genesis of a nation where Pentecostalism has become a model example of expansion of its religiosity, by detailing the development of factors that mostly contributed for its success. Among these factors, we stress the relation between social production of a mass of sub-integrated people that, with the arrival of the modern discourse of individual ascension in society, became eager to be integrated into this new world. On the other hand, there was a religious socialization of this mass immersed in a language contaminated by magic, resulting in a religiosity (Neo-Pentecostalism) which, in turn, created centres of magic services that promise their followers, through a divine action (or coercion of this action), access to the world of wonders envisioned in the capitalist society.

Conclusion

Beyond Culturalism

Throughout this study the central objective, i.e., that which has guided my efforts, has been the elaboration of a response model (not a definitive response) to be sought and developed in such a way that will allow deeper comprehension of a specific type of Pentecostal expansion, or better, the dynamics of this expansion. This effort consists of the elaboration of a set of hypotheses based on sociological explanations relating to a hegemonic pattern that is characteristic of Pentecostal expansion. Within this hegemonic pattern of expansion one is confronted with a working class religious model that arose, has grown, and indeed dominates the religious life of the urban peripheral populations of middle and large cities on the outskirts of capitalism. It is important to note that the sets of ideas developed in this dissertation apply to Brazil (the largest Pentecostal nation in the world) and very likely to Latin America.

In this regard the hypotheses developed herein seek to explain the sociological roots of the Brazilian pattern of Pentecostalism, which are strongly in line with the pattern of Pentecostal development in Latin America and the beginnings of Pentecostalism in the U.S.A. These characteristics refer to what was developed in Chapter Two, "Pentecostalism: the rise of a new religion" and Chapter Four, "Pentecostalism: a Brazilian Experience." In these chapters I sought to demonstrate how the rise of Pentecostalism in the U.S.A. was related to great social changes and developed in the poor outskirts of North American cities. Furthermore, in more detail and armed with more abundant data, I strove to demonstrate the geographic and social characteristics of Pentecostalism in Brazil, where members of this form of religion were also mainly the poor who resided on the peripheries of large and medium-sized Brazilian cities. Thus the principal question that I seek to answer relates to why the expansion of this religiosity has such a specific social and geographic characteristic, a question whose answer may serve to explain why Brazil is the largest Pentecostal nation in the world.

Pentecostalism and Capitalistic Expansion

The principal hypothesis of this dissertation, from which the others stem, consists of the idea that **the Pentecostal Religiosity is directly related to the rise and development of a new social type in Capitalism's history**. In other words, Pentecostalism can be generally understood as religious expression that is linked to a new class or great social group. As a result of this hypothesis it is suggested that Pentecostalism became adapted as the religion of the dominated classes of peripheral capitalism in such a way that it not only assimilated the religious model of the dominated classes to the structure of Christianity, but also recreated striking facets of this type of religiosity. It should be remembered that Pentecostalism became established in a specific social location, and sought to provide religious responses to the collective social drama of this "new social class."

Within this context the central hypothesis referring to the relation between social class and religion is subdivided in two more secondary hypotheses that refer to the social and cognitive characteristics of this social class-religion relation. On the one hand, Pentecostalism spoke to the collective anxieties of this social class, and on the other it developed a religious discourse typical of these social strata. The dissertation addresses these assertions directly in Chapter Five, "Brazilian modernization and social structure: understanding a peripheral country".

Returning to my central hypothesis, I wish to emphasize the features of this new social type that developed on the outskirts of capitalism. The majority of the ideas relating to this social type had their origins in the analyses of sociologist Jessé Souza on the specificity of the development of Brazilian society. Without the development of these ideas it would not be possible to discern the relation between Pentecostalism and social class. As I demonstrated in Chapter Five, the expansion of capitalism generated distinct models of society, especially in the realm of social structure. A mass of sub-

integrated individuals to this new system of societal organization and, consequently, a new form of society, became the defining characteristics of what we call the periphery of capitalism. This process has first been understood in the light of the old theory of modernization, which postulated that this mass of sub-integrated individuals would eventually become integrated into the fold. However, such an approach neglects the true role of this group, which far from being residual (as in the European case), has been a chronic type of the periphery. And it was among this very social type, occupying the peripheries of large cities, that Pentecostalism developed as a religion. In other words, as I have maintained throughout this dissertation, the periphery created a hybrid between the classical analytical axes dealing with modernity, and this hybrid took shape in the structure of the large and medium-sized cities of the periphery. This social type described here fits neither the mold of the traditional peasant nor the modern urban type of classical analyses, just as the large urban peripheries do not fit with the classical notion of a rural-urban dichotomy.

It was within this specific social structure and specific social type that Pentecostalism developed. Analyzed from this angle, my central hypothesis assumes body and form in this history. The manner by which capitalism and modernity became established in Brazil (and in a similar way in Latin America) created a new society and a new historical social type. In contrast, the previously existing religious models, which had been shaped according to the demands of other social classes and societies with different dynamics, were unable to offer meaningful discourse for this "new folk."

Thus new religions or religious movements are related to specific groups or social classes and answer to the needs of those groups. Historically we can understand the development of Catholicism as a ritualistically magical answer to the needs of European peasants, the same Catholicism which was also successful in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions during the colonial period (becoming somewhat adapted to those distinct rural realities), and we also see the rise of a new historical class, i.e., the bourgeoisie, which was anchored in the Calvinist protestant religiosity, and we similarly observe the

relation between Methodism and the working class. By this same logic, Pentecostalism has performed this same role among the sub-integrated groups of capitalism in the 20TH and 21ST Centuries.

The religion of the downtrodden

As I've striven to develop throughout this study, these "elective affinities" between Pentecostalism and the sub-integrated of peripheral capitalism took their form in two structural aspects, one that sought to address the specific social demands of this class, and the other that attended the elective affinities that referred to the specific cognitive model of religiosity.

With respect to the social class demands that take form in religious discourse, i.e., the manner in which the collective anxieties generated by a similar social history (social class) are converted into a language whose responses become *religious promises*, Pentecostalism's message for its elective people is very clear: **the promise of Pentecostal salvation concentrates on the integration of its faithful into a society in which they are not well integrated.** As demonstrated in Chapter Two and especially Chapter Three, the promise or promises of Pentecostalism are always connected with their social history. The only exception to this was the *rejection of the worldly* in some aspects of the apocalyptic verve (belief of the imminent return of Jesus Christ), which was rapidly overcome. As we saw in Chapter Two, its rise in the U.S.A. was linked to promises of the integration of poor masses (immigrants and fieldworkers) and ethnic minorities who did not encounter a safe social location in American cities. However, as Pentecostalism developed the theological incorporation of prosperity formed a perfect union with the anxieties of this class as it strove to become integrated into capitalist society.

Material needs and, above all, social disenfranchisement translated into a religious promise vis-à-vis the incorporation of prosperity theology whereby a follower may encounter a job, money, affective-sexual success, and self-esteem

through religious blessing. This dynamic ultimately manifested itself in a promise of intramundane religious salvation in which the faithful were promised success in contemporary capitalist undertakings, i.e., active participation in the consumer market. Their social dignity and sense of achievement are guided by the dynamics of capitalist society, and Pentecostalism understood how to fulfill a need with the use of religious discourse.

On another level, Pentecostalism developed with an attractive language for the masses in the mold of a typical working class religion. The central point of this cognitive-religious trajectory relates to a rupture with rationalism. Pentecostalism was the first and only large Christian religious movement in which rationalism did not occupy the center of the official discourse.As I described in Chapter Six, the idea of bodily trance, typical of religions of the dominated segments of society, permits direct and immediate contact between the believer and the divinity, and whose only requirement for the believer is that this person have a body. Thus everyone can easily experience a religious state, quite differently from rationalism and its requirement of intellectual or mystical training that is carefully designed for the attainment of a transcendental experience. This first cognitive characteristic, i.e., the choice of a weak form of rationalism with magical and religious elements, created a direct link between Pentecostalism and the huddled masses.

These characteristics helped make Pentecostalism the religion of the dominated on the periphery of capitalism, a religion of the lower classes (the sub-integrated), of the dominated sex (women), and of the ethnically dominated (blacks, Amerindians, and mestizos), as was demonstrated in Chapter Four.

Pentecostalism and its salvation promise: social ascension and integration

All the analyses we have developed throughout this dissertation point to a central element in the emergence and development of Pentecostalism, i.e., its raw material – the promise of religious salvation – is based on the idea of social

ascension, particularly the ascension related to the integration of sub-integrated social groups to the dynamics of society.

Starting in Chapter 2, we have discussed that the new religion in the USA focused on the needs and social dramas that were specific of the newly arrived to the urban world of the large North-American cities, those who inhabited the periphery of these cities, those that were socially, economically, and ethnically excluded from the core of society. We also analyzed how the same social drama was the basis for the development of Pentecostalism in Latin America and, especially, in Brazil. In this country, a great mass of excluded individuals, also residents of urban peripheries (which proves the non-traditional and modern characteristic of these sectors), found in Pentecostalism the promises of answers to their dramas, mainly the anxiety to become integrated to a world in which they did not belong before. Such integration was embedded in the promise present in the modernity of social ascension.

This scenario leads us to the conclusion that Pentecostalism was a religious discourse capable of taking the main promise of modernity to social groups or classes "forgotten" by modern society. Through a religious discourse, Pentecostalism fulfilled the notions of social mobility, and its consequent idea of individual ascension to the mass of people not yet fully integrated to the modern world, but living in it. Following, it became the Christian religion of blacks and mestizos, of the poor and all the others who felt out of place in that world. So

Final considerations

Upon conclusion of this study, and after much careful reflection, I maintain that it has been possible to establish new interpretive pathways with respect to Pentecostal religiosity, pathways that do not rely on the Theory of Secularization or on strong culturalist features. An alternative vision of capitalism on the periphery allows us to experience Pentecostalism with other

eyes, associating this movement with profound changes in social structure and its rise as the ascension of a determined social class.

Nevertheless, we recognize the initial character of this work, and of this perspective of Pentecostalism. Subsequent works will surely provide more in-depth analyses of both the empirical material, which should offer more detailed conclusions, as well as develop more fully the theoretical question referent to the relation between social class and religious movements.

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