



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

**Global Migration and Transformation
Among Canadian Pentecostals**

**Submitted as partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the PhD degree**

University of Ottawa

1999

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0-612-38801-8

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research could not have been completed without the assistance of many people. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Peter Beyer, for his support and direction throughout my doctoral studies. He has taken a vested interest in my work and his encouragement will not be forgotten. I would also like to thank the following people for agreeing to serve on my doctoral examination committee: Dr. Robert Choquette, Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon, Dr. Leslie Laczko, and Dr. John Simpson.

I also want to thank all of the participants from the congregations and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada who graciously answered my questions and invited me to worship with them. A special note of thanks is given to Woodvale Pentecostal Church, my home church during my studies. The support I have received from the many friends of this congregation is immeasurable.

Most importantly I want to thank my wife Valerie for her love and support for which this research could not have been completed both financially and emotionally. I also want to specially thank our families for all the assistance they provided. Finally, this dissertation is for our children, Victoria, Ethan and Alexander.

ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s migration to Canada has changed from European to non European sources. What, then, are the implications of global migration for religion in Canada and specifically the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC)? Previous research on migrant groups has examined both pluralist and assimilationist tendencies. In this thesis incorporating both sociology of religion and ethnicity approaches, I supplement previous research by examining the transnational aspects of ethnic congregations in the PAOC.

Roland Robertson (1992) argues that the current phase of globalization is characterized by uncertainty and has implications for religion. According to Robertson's theory, religion gets restructured in terms of both local and global dynamics. Thus, the effects of globalization include theological, cultural, and organization change for the PAOC.

The research examined the views and practices of the members of eight different congregations (N=430) from a variety of cultural backgrounds including, Spanish, Korean, Tamil, Eritrean and European. The results show that the PAOC and the congregations are reacting in flexible and varied ways to global migration precisely because experiential religion allows ethnicity as a strategy, networks as an organizational mode, and charisma as authority.

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1980s and 1990s, religious practitioners, especially in Christian denominations, were preoccupied with whether or not their Church was growing or declining. This was also evident in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). Reginald Bibby's book *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (1987) was often referred to in Church discussions about why attendance was in decline. Some Churches responded to the attendance crisis with renewed emphasis on management techniques, believing the problem was essentially within, while avoiding the changes occurring in the culture. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the PAOC promoted Church growth conferences and Church planting seminars at a dizzying pace. Pentecostals also participated in conferences organized to ask the question about new immigrants as possible sources for growth. One conference in particular was held in Toronto in 1993. Having attended the conference, I left unsatisfied that the assumptions of the conference participants answered the question about the religious identification of immigrants. The assumption was that immigrants were non-Christians in need of evangelism. Yet, if most immigrants to Canada were arriving as Christians, as Bibby wrote in *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (1993b:23), this could drastically change the approach and ministry of the denominations. At the very least, the migration of non-European Christians to Canada would have different implications for the denominations. Also, the

claims made at the conference did not resonate with my own experience as a pastor in the PAOC.

Between 1993 and 1995, I was an assistant pastor at the Stone Church in the city of Toronto. The Stone Church congregation is a member of the PAOC, the largest Pentecostal denomination in Canada. It is an urban congregation that is experiencing tremendous change. One of my responsibilities was to act as liaison between the main Stone congregation and an Ethiopian Pentecostal congregation that shared the building for worship and other activities.

As a pastoral liaison, I mediated between the two congregations any concerns over, for example, the sharing of the facilities. I also performed rites like weddings and funerals for the Ethiopian congregation. This is because the Ethiopian congregation had no ordained minister. In fact they did not have a pastor. That is, they did not have a pastor in the sense that Pentecostal congregations typically think of pastors. Leadership in the Ethiopian congregation was provided by a group of Elders. These men were elected by the congregation to provide spiritual care and direction for the congregation. PAOC congregations have theologically trained clergy from PAOC-approved institutions; they are ordained and licensed to perform religious duties by the denomination and the laws of the provinces of Canada. Generally, a senior pastor oversees and leads each congregation. Structurally, PAOC congregations are organized in a hierarchical fashion. While the Ethiopians are

Pentecostal, this type of church polity is uncharacteristic for them.

Two distinctions stand out. First, the Elders are all employed in secular positions in contrast to a full time professional clergy. Second, the Elders as a group perform the role of pastor. The spokesperson for the Elders was determined by the relationship the individuals had with whomever they were meeting with. For example, one particular Elder was my contact person. If the senior pastor of the Stone congregation was required, however, another Elder spoke on behalf of them. Thus, the relational aspect of leadership took precedence over the positional.

I enjoyed my time with the Ethiopian congregation. They were wonderfully warm people who loved to worship and speak about their faith. I also appreciated the opportunity to marry new couples in the congregation. An Ethiopian wedding can be a very exciting event. Unlike most weddings I have attended or officiated at, an Ethiopian wedding ceremony typically lasts three to four hours. During this time the couple sits on two chairs in front of the congregation while the choir sings, gifts are presented, people speak, and someone preaches. Finally, the minister is called upon to perform the wedding vows followed by more congregational singing, speeches, and a meal. One particular practice, though, had to be changed.

After the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom would dance in the street with the wedding party following them trilling, shouting, and singing. The

Stone Church is located on Davenport Road between Yonge Street and Bay Street. It is a very busy road in Toronto. As you can imagine, people trying to drive their cars on Davenport Road were not very happy about the delay. Finally, the police warned the congregation that they were not allowed to dance on the street without a permit. Now the dancing is limited to the sidewalk and around the corridors of the building.

I was also called upon to bury one of their parishioners. This was an extremely sad moment due to the untimely death of one of the young men in the congregation. In fact, this was the first death the congregation had experienced in Canada. When the Elders asked me to conduct the service on behalf of the family I anxiously accepted. Aware of cultural differences, I inquired about any specific traditions the family desired. I was simply told to perform a typical Canadian funeral. Now I was really anxious. What is a typical Canadian funeral? Again I asked if any special music or presentations would be made. The answer was no. I was not convinced, however, based on my previous experience with weddings, for example.

On the day of the funeral, a cold February morning, I met briefly with the funeral director only to discover that he was extremely nervous. In fact, he was so terrified of what may happen, he locked the casket before the funeral in case, as he told me, the mourners rush the body and carry it away. Thankfully this did not happen; but the funeral was not typical. First, funeral homes have tight

schedules whereby several funerals a day are conducted. Yet, for the Ethiopians, time was of no concern. Speaker after speaker paid tribute to the young man. I could see the funeral director frequently looking at his watch. After the lengthy service, the group of mourners paid tribute to the family through shouting, crying, and wailing. By this time I could see the next family arriving for their funeral. While the director gently steered the mourners out the door, his next task was to get them out of the parking lot to the grave site. Finally, we arrived at the burial grounds where I discovered that Ethiopians do have special traditions. Very important for the family is the ritual act of placing dirt on the casket as it is lowered into the ground. Then each family member participates in the actual burying of the body. This was a problem. I explained to the funeral director why the mourners were standing around and would not leave. He told me that their request could not be accommodated. When I asked why the family was not allowed to bury the body he told me they could not do it because they were not part of the union. Only union members were allowed to bury the body. As I tried to explain this to the family, a front loader came barreling around the corner with two workers ready to assist. A compromise was struck and while the family still did not bury the body, they each shovelled some dirt into the grave.

My experience with the Ethiopian Pentecostal congregation is important for several reasons. First, it points to changes in immigration to Canada from primarily European countries to Asian, African, and Latin American ones. Since

the 1970s and especially during the 1980s and 1990s, Canada has experienced a transformation because of immigration. While immigrants from European countries have generally diminished, immigrants from non-Western countries have altered the demographics of Canada. The implications for the various institutions in Canada are still to be analysed. In particular, the consequences for religion in Canada need to be examined. One observation (see Bibby, 1993b), is that while the sources of immigration to Canada have changed, the religious make up of Canada has changed very little. In fact, the majority of immigrants coming to Canada continue to identify with Christianity. What they are bringing, however, are cultural variations of Christianity. Furthermore, a variety of transnational relationships and practices are maintained among ethnic groups and these have definite implications for religious denominations. This is the case for Pentecostalism in Canada.

What I discovered with the Ethiopian congregation is that they maintain several important links with other Ethiopian Pentecostal congregations in North America and in Ethiopia. These Pentecostal networks highlight the reciprocal flows of people, ideas, practices, money, and material belongings. Pentecostal networks among ethnic congregations also point to another theoretical problem that pertains to the concept of power and authority. One of the reasons I was appointed as liaison between the two congregations was because of conflict. Often I spent time reconciling members of the two congregations when

misunderstandings arose over such things as the use of the facility, resources, schedules, and space. Some members of the Stone congregation believed the Ethiopians should just join them and not exert so much energy trying to operate their own congregation, especially when they did not have a pastor “like us.” Yet, the Ethiopians established a congregation, purchased their own building, regularly met with other Ethiopian Pentecostals, and became an autonomous congregation in the PAOC.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the implications of global migration for religion in Canada. My hypothesis is that contemporary migration is characterized by transnational relationships and practices that both globalize and localize religious life. Specifically, I show that current changes in migration to Canada have implications for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Transnational relationships and practices involve networks of people, and ideas through, for example, conferences and denominational ties. The effects for the PAOC include theological, cultural, and organizational change that cannot be understood adequately simply in terms of immigrant accommodation or resistance. My analysis is a combination of migration theory and sociology of religion whereby I examine globalization theory, migration changes, and transnational religious practices and relationships.

The structure of my thesis is as follows. In chapter one I examine some of the cultural dimensions of globalization and the implications for religion and

migration. In this chapter I look at three features of globalization including the global-local dynamic, problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and the role of identity formation. My analysis is significantly influenced by the work of Roland Robertson (1992). Second, I look at several current trends for religion globally and the evidence for a reconfiguration of religion along the lines of beliefs, practices, and forms. For example, one trend in contemporary religious practice is an emphasis upon personal experience. Third, I review the literature on migration and show how a global analysis supplements previous research on ethnicity. Finally, I provide a detailed account of the methodology for my research on eight ethnic and non-ethnic congregations in the PAOC.

Chapter two contains a history of global Pentecostalism. Historians have argued that Pentecostalism began in the United States. New evidence suggests that the story of global Pentecostalism is a story of the convergence of many Pentecostals around the world and in the United States and then its re-spreading around the world. The Canadian story highlights how Canadian Pentecostalism is both a contributor to and a beneficiary of the movement. Finally, I provide a demographic profile of Canadian Pentecostalism using data from Census Canada.

In chapter three I probe four concepts to bridge globalization theory with the empirical data on the ethnic congregations. The four concepts are experiential religion, ethnicity, religious organization and networks, and

power/authority. Experiential religion is characterized by personal religious practices that have consequences for the individual and the community. Not all experiential religion is Pentecostal but all Pentecostals are experiential. In this section I show how Pentecostals appropriate biblical passages on speaking in tongues, dreams and visions, and physical healing as signs for current religious practice. Ethnicity, I argue, is a social construction based upon a particular interpretation of history, self-identification, and a shared cultural-symbolic character. Each of these features is scrutinized to provide a basis for understanding ethnicity and the transnational relationships and practices maintained by ethnic groups. The idea of social networks points to how ethnic and religious groups are linked globally. The reciprocal exchange of practices, ideas, money, information, and material goods characterize the proliferation of contemporary networks. An evaluation of social networks allows for an examination of the various linkages within Pentecostalism globally and locally. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of power and authority especially as it relates to experiential religion, ethnicity, and social networks. Transnational relationships and practices among Pentecostals reflect the problematic of power and authority. Specifically, charismatic authority serves to validate experience, define ethnicity, and mobilize networks

In chapter four I provide a detailed description of the eight congregations that are the empirical focus of this thesis. Each congregation is surveyed to

show their history, Pentecostal style, and demographic profile. An important finding is that the majority of immigrants in these congregations arrived in Canada not only as Christians but also as Pentecostals. All of the congregations are Pentecostal and all but one is a member of the PAOC. The Eritrean congregation is not a member but does have an affiliation and worships in a PAOC building. I also provide an account of the structure and mission of the PAOC.

Finally, in chapter five I examine some Pentecostal networks and the transnational relationships and practices that serve to maintain ethnic congregations in the PAOC. I also look at some theological, cultural, and organizational implications of the changing ethnic composition for the PAOC.

In this thesis I test certain aspects of globalization theory to see whether or not global change results in new social relationships with implications for religion. Again, my hypothesis is that contemporary migration is characterized by transnational relationships and practices which have implications for religious life in Canada. I am not arguing that transnational relationships and practices are unique to the contemporary period. Previous migrations to Canada, however, were exemplary of an earlier phase of globalization. Research on ethnic congregations of that phase cannot simply be extrapolated to the current one. The contemporary period needs to be researched for its specificities. Nor am I suggesting that some degree of assimilation or pluralism will or will not take

place in the future. I am saying that new sources of immigration to Canada point to new relationships and practices that have consequences for the PAOC.

Research among the second generation of these immigrant congregations in the PAOC will most likely tell another story. That story is still to be told.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORY AND METHOD

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate the theoretical and methodological points from which this thesis proceeds. My aim is to analyse the effects of globalization for Pentecostalism in Canada. Specifically, I want to look at several implications of contemporary migration for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. This requires an analysis of globalization, religion, and migration. In the first section I examine some of the cultural dimensions of globalization and the consequences for religion and migration. Specifically, I look at three features of globalization including the global-local dynamic, problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and the role of identity formation. My analysis is substantially influenced by the work of Roland Robertson (1992).

Next, I include a discussion of globalization and religion. Specifically, I explore how religions are reconfiguring along the lines of beliefs, practices, and forms. In addition, I look at the transnational nature of ethnic Pentecostal congregations including the maintenance of a variety of global relationships and practices. A review of the literature on migration follows with an outline of my use of migration theory and the sociology of religion for an investigation into transnational religious practice. In this section I show how a global analysis of migration supplements research on ethnicity.

Finally, I provide a detailed outline of my research methodology for evaluating global migration and religion in Canada. I collected data between 1995 and 1998 and my principal methods of data gathering took the following form. They are: (1) Participant observation of worship services, prayer meetings, Bible studies, and special events of eight Pentecostal congregations in Toronto and Ottawa; (2) twenty-two semi-structured interviews with PAOC pastors, educators, and institutional leaders; (3) a survey of 430 members of eight Pentecostal congregations; (4) secondary analysis of secondary data sets including Statistics Canada figures and denominational reports and; (5) a review of primary documents like denominational and congregational reports.

Globalization

In contemporary discussions, it is not always clear what the term globalization means. A general review of the literature reveals that there are various definitions, theories, and views regarding the topic with varying degrees of precision or the lack thereof. In fact the term globalization did not become academically important until the mid 1980s (see Waters, 1995:2). As well, there is some discussion about when globalizing processes began (4). Furthermore, the task of defining the nature of religion and globalization is an enormous task that is still relatively in its infancy (Simpson, 1991; Roof, 1991; Lechner, 1993; Beyer, 1994). While it is impossible to provide a comprehensive study of

globalization, I will endeavour to situate the cultural perspective of Roland Robertson (1992) in the debate, primarily with a view to explore the relationship between religion and migration and several ways in which ethnic congregations maintain transnational relationships and practices.

My hypothesis is that contemporary migration is characterized by transnational relationships and practices that both globalize and localize religious life. That is, ethnic Pentecostal congregations utilize transnational networks of people, ideas, and information, which have several implications for the PAOC, ethnic congregations, and Pentecostalism globally. Three features of globalization are relevant for understanding the contemporary situation. They are the global-local dynamic, polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and the role of identity formation (Robertson, 1992). There are, of course, other important issues that the globalization debate raises, but I shall treat these only to the extent that they reflect my central concerns.

As a macro sociological theory of social change, globalization in this thesis refers to a process in which an awareness of the world as a single socio-cultural place has intensified. The awareness of the world as a single place has several implications including, for example, for economics and culture. In areas of the economy corporate interests treat the world as a single entity and thus compete in all major markets concurrently. This is not, however, without recognition of local differences. Corporations like McDonalds and Sony know

that to operate globally the local has to be considered. Thus there is an emergence of a global-local interconnection. As well, the globalization of the economy is made possible through the establishment of world-wide information and communication networks. The development of global cities like London, Hong Kong, and New York service a global economy through the provision of financial services and communications (Robins, 1996; Spybey, 1996; Cohen, 1997).

Globalization also has implications for the world's cultures. Global media, like CNN, make use of satellite and contribute to the creation of global television markets. The global spread of people, film, television, and popular music lends to a global culture (Featherstone, 1990; Appadurai, 1996; Robins, 1996; Simpson, 1996). At the same time, there is a reassertion of cultural differences and distinctions in the face of globalizing tendencies. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a renewed emphasis on ethnic and religious identity. For example, the attempt by religious fundamentalist groups to exert a public role illustrates a tendency toward socio-cultural particularism (Robertson, 1992; Lechner, 1993; Beyer, 1994; Casanova, 1994). Again, this highlights the global-local connection.

Key theorists have made significant contributions to the globalization discussion. Their perspectives can be divided into the economic (Immanuel Wallerstein, 1974, 1980, 1989), the political (John W. Meyer, 1980; Anthony

Giddens, 1981, 1987, 1990), and the cultural (Roland Robertson, 1992). In Wallerstein's analysis of the world-system, the economy, and specifically the inequalities of capitalism, is the central focus. Meyer and Giddens, on the other hand, critique Wallerstein and attempt to integrate the economy within the debate while focussing on world polity.¹ In contrast, Roland Robertson's (1992)

¹ Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) developed a Marxist world-system analysis that considers the economy and specifically capitalism as constitutive of a single world-system. Wallerstein's three volume series contributes to an in depth socio-historical account of the modern world-system. Central to each volume is Wallerstein's thesis that to understand inequality one must examine the economy from a world-system perspective. Each book surveys the cycles of change from the development of a world economy, to its expansion and the eventual collapse of the economic system. Specifically, he (1974:15) argues that the world-system is predicated upon the European economic system that not only encompasses the whole world but also supersedes the political. Furthermore, the links between the various cultural and political dimensions of the world-system are economic. In other words, all other aspects of the world-system are subordinate to and dependent upon the economic. The economic world-system consists of a world-wide division of labour and the control of the economy by certain bureaucratic states. The various countries or regions participate in the world-system as the semiperiphery, the core, and the periphery. A division of labour in the world-system allows, for example, the core to dominate the periphery economically with the support of the state. Furthermore, each zone in the world-system is assigned specific economic roles, class structures, and modes of labour with the core regions profiting from unequal relationships. According to Wallerstein (348), however, the economic system will eventually collapse due to its inability to maintain high levels of production and distribution, opening the door for a new world-system, a socialist world government.

John W. Meyer (1980) contributes to the globalization discussion through his analysis of world-polity, specifically, the global system of nation-states. Inherent in his argument is a critique of Wallerstein's view that the world-system is dominated by the economy. For Meyer, the world-system is linked to the rise and expansion of a global economy but it is the world political system that operates to restructure the economy and transform social life. In addition, it is the nation-state that is given world-wide support and legitimacy and thus the control over the various economies. Meyer explains that conceptions of a world-system based primarily on the economy are problematic for the following reasons. First, the world-polity is characterized by stable state systems; second, peripheral societies have experienced rapid modernization; and finally, there is a world-wide shift to postindustrial, politically constructed forms of social organization. Meyer argues that the state has been treated secondarily in world-systems analyses and needs to be brought forward in the discussion. Theoretically, Meyer argues that economic systems generate polities and polities restrict exchanges. This is precisely because nation-states have world-wide legitimacy and authority over such things as territory, the means of violence, and the deligitimation of other organizational forms. The global support for the nation-state is evidenced through such things as the support of its members, the recognition

view of globalization, while encompassing much of the above, breaks with them in his cultural analysis of the world-system (see Waters, 1995:47). The advantage of his cultural analysis is its broad inclusion of a complex set of factors for the study of globalizing processes, including religion. The focus of this research is the cultural dimensions of globalization and specifically the role of religion in a global world. Robertson's approach is the most fruitful theoretical perspective for this reason.

Robertson's (1992) cultural perspective emphasizes discontinuities and differences, rather than the traditional sociological view of culture as integrating. Specifically, he (25-26) analyses the processes of globalization according to four

between states, transnational political bodies like the United Nations, private transnational associates like corporations, accepted world standards of prestige, and finally, through the support of state elites. Finally, peripheral states, argues Meyer, receive resources by other nation-states for their own progress. Meyer does not claim that inequalities are absent from the world-system. Rather, the logic of a world polity allows for a better explanation of industrial and postindustrial activities than simple economic exchange theories.

Like Meyer, Anthony Giddens (1981, 1985, 1990) critiques Marxist theory and the development of Western capitalism as the sole characteristic of the world-system and argues that both the nation-state and capitalism are central to the unfolding of modernity. While acknowledging the contribution of Wallerstein, Giddens (1981:197) argues that he fails to examine the emergence of capitalism within the European State system. The theme of military power and warfare is expanded upon by Giddens (1985). The success of the nation-state system, according to Giddens (1985: 255-256), is largely related to the marriage of industrial capitalism and military warfare. A second factor is the expansion of administrative power by the nation-state to consolidate its resources. Finally, historical developments, relatively independent of nation-states, contributed to the development of the modern world. Giddens (1990) connects the development of the modern world with globalization. Specifically, four institutional dimensions of modernity, surveillance, military power, capitalism, and industrialism, according to Giddens, are globalizing. By this he means that these four dimensions are spreading around the world. As he (64) states: "Globalization refers essentially to that stretching process, in so far as the modes of connection between different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole." Thus for Giddens, globalization is primarily about the expansion of the nation-state system during a period of intense or radicalized modernization. Globalization is therefore an outcome of modernity.

major aspects or reference points of the global field. They include national societies, individuals, the world system of societies, and humankind. Together, these reference points constitute the range in which he examines the problems of globalization. In doing so, he explores the ways in which people conceive the world as a single place, including attempts at denying that the world is one. Robertson endeavours to understand the numerous ways in which globalization proceeds, the challenges presented to the stability of various perspectives, and individual and collective participation in the world. In the following section I will outline three aspects of globalization using features of Robertson's analysis. They are the global-local dynamic, problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and the role of identity formation. By examining these features I want to analyze the effects of globalization for religion and migration.

The first feature of globalization is the global-local dynamic. According to Robertson (97-114) the relationship between the global and the local is largely misunderstood and requires careful scrutiny. Robertson considers the dynamic to be central to understanding globalization processes. For Robertson, the contemporary period is characterized by global change. Change, however, is not just at a global level. Change is also local. The relationship between the global and the local is depicted by interconnectedness. The term Robertson employs to depict this interconnected relationship is glocal. Glocalization conveys the idea of global localization and local globalization. As Robertson (173) states: "We

must recognize directly 'real world' attempts to bring the global, in the sense of the macroscopic aspect of contemporary life, into conjunction with the local, in the sense of the microscopic side of life in the late twentieth century."

Related to the global-local is the universal-particular. For Robertson, globalizing processes are also universal and particular. That is, globalization involves the interpenetration of the universal and the particular. Universalism and particularism characterize the interconnectedness of the global and the local. In Robertson's (100) words: "My own argument involves the attempt to preserve direct attention *both* to particularity and difference *and* to universality and homogeneity. It rests largely on the thesis that we are, in the late twentieth century, witnesses to - and participants in - a massive, twofold process involving *the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism.*" In other words, the global-local dynamic is characterized by a tendency toward homogeneity and heterogeneity together. This, according to Robertson, is essential for understanding globalizing processes.

Robertson (34) attempts to address the global-local issue by employing the notion of metaculture. Metaculture is a conceptual tool that refers to changes that occur globally and locally. Borrowing from anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1985), Robertson discusses metaculture as a way of addressing the various links between the global and the local, culture and social structure, and

culture and individual action. The term suggests a dialogical relationship (see Burrige, 1979, 1991) between global culture and local culture. Metaculture is used for addressing the variations in conceptions of culture and the links between the particular and the universal, the global and the local. As Robertson (1992:41) states:

Metacultures (or cultural codes) constrain conceptions of culture, mainly in terms of deep-rooted, implicit assumptions concerning relationships between parts and wholes, individuals and societies, in-groups and out-groups, and societies and the world as a whole.

In other words, the contemporary world is characterized by a global-local form of participation and interaction between cultures and individuals on a global scale. The particularization of the universal and the universalization of the particular, argues Robertson, is the main feature of the world today.

Globalization does not simply mean the homogenization of the world. Nor does it just mean the heterogenization of the world. For Robertson it is both. The world is increasingly conceived of as a single unit but the proliferation and fragmentation of cultures and identities also characterize it. Globalization assumes there is a discontinuity in society between the past, the present and the future. As a development of the modernization thesis, it is in some sense about the spread of Western Imperialism. It is not, however, just about the spread of 'things' from the West. Globalization is different in that it is also the creation of a new global culture with social structures that become the broader context for the

particular cultures of the globe. Implicit, is the idea that globalization transforms particular cultures. This does not necessarily mean the homogenization of all cultures. Rather, globalization assumes that local cultures will face serious challenges as they adjust to new global realities. As Robertson (46) states:

Some of the most significant phenomena of our time have to do with the responses to and interpretations of the global system as a whole. More specifically, globalization involves pressures on societies, civilizations and representatives of traditions, including both 'hidden' and 'invented' traditions, to sift the global-cultural scene for ideas and symbols considered to be relevant to their own identities. This consumption and syncretization of culture is, perhaps, the most neglected aspect of the revitalization of culture as a sociological motif.

Thus, the global-local dynamic underscores the constraints of a changing world. The dialogical nature of the global-local nexus is such that the global always has to receive local expression and there can hardly be anything local anymore that does not relate to the global in some way, if only indirectly. Globalization, for Robertson, refers to a new way of being local, especially in the awareness of a plurality of identities.²

The plurality of identities, specifically polyethnicity and multiculturalism, are

² John Simpson (1996) argues that the primary units of globalization are not economic, political, or cultural systems. Instead, he asserts that the reverse is true. At the local level the individual or the self is one life-world that composes the elementary units of globalization. Simpson admits that the contemporary world could not have come into being without the technological infrastructure of transportation, communication, and global economic markets. The emergence of a global world, however, could not have occurred without the local, including the individual. The reversal is the penetration of the global by the local. As Simpson (117) states: "Globalization can, in certain respects, be viewed as the *opposite* of modernization. Thus, where modernization involved the progressive colonization of life-worlds by rationalized systemic elements, under globalization the life-worlds of ethnos, family, and locale increasingly colonize the developed, rationalized global system."

expressions of the global-local dynamic. Problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism are characteristic of the current phase of globalization. According to Robertson (58-59), there are five historical phases of globalization. The first phase of globalizing tendencies began in Europe from the early fifteenth until the mid-eighteenth century with the growth of national communities, ideas about the individual, the spread of modern geography, and the Gregorian calendar. Phase two lasted from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1870s, primarily in Europe, and was characterized by a sudden shift toward nationalism and internationalism. From the 1870s until the 1920s, there were increasing tendencies toward globalization through, for example, the inclusion of non-European societies in European organizations, an increase in global forms of communication, the development of global competitions like the Olympics, and the First World War. Phase four is depicted by power struggles lasting from the 1920s until the 1960s over national independence, conceptions of modernity, identity and the nature of humanity. The most recent final phase, beginning in the 1960s and nearing crisis proportions in the 1990s, is portrayed as a period of heightened global consciousness with the landing on the moon, the end of the Cold War, nuclear threat, increases in global institutions, an acceleration of global communications, problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism, religious fundamentalism, and the environmental movement. Robertson refers to this period as the uncertainty phase of globalization. In this thesis I examine the

effects of this particular phase for religion in Canada. Thus this research is a reflection of the new phase and not just an abstract contribution to scientific knowledge. Previous research on migration to Canada represents an earlier phase in globalization. If proper historical research on ethnic Pentecostals were possible, transnational links would also have been found, although more tenuous ones than now, given the relatively greater presence of global ways of linking. The uncertainty phase referred to by Robertson, therefore, needs to be examined for its own specificities.

Important for the discussion here is his observation that, since the 1960s, with a sense of crisis in the early 1990s, societies are increasingly facing problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism. According to Robertson (70), "the global-field is highly pluralistic in that there is a proliferation of civilizational, continental, regional, societal and other definitions of the global-human condition as well as considerable variety in identities formed in those respects." As one critical instance of this tendency, the contemporary period is characterized by massive migration shifts along with the global and cultural resources to both create and maintain ethnic identities. Specifically, globalization highlights the tendency toward the (re)emergence and proliferation of ethnic identities. Robertson does not argue that problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism are recent developments. His point is that globalizing tendencies have been proceeding for centuries to the point that the world is experiencing an

intensification of polyethnicity and multiculturality.

Robertson argues that pluralism is a feature of the global system. Pluralism, however, underscores the potential for increased global-cultural conflict in the pursuit of legitimizing ethnic identities. Robertson (61) points out, “that cultural pluralism is itself a constitutive feature of the contemporary global circumstance and that conceptions of the world-system, including symbolic responses to and interpretations of globalization, are themselves important factors in determining the trajectories of that very process.” Robertson argues though, that pluralism must be a feature of the global system and legitimized as such precisely because of the potential for increased global-cultural conflict in the pursuit of a viable global order. The various cultural interactions in a global world reflect differing responses to and interpretations of globalizing processes at the local level.

Problems of polyethnicity and multiculturality are further complicated as these cultural interactions occur not only from state to state but also within states. As Robertson (104) writes:

Globalization is not simply a matter of societies, regions and civilizations being squeezed together in various problematic ways but also of this occurring with increasing intensity *inside* nationally constituted societies.

Again, Robertson’s point is that the idea of the nation-state as a culturally integrated homogenized entity is largely a misperception. Thus, there is a need to understand contemporary circumstances of polyethnicity, multiculturality and

globality with a view of the state as a multicultural society (112). One concern is to examine to what extent particular cultures are transformed locally because of their interactions with other cultures globally.

The intensification of global interaction among cultures points to fluidity in social relationships in the global context. Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that the contemporary period is characterized by the disjuncture between various dimensions of global culture. Specifically, Appadurai describes the global world as consisting of a set of "landscapes." The suffix "scape" refers to the flow of such things as people and points to the shifting and uneven dynamic of the world. Scapes include mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes, and ethnoscapes. The fluidity of the ethnoscape, for example, is seen in the way ethnic groups migrate across the borders and boundaries of the world. In addition, ethnic group cleavages are not limited to the nation-state. Rather, they shift back and forth between the various structures of global society. The ethnoscape, according to Appadurai (33), is "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals." The ethnoscape can be stable but also shifting as new immigrant realities are created. It reflects new forms of global migration and the place of contractual relationships, family visits, and intermittent stays abroad. Communication technologies and inexpensive airfare, for example, allow ethnic groups to

construct and maintain social identities without being overly restricted by the boundaries of powerful structures like the state (see Cohen, 1997:162-165).

A third feature of globalization relates to the role of identity formation. The complexity of identity formation is related to the fragmentation and multiplication of social identities in the 1990s. New identities are constructed as counter-tendencies to globalization manifested in such things as nationalism, religious fundamentalism, racism, sexism, and other forms of social exclusivism (see Castells, 1997:52-64; Cohen, 1997:169-173). This highlights the socially constructed quality of identity formation for both the individual and the group. Globalization challenges the dominant ways of socially constructing identity. Thus contemporary identity formation is characterized by self identification. According to Robertson (104-105): “globalization has involved and continues to involve the *institutionalized construction* of the individual.” Robertson's point is that the individual and specifically, the social construction of identity, is a feature of globalization and must be examined as part of globalizing tendencies. Globalization processes shape and reshape personal and collective identities. One characteristic of a global world is the reflexive nature of contemporary life including choosing one identity over another individually and collectively. The constructed nature of both individual and collective identity is such that the individual no more than the group has to choose to do identity in a particular way. Thus, ethnicity, for example, becomes an optional strategy for both the

individual and the group.

The social construction of ethnicity, according to Appadurai (1996:178) is related to globalization, specifically, the social, territorial, and cultural shifts in today's world. As groups migrate to new locations, they reconstruct their histories and reconfigure their ethnic identities. In addition, Appadurai argues that ethnic identity formation is less confined to spatially bound territories. Locality, according to Appadurai, is primarily relational and contextual. It is not limited to geography but is experienced through a perceived closeness in transnational relationships and practices (see Anderson, 1991). In other words, globalization loosens people from their geography and at the same time localizes them.

Robin Cohen (1997:174) also makes the point that globalization constrains social identities so they are less and less dependent upon geography. The role of territory and specifically, the nation state is less important for defining who people are. That is, identity is less about place and more about common interests. Thus notions of shared affinities, like preferences, opinions, beliefs, tastes, food, lifestyles, fashion, music, ethnicities, and religion can be the basis of social identities. The multiplicity of interests and cultures permits many new combinations which are brought together in a number of complex ways so that they create and maintain new cultures and social identities. Thus globalization contributes to the social identity process in several ways including ethnic identity

formation.

To summarize, globalization is a macro sociological theory in sociology that attempts to account for the world as a single social and cultural system. A globalized world is characterized by a global-local dynamic, problems of polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and social identity formation. Each of these features points to changes in the contemporary world and the effects for migration and religion. New forms of migration point to transnational relationships and practices that have implications for religion. Specifically, religion is a sphere separable from culture and ethnicity that provides another mode of understanding transnationalizing tendencies. I will now look at several consequences of globalization for religion.

Global Religion

Globalization not only has political, economic, and cultural dimensions; it also affects the form and function of the religious (Beyer, 1994, 1997, 1998).³

³ According to Beyer (1997, 1998), there is a tendency toward the functional differentiation of religion as a structural form and its development as a major subsystem in a globalized world. Beyer examines how religion is developing as a differentiated subsystem of the globe characterized by functional specialization. His analysis rests on differentiating religion from other features of the global system. He argues that just as the globe consists of political, economic, and educational spheres, for example, there is also a global religious system as a constitutive feature that is distinguished within by various religious traditions (1998:4). Two features characterize a global religious system: first, what differentiates religion from non-religion and second, what distinguishes one religion from another. Beyer admits that the possibility of a global religious system requires further empirical evidence (1998:5). Central to his work are the two ideas of differentiation and systems theory, especially through the work of Niklas Luhmann (see 1982, 1995). The value of his observation and analysis is his theoretical assessment of religion and globalization. Specifically, his work points to other possibilities for understanding religion in contemporary society.

Religion is a sphere that is separable from culture in general and ethnicity in particular. Thus religion can be established as another mode of transnationalizing, along with but not necessarily with the same dividing lines as ethnicity. In addition, the constraints of globalization have implications for religion and religions.

While Beyer's concern is to delineate the nature of religion as a subsystem of the globe, Danièle Hervieu-Léger (1993; 1997) examines the changing nature of religious life in a global world. Specifically, she (1997:106) analyses what she calls the reconfiguration of the Roman Catholic Church from a regulated transnational religion to deregulated transnational communitarian movements within the Church. According to Hervieu-Léger (104), "transnational religion refers to any religious system whose organization transcends frontiers and weaves over and above national political and cultural specificities a network of ideologically unified communities." Her work moves closer to examining the relation between global change and privatized religion (also see Casanova, 1997; Rudolph and Piscatori, 1997).

Hervieu-Léger argues that religion is reconfiguring and neither disappearing as strong versions of the secularization thesis would have it, especially the decline-and-disappear versions (see Bibby, 1993a), nor necessarily growing according to certain growth models (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985; Finke and Stark, 1992). She (112) states:

There may be no room today either for the simplistic old paradigm of decline or for celebration or denunciation of the “return of religion.” But how is it possible then to think about the complex reality of a religious landscape in which the recomposition of the beliefs, practices, and modalities of religious sociability is based on the continuing decomposition of the traditional forms of institutional religion?

The uniqueness of her analysis is her global perspective which differs from most work that often focuses on social changes affecting religion within the nation-state (for e.g., see Hoge and Roozen, 1979; Roof and McKinney, 1987; Wuthnow, 1988). Hervieu-Léger examines how global change affects religion in general and religions in particular especially as they reconfigure along the lines of beliefs, practices, and forms. Hervieu-Léger (1997:112-116) outlines how global changes lead to five ideal-typical tendencies for religion. The structural features of religion that make it essentially a mobile reality are as follows.

The first tendency is the large-scale emergence of a religiosity that is increasingly in tune with the modern culture of the individual (112-113). This tendency in religion manifests itself in the form of personal accounts of religion or testimony. Personal experience and the individual's spiritual quest are the measuring rods of authenticity for religion. The emphasis is on the individual religious journey, the value of personal experience, and the subject's emotional involvement in that experience.

A second tendency is the diffusion across national boundaries of emotional religious communities (113). The movement of religion or its diffusion

along international networks along with the expansion of a festive religiosity represents this tendency. She explains that religion is characterized by a new sociability that is mobile and emotive. It is transnational and experiential in both style and emotion. This is in contrast to the spread of religion through rationalized religious bureaucracies.

A third trend refers to a process of institutional deregulation of religious belief (113-114). The idea here is that individuals, in a pragmatic fashion, draw upon the symbols of the religion that work best for them in their expressive and emotional lives. The symbols of the religion, however, are accessible without the mediation of a regulating institution. The result is the development of syncretic homemade beliefs; a hybrid of religious faith (see Luckmann, 1967; Robertson, 1992:93-94).

Another trend for religion is the rise of religious integralism or fundamentalism (115-116). The concern here is with rejecting the logic of modernity that differentiates the public from the private. Fundamentalist groups aim to rebuild their religious traditions by emphasizing so-called fundamentals of the faith. This emphasis has led to a clash with the values of a modern world often characterized by fundamentalist groups as values that have failed the world (see Lawrence, 1989; Lechner, 1993; Beyer, 1994; Casanova, 1994; Juergensmeyer, 1994).

A final proclivity, along with an emphasis on local individual and

experiential religion, is a propensity toward the homogenization of a religious tradition (114-115). What this means is that the many “traditions” within a “tradition” tend to identify with the larger global expression of the religion. In reference to the Catholic Church in France, Hervieu-Léger (114) states: “At the same time as religious and nonreligious appropriations of the Christian tradition become more individualized and more differentiated, there is a move toward the eradication of the ‘traditions within the tradition’ that for centuries shaped the religious landscape of France.” Thus, there is the development of both a global and a local expression of religion.

Hervieu-Léger’s work is an excellent example of how global change affects the Roman Catholic Church and religion in general. However, it is fairly easy to examine the Roman Catholic Church that has always been a global organization. Far more difficult are the many new religious movements, specifically Pentecostalism, which does not have a global organization overseeing all Pentecostal congregations. Pentecostals do, however, conceive of themselves as part of a larger worldwide movement that can be characterized as a global culture. Karla Poewe (1994: xi-xii) describes Pentecostalism as a global culture because it is “unbound spatially, temporally, institutionally, and linguistically; it is experiential, idealistic, biblical, and oppositional.” Her work on global Pentecostalism does, however, leave one with the impression that a global culture refers to the diffusion of Pentecostalism through missionaries from

the United States to diverse local cultures.

She and co-author Irving Hexham do clarify what they mean by religion as a global culture in a later work. In *New Religions as Global Cultures* (1997) Hexham and Poewe explore the relationship between new religions and the concept of a global culture. Here the authors make it clear that the globality of new religions is not simply a result of the expansion of Western ideas and especially capitalism (41). They also distinguish between the effect of globalizing processes on Pentecostalism and new religions. As the authors (42) state: "To be a global culture, charismatic Christianity, despite its numerous local adaptations, must remain true to one world tradition. By contrast, new religions, despite their globality, must fragment existing traditions, recombine with others in new ways, and yet remain true to a very old and very local folk religion."

It is not my intention to examine the implications of their work for new religions. What I want to point to is their investigation into the relationship between religion and globalization. More specifically, my interest is with their idea that global culture, and specifically, religion as a global culture is a "transnational or transsocietal network of cosmopolitan people" (43). Thus, Hexham and Poewe (41) define global culture as "a tradition that travels the world and takes on local color. It has both a global, or metacultural, and a local, or situationally distinct, cultural dimension." Important in this definition is the idea that global culture is transnational and characterized by its local and diverse

expressions. In Robertsonian (1992) terms, it is glocal.

A second idea, not unlike Hervieu-Léger's observation of transnational emotive religion discussed above, is Hexham and Poewe's recognition that transnational religion is characterized by primal experiences. The authors argue that many religions and especially new religions are characterized by primal experiences. As they state (77), these proleptic tendencies are "fundamental spiritual experiences that shatter preconceived notions about the rational order of the universe. These experiences involve dreams, visions, encounters with ghosts or spirits, precognition, and so on." As well, these experiences are important, write Hexham and Poewe (60), as they "affirm the reality of an unseen world." This in turn authenticates the religion for the individual.

The authors (60-61) also make it clear that these experiential elements are not limited to any particular religious tradition. So, for example, speaking in tongues, a practice found both within Christianity and Buddhism, and practiced in diverse local cultures, is a global experience. However, it is at the local level where meaning is given to these religious signs. As they (61) state: "Primal experiences, too, have local and global aspects and are part of local and global religious cultures. Thus, a global phenomenon like speaking in tongues has very specific meanings in specific local religious cultures." My point is that the experiential emphasis in these global cultures is precisely what makes it easier for them to be global. This relates to Simpson's (1996) idea of reverse

colonization where the life-world experience of individuals ignores the boundaries that the large systemic structures try to impose. More specifically, the transnational character of Pentecostalism and its metonymic basis of authority prevent effective control through metaphoric symbols. It is this point that I will return to later in the thesis.

In sum, an analysis of religion benefits from a consideration of global changes. Globalization processes transform religion generally, and religions, specifically. As well, the global context has a tendency toward reconfiguring traditional beliefs, practices, and forms. Finally, religion as a global culture transcends the local and at the same time is an expression of it, especially, but not exclusively through diverse individual religious experiences. Furthermore, religion as a global culture facilitates transnational relationships and practices among migrant communities. It is to a discussion of this critical additional dimension that I now turn.

Global Migration

While there is much literature on international migration, very little of it focuses on the transnational religious experience of migrants. In the last few years, however, new studies of global religion and migration have been published (e.g., Eickelman and Piscatori, 1990; Robertson and Garret, 1991; Ahmed and Donnan, 1994; Poewe, 1994; Hexham and Poewe, 1997; Rudolph

and Piscatori, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997; Levitt, 1998). The experience of Pentecostal Christians and migration has received even less attention (see Johannesen, 1991; Van Dijk, 1997). As well, most theories of migration often polarize toward assimilationist or pluralist models, and these usually confined to an analysis within the nation-state (see Levitt, 1998:76). Contemporary migration patterns and their transnational characteristics suggest new possibilities for empirical research. In this section I will review various theories and approaches to migration and show that while they are adequate for explaining certain processes within the nation-state, a transnational perspective supplements these perspectives in important ways. In addition, I will show how religion as a global culture facilitates transnational relationships and practices for ethnic groups at the local level.

In this section I examine the literature on migration to explore how research on migrant communities has typically proceeded. A review of the literature on ethnicity by the classical theorists of sociology, shows they had very little to say about ethnicity, except for a brief outline by Max Weber that was never completed due to his untimely death (see Driedger, 1996).⁴ Ethnic research in North America was established through the department of sociology at the University of Chicago in 1892. The department was known for its

⁴ This section relies substantially on Leo Driedger (1996:3-24). Also see Lynn McDonald (1994) for an account of the early origins of sociology in Canada. For a critique of her view see Christie and Gauvreau (1996:102-135).

extensive work on ethnic relations. The so called Chicago school influenced ethnic studies in Canada through two of its students, Charles Dawson and Everett Hughes, who both came to Montreal to establish sociology as a discipline at McGill University. Dawson's work was influenced by Robert Park who was in turn influenced by Georg Simmel and studies of social conflict. Park's early work, characterized by the assumption of inevitable fusion or assimilation, influenced many students of ethnicity. By the late 1930s, however, he abandoned his theory that the ethnic cycle would end in assimilation and adopted a more modified pluralism position.

Charles Dawson, a graduate of Chicago, came to McGill in 1922 and began his research on ethnic groups in Montreal and the Prairies. As in the United States, new settlements of immigrants led to fears of cultural disunity. According to Driedger (22), Dawson's work was controversial because he was considered sympathetic to immigrants. In Canada a nine-volume series was published in the 1930s which included studies of Doukhobors, Mennonites, Mormons, German Catholics, and French Canadians. The series was heavily influenced by Park's assimilation race relations theory.

Everett Hughes, a graduate from Chicago, joined Dawson at McGill University in 1927. Anthropologist Robert Redfield and the modified pluralist views of William Isaac Thomas at the Chicago school affected Hughes. Hughes' most significant work is *French Canada in Transition: The Effects of Anglo-*

American Industrialization upon a French-Canadian Town (1943) which has become a classic and affected his students like Horace Miner. Thus Dawson and Hughes made a large contribution to early research on ethnic groups in Canada. In contrast with the Chicago school though, Dawson and Hughes modified their early assimilationist positions and established the basis for future theorizing on ethnicity in Canada.

The development of theory on ethnicity in Canada and the United States still generally revolves around assimilationist and pluralist models. According to Driedger (25-50), there are three general directions under six different theories about ethnic change and persistence. First, assimilation and amalgamation theories assume the forces of industrialization will result in the loss of ethnic identity. Modified assimilation and modified pluralism grant that ethnic groups will change somewhat but that they will retain certain ethnic characteristics. Ethnic pluralism and ethnic conflict theories underscore the retention and persistence of ethnic identity despite the forces of industrialization. Theories of ethnic change and persistence have developed primarily to explain what happens to ethnic groups in modern advanced industrial societies. In North America ethnic theorizing has developed largely because most people are the descendants of immigrants or are immigrants themselves.

Modified assimilation and modified pluralism views appeared in the works of Milton Gordon, in *Assimilation in American Life* (1964) and of Nathan Glazer

and Daniel P. Moynihan, in *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963). Gordon's research examines how assimilation occurs first structurally, as immigrants become involved in the social institutions, and then culturally in areas like religion. For Gordon, cultural assimilation is inevitable once structural assimilation occurs. Later, Gordon (1975) modified his view of assimilation but argued that assimilation still accounted for the immigrant experience prior to the 1960s. John Porter's work on Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965:72-73), also distinguished between structural and behavioural assimilation. Generally, the assimilation of ethnic groups was considered inevitable. In fact, for Porter, the persistence of ethnicity was believed to be a hindrance for social mobility.⁵

In the United States, new research challenged assimilationist views. For example, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) examined the resurgence of ethnicity in New York City and argued that the "melting pot" idea of assimilation was not happening. In fact, the distinction between ethnic groups was not only identifiable, but was also maintained through social structures such as politics, economics, and religion. According to the authors (310): "Ethnicity is more than an influence on events; it is commonly the source of events. Social and political institutions do not merely respond to ethnic interests; a great number of institutions exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interests. This in turn perpetuates them."

⁵ See Kalbach and Richard (1995:179) for details.

In Canada, assimilation was not inevitable, but researchers tended to examine the problems immigrants experienced as they adapted to the host culture. For example, the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970) included an account of ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian life. The report examined how ethnic groups were both integrating and assimilating in Canada. It states (5): "Both integration and assimilation occur in Canada, and the individual must be free to choose whichever process suits him, but it seems to us that those of other than French or British origin clearly prefer integration." Still, the report admits that integration, a modified pluralist approach whereby immigrant groups maintain identity, is not easy due to economic, social and linguistic factors. Furthermore, immigrants during the time of the report were largely gravitating toward the Anglophone population even in Quebec. Acculturation, the process of adapting to the new environment, was claimed to be "inevitable in a multi-ethnic country like Canada, and the two main societies themselves are open to its influence" (6).

During the 1970s and the 1980s important changes in immigration took place in Canada that had implications for theorizing. For example, Canada experienced dramatic changes in the sources of immigrants to Canada as the prevailing source of immigration shifted from European to Third World immigration. In 1976 the Immigration Act introduced global planning ranges for its immigration policy. Federal and provincial policies were reviewed in

connection with global markets and an international immigration system (Frideres, 1992:49).

As a result, theorizing became concerned with issues like human rights (Kallen, 1982), biculturalism (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 79-98) multiculturalism (Palmer, 1975; Breton et al., 1980), ethnic language retention (De Vries, 1990), ethnic relations (Bienvenue and Goldstein, 1985) racism (Satzewich, 1992), and pluralism (Laczko, 1995). New immigration required new research. Ethnic theorizing was beginning to examine the implications of international migration for Canada. For example, Leslie S. Laczko's *Pluralism and Inequality in Quebec* (1995) situates Canada's pluralism in a world-systems perspective. Laczko examines Québécois nationalism over the past twenty-five years in the context of pluralism, industrialization and modernization. As a case study, Laczko's work is an excellent example of the conflicting relationships between social groups living in Quebec in the context of polyethnicity and multiculturalism.

Theorizing on religion and ethnicity has likewise focused on issues of assimilation and pluralism. Generally, research tended to examine the relationship between ethnic groups within the nation-state and the role of religion in a variety of ways, including: ethnic groups as sources of new denominations (Niebuhr, 1929), ethnicity and religious vitality (W. Herberg, 1955), ethnic groups and sectarianism (Mann, 1955), the maintenance of ethnic cohesion through

religious monopoly (E. Herberg, 1989), the experience of acculturation and socio-economic mobility as related to ethnic identity (Kalbach and Richard, 1990), and ethnicity and the construction of sacred canopies (Driedger, 1996).

Reginald Bibby (1990, 1993b) argued that the greatest challenge for immigrants to Canada is assimilation into the mainstream culture of the host country. As he (1993:25) states: "To live in Canada is to be predictably influenced by the dominant host cultures. Relatedly, immigrants and their children frequently intermarry. The net result is that acculturation and assimilation contribute to a tendency for many to abandon the religion of their parents and grandparents, and to identify with Protestantism and Roman Catholicism." Bibby's view, however, generally examines how the ethnic group prevails over the host culture or succumbs to it. Little discussion, if any, explores how or why immigrants construct ethnicity as a social category or how global resources like religion are utilized for creating and maintaining transnational and national/local networks. As well, questions about the transformation of the host culture in relation to new immigrants are seldom asked except for general statements about Canada becoming a multicultural society. Furthermore, the transnational characteristic of ethnic identities and the role of religion needs a more focused examination (see Kivisto, 1993). Again, the purpose of this thesis is to supplement burgeoning research on ethnicity through further inclusion of a global perspective, especially as concerns the role of religion.

To give an idea of how including the global, transnational perspective can expand our understanding of religion, ethnicity and migration, I look at two recent research projects. These are reported in Rijk Van Dijk's (1997) article, "From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses of Transsubjectivity in the Ghanian Pentecostal Diaspora" and Peggy Levitt's (1998), "Local-level Global Religion: US-Dominican Migration." Each has relevance for this thesis in which I examine how transnational relationships and practices are transforming Pentecostalism in Canada.

Van Dijk (1997) examined the role of religion and identity formation processes for Africans migrating to Europe. More specifically he explored the capacity of Ghanian Pentecostalism to form new identities and relationships in the Netherlands. While acknowledging that migration is not new, Van Dijk (136) argues that transnational religion accommodates processes of identity formation on an intercontinental level. By maintaining a connection with the homeland, migrants form translocal identities to balance the pressure in the new society to assimilate.

Van Dijk's research occurred in the Netherlands and in Ghana where he described two particular practices that contributed to the link between migration, Pentecostalism, and identity formation. They are the prayer camps, which he calls the sending discourse, and second, the role of the Pentecostal leader in Europe, the receiving discourse (143).

In Ghana, Van Dijk (143-146) visited several prayer camps where migrants came to pray for spiritual help and protection for their transnational travels. At these large camp meetings hundreds of people arrive for prayer and fasting for an indeterminate amount of time. The purpose of these camp meetings is very practical. Prayer camps and prayer leaders deal with a diversity of problems and issues including travelling, passports, visas and spiritual protection for the migratory journey. Through religious means, they try to build a cultural bridge for migrants into the transnational realm.

Van Dijk's observation and analysis of the prayer camp for the transnational migration of Ghanaian Pentecostals is strengthened by his examination of Ghanaian Pentecostalism in Amsterdam. It is in the Netherlands where the constant flow of migrants, ideas and information maintains a global network of Pentecostals between Europe and Africa. According to Van Dijk (149), the Pentecostal leader in the Netherlands serves as a surrogate family head or broker who deals with the day-to-day problems of Ghanaian migrants from marriages to funerals, and unemployment problems. Van Dijk (149) states: "They link information and interaction flows between different cultural contexts, and they fulfill an intermediary role between their networks and the wider society. They alleviate and accommodate some of the adverse effects of strangerhood in Dutch society by providing practical assistance . . ." Van Dijk (156) clearly argues that the spread of Ghanaian Pentecostalism to the West is not just about

transcontinental adaptation. Rather, a global Pentecostal network of people, ideas, and information characterizes contemporary migration and contributes to the maintenance of transnational relationships and practices. Thus Pentecostalism is transformed in Europe and in Ghana.

In a similar way, Peggy Levitt (1998) examined the migration of Catholics from the Dominican Republic to the United States. Her research in Boston and the Dominican Republic revealed sustained links between the two locales through the constant exchange of people, resources and social remittances. Levitt argues that the constant flow between the two places transforms Catholicism both in Boston and the Dominican Republic. According to Levitt (75), Dominican migrants “continue to infuse fresh ‘Dominicanness’ into the church, though it is a ‘Dominicanness’ that is increasingly pan-Latino in tone. Continuous, cyclical transfers ensue which consolidate the pan-Latino Apostolate while weakening its uniquely Dominican elements, both in Boston and in the Dominican republic. Neither the Catholicism of the migrants, the Catholicism in Boston, nor the Catholicism in the Dominican Republic remains unaffected.” A full understanding of any one of these necessarily includes, argues Levitt, an understanding of all three of them. All these Catholicisms are both global and local at the same time. In this way, transnational ties reinforce religious pluralism and also limit it. Employing both sociology of religion and migration theory, Levitt examines how religious practice is transformed through continuous relations

between home and host country institutions. The value of Levitt's research is her attention to the relationship between transnational religion and contemporary migration, an area that is just beginning to be investigated.

In sum, I have outlined three features of globalization including the global-local issue, polyethnicity and multiculturalism, and conceptions of ethnic identity. Each has relevance for this thesis on how ethnic congregations transform Canadian Pentecostalism through the maintenance of global Pentecostal networks. The purpose of this thesis is to supplement ethnic research with a global perspective. This requires an analysis of globalization, religion, and migration. The following section outlines how I conducted my research.

Research Methods and Data Analysis

The aim of this thesis is to analyze several ways that Canadian Pentecostalism is transformed by contemporary migration. Specifically, I examine the various transnational relationships and practices maintained by ethnic congregations in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). In this section I will outline how my research proceeded, including a discussion of my methodology and data analysis.

I collected data between 1995 and 1998 and my principal methods of data gathering took the form of (1) participant observation of worship services,

prayer meetings, Bible studies, and special events of eight Pentecostal congregations in Toronto and Ottawa; (2) twenty-two semi-structured interviews with PAOC Pastors, educators, and institutional leaders; (3) a survey of 430 members of the eight Pentecostal congregations; (4) secondary analysis of data sets including Statistics Canada figures and denominational reports and; (5) a review of primary documents like congregational reports. What follows is an account of how my research proceeded, the research design, and a detailed explanation of the methods employed.

First, the development of this research project has taken several turns that require some explanation. In 1995 I explored several implications of the changing ethnic composition of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). The general purpose of that project was to examine some of the issues involved in ethnic ministries in the Eastern Ontario and Quebec District of the PAOC. Interviews were conducted only with institutional leaders and no ethnic congregations were visited. I discovered that the attitudes of these leaders of the denomination were changing at a considerable rate and yet they knew sociologically little about the alterations. In addition, the denomination had no specific policies for ethnic ministries and, as I was told by one PAOC official, "the rules were being made up along the way." This initial research confirmed what I had experienced as a pastor in Toronto: the expanding cultural mosaic of

Canada was also transforming the PAOC. However, no empirical research of the denomination existed to examine the significance of those changes.

Over the next year I began to explore two important questions that have emerged. First, how has the PAOC responded to immigrants historically? Second, what information could I find from Statistics Canada about Canadian Pentecostals and ethnicity? I will say more about the findings later and the contribution the data make to this thesis. Some general comments need to be made here about my methodological approach.

I spent several days visiting the archives of the International office of the PAOC in Mississauga, Ontario. During this time I examined specific documents including the official minutes of the General Executive of the PAOC for information about ethnic congregations and the establishing of Branch Conferences in the 1930s and 1940s among French, Finnish, German, and Slavic Pentecostals in Canada. My archival experience left me somewhat disappointed. Very little information was recorded about ethnic congregations and some documents were either incomplete or destroyed. As a minister of the PAOC, I knew that congregational forms were completed annually by every ordained pastor. When I made a request for the data, I discovered that all of the congregational information prior to 1990 was lost when the PAOC moved its offices from Toronto to Mississauga. This fact alone has prevented the current research project from including a thorough historical account.

More frustrating was the lack of information on current ethnic congregations since 1990. All other data were still in boxes, unanalyzed. In addition, the archivist informed me that ethnic pastors tended not to fill out the forms. I then contacted the Executive Officer who oversees ethnic congregations only to discover that he had no data either. I also phoned all the Branch Conferences to inquire about congregational information. Only the German Branch conference kept any data on their congregations, which they forwarded to me in March 1996. It was also during this time that I began a secondary analysis of denominational membership figures and Statistics Canada data on Pentecostals between 1911 and 1991. Much of this information is included in the thesis. More will be said about secondary sources later.

By the end of 1996 I began to formulate the idea of examining the implications of global migration for Canadian Pentecostalism into a thesis project. As a Pentecostal, and a PAOC minister, I believed I would have fairly easy access to the Pentecostal communities even though I am not a member of an ethnic congregation. This generally was my experience. I also hoped that the PAOC would benefit from the research and, indeed, several PAOC officials and the congregations in this study have shown interest.

The research design was influenced by methods employed for congregational studies (see Carroll, Dudley, McKinney, 1986; Ammerman, 1997). Generally, I intended to do an intensive case study (see Neuman,

1997:351) of one group, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, with the intention of understanding in greater detail the changing ethnic composition of the denomination including transnational relationships and practices. The research revolves around three locations: ethnic congregations, non-ethnic congregations, and the PAOC administration. All of the congregations are Pentecostal and are found in the cities of Ottawa and Toronto. A multi locale approach allows for greater cultural comparison and representation of ethnic Pentecostal congregations (see Marcus and Fisher, 1986: 90-95). A detailed description of the PAOC and the congregations is found later in the thesis.

My initial research discovered that the PAOC was changing with the addition of approximately 110 ethnic congregations in the last ten years. All of these congregations represented people from non-European countries including forty-one Spanish-speaking congregations across Canada, one of the methodological justifications for including two Spanish congregations. I also discovered that the relationship between the PAOC and the post World War II congregations was different from earlier immigrant congregations like the German Pentecostals, especially in terms of organization. I wanted to know why and how. My hypothesis is that transnational networks among ethnic Pentecostal congregations transform Pentecostalism both locally and globally. Thus, there are several implications of migration for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Pentecostalism globally.

The congregations in this research were specifically chosen from different regions of the world for comparison including South and East Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The variety of ethnic congregations illustrates the diversity of Pentecostalism and the various global links each maintains. Researching all of the ethnic congregations in the PAOC would have been difficult and beyond the scope of a PhD project. As a case study, this thesis provides some preliminary findings that may be pursued with other ethnic congregations and the transnational affiliations in their countries of origin.

Selecting Research Methods

The initial design of this research was qualitative including participant observation and interviews. I had proposed contacting three or four congregations in Ottawa to conduct ethnographic research. Included in the study would be the responses of the PAOC toward these congregations and vice versa. For each congregation selected interviews were to be conducted with the pastor and a few other key people for a congregational profile. These arranged interviews would be enhanced with my own participant observation of the worship services, prayer meetings, and other activities.

As I began to make contact with congregations in Ottawa, however, I believed that the project would benefit from comparisons with ethnic congregations in another locale. In Ottawa, for example, there was a Spanish

congregation but no Asian Pentecostal congregation. I knew Pentecostalism was very different in East Asia from Latin America and therefore the need for a broader global range of Pentecostalism. Toronto was the natural option because of the many ethnic congregations there and the contacts I had in the city. In particular, I wanted to broaden the cultural range as well as, for example, compare two Spanish congregations in different locales. All of the congregations in this research are members of the PAOC, except for one. The Eritrean Pentecostals began meeting as a small prayer group in 1996 in Ottawa. While they are not members of the PAOC, they worship in a PAOC facility and have an affiliation with them. Part of our discussions included why they would or would not join the denomination.

Throughout the initial stages of the research I wrestled with using quantitative methods. Aware of the challenges of combining methods (see Baker, 1988; Cresswell, 1994; Bouma and Atkinson, 1995; Neuman, 1997), I initially decided not to develop a survey instrument. I also had questions about administering surveys with people whose first language is not English. After further consideration, reading and research, my thesis developed into a triangulation combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. The purpose of a triangulation approach is to examine how the data may converge, complement, and expand the scope of the study (see Cresswell, 1994:174 -175). As Bruce Berg (1995:4-5) says: "Every method is a different line of sight

directed toward the same point, observing social and symbolic reality. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements.” Therefore, I have included a survey instrument for these reasons. The different approaches have worked well together by expanding and complementing each other in the study. The survey provides a congregational profile and some descriptive analysis. In my qualitative research I was able to explore what specific transnational links were maintained and their impact for the PAOC.

Specifically, I collected data through participant observation, informal and semi-structured interviews, survey analysis, secondary data analysis, and a document review. In the following section I describe in detail each method employed.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a strategy within the broad scope of fieldwork for the first hand witnessing of specific events, activities, and actions. Over several visits, the researcher is able to gain rapport and begin to explore and formulate questions for interviewing and in surveying. As H. Russell Bernard (1988:148) says: “It involves establishing rapport in a new community; learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; and removing

yourself every day from cultural immersion so you can intellectualize what you've learned, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly.”

Participant observation has been employed to study classical Pentecostals (Homan, 1980; Poloma, 1989; Cox, 1995) and charismatic Pentecostals (Poloma, 1982; McGuire, 1982; Neitz, 1987; Csordas, 1994). These studies have all contributed to a social scientific approach to Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity.

My study of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a classical Pentecostal group, included observations of eight congregations during 1997. My access into each congregation was facilitated by my experience as a Pentecostal pastor and by key individuals who introduced me to the congregations. In all cases, I had an informal meeting with the pastor prior to attending their congregations. This initial meeting was to make the pastor aware of my research intentions and to gain consent for my visit. For the ethnic congregations I felt this was important, as they often do not have visitors from English-speaking congregations. In some cases I was immediately welcomed and in others it took several visits to gain rapport. While I am a Pentecostal, as are the congregations, my position as researcher had to be explained. Once they understood who I was and what I was doing as a Pentecostal researcher, I was occasionally asked to participate in the worship services by offering prayers and even preaching. This, according to some pastors, served to reduce the

apprehensions of some members who wondered who I was and what I was doing.

In two of the congregations I had been on the pastoral staff for several years. Between 1993 and 1995, I was an Assistant Pastor at The Stone Church, Toronto. My association with Woodvale Pentecostal Church, Nepean began in 1986 when I was a pastoral intern. I also served on the Woodvale pastoral staff in a part-time capacity between 1990-1992 and 1995-1996. Both congregations are English-speaking. The Stone Church, however, is a multicultural congregation. For the ethnic congregations, Rev. Richard Green, a PAOC official who oversees ethnic congregations, and Rev. Paul Cassidy, a pastor of a PAOC congregation introduced me to all of the pastors. In one other case, I knew the Korean pastor from when we were theological students.

One major problem, however, was language. While the pastors and members of the congregations spoke English, each congregation conducted their worship service in their mother tongue: Tamil, Spanish, Korean, and Tigrana. Occasionally, English was used for singing or announcements, often for my benefit. Thus, I had to rely on an interpreter for each meeting I attended. All of the congregations provided someone to interpret what was said during the prayers, sermons, announcements, singing, readings, etc. This fact made it very important for me to informally probe members after each meeting with their interpretations of events. When I was called upon to speak or pray the pastor

would interpret for the members. In all cases, field notes were recorded and later analyzed for congregational practices, relationships, and affiliations.

Informal and Semi-Structured Interviewing

Several visits were made with each congregation and from these informal visits I developed a semi-structured questionnaire for interviewing the ethnic pastors. The Eritrean congregation does not have a pastor. This is unique to the polity of Eritrean Pentecostals. Instead of a pastor, Eritrean congregations have a board of Elders who provide oversight and direction to the congregation. While I met all of the Elders, one person in particular was selected by the board to conduct the interview with me. I also interviewed denominational leaders, educators, and several English-speaking pastors. Consent was gained for each interview. A total of twenty-two interviews were conducted with PAOC pastors, educators, and officials.

My particular method of interviewing was the semi-structured interview (see Bernard, 1988:204-205). While I had a schedule of approximately six questions, I allowed the interview to be guided by the interests of the interviewees. In most cases I generally covered the questions. Sometimes it would take one or two informal interviews before I got to the interview schedule. In one case I never got to the questions. The person being interviewed felt it was more important to share their Christian story, which was of value. Again,

consent was given in all cases for the interview and also for me to tape-record the meeting.

After each interview, notes were made of the time, location, setting, and general mood of the meeting. I also transcribed the interviews and at a later date reviewed my notes by listening to the tapes a second time. Notes were made and recorded for particular evidences of transnational relationships and affiliations and are used in this research to demonstrate my thesis. In many cases, interviews were not recorded because the interview location was not conducive for recording. For example, I always let the person I was interviewing choose the time and location for the interview and several interviews took place in crowded noisy restaurants. Following each meeting, however, I would write up the details of the interview. Of the twenty-two interviews, ten were recorded. The interview schedules are in the appendix.

The focus of my interviews was non-directed. That is, I allowed the interviewees to express what they wanted to share. Each one knew I was doing research on ethnic congregations in the PAOC. As issues were raised I pursued them. In some cases very little contributed to the thesis. Often, however, the interviewee provided one or two valuable insights into transnational networks.

Based on three dimensions - the cultural, theological, and organizational - I was able to examine the dynamics between congregation and denomination. For example, I wanted to understand something about the organizational

relationship between congregation and denomination. Thus, I asked the ethnic pastors to describe their association with the PAOC and whether they felt the denomination understood their needs. I also asked denominational leaders what they felt was important for ethnic congregations and if this was important for the PAOC. I discovered that in terms of the organizational dynamics, for example, there was a discrepancy between the expressed needs of the congregation and the explicit goals of the denomination. A key finding was that each of the congregations had other transnational resources that they utilized to develop their ministries for their members. The congregations generally supported the endeavours of the PAOC even though they felt they were not always understood.

Congregational Survey

The congregational survey was administered to eight congregations in Toronto and Ottawa. There are several important reasons why these cities were chosen. First, it is usually in urban areas that immigrants settle and therefore urban congregations were chosen. Toronto is the largest census metropolitan area and Ottawa is the fourth largest in Canada after Montreal and Vancouver (see Statistics Canada, 1992, 1994). Second, the largest number of Pentecostals in Canada is in the province of Ontario. Thus, the two largest urban areas in the province were chosen for the research project. Third, of the 110 new ethnic Pentecostal congregations in the PAOC, forty-six ethnic

congregations are in Toronto and Ottawa. I surveyed a total of eight congregations. Six of the congregations were ethnic congregations. Two were English-speaking and predominately European in ethnic origin. The Ottawa location contributed English, Spanish, and Eritrean congregations. In Toronto, I surveyed five congregations including English, Korean (2), Spanish, and Tamil congregations.

The survey questions were designed to discover self-reported attitudes, beliefs, and opinions, self-classification, and personal characteristics (see Neuman, 1997:228). I took the proper precaution and care in constructing the questions to avoid confusion and to keep the respondents perspective in mind. First, respondents were asked to indicate the importance of their personal views on ten organizational, cultural, and theological questions. Next, they were asked to specify the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with another twenty questions about some organizational, cultural, and theological issues in the PAOC. Finally, in the last section I asked for personal information about the respondent and their involvement in the congregation (see Appendix).

Before the survey was distributed, I tested it in two important ways. First, I had a number of individuals complete the survey, including Pentecostal pastors and my colleagues at the University of Ottawa. In each case I was offered good suggestions for clarifying the instrument. I also tested the survey with an ethnic Pentecostal congregation, the International Fellowship of Ottawa, which is not

one of the congregations in the final results. This group is a member of the PAOC and their co-operation and insight was helpful. Again, questions were refined and new ones added following their comments.

For all of the congregations the purpose of the survey was explained by the pastor and distributed following the worship service. Members were encouraged to take the surveys home and, after completing them, to return them to the pastor. This approach leaves some questions about the representativeness of the data. However, rather than lose the congregations when my request to complete the surveys during a Sunday with the entire congregation was not accepted, I allowed the surveys to be administered according to the wishes of the pastors. The pastors then forwarded the surveys to me or in some cases I picked them up. A total of 430 responses were returned.

Some comments need to be made about the Eritrean congregation. For this congregation some questions on the survey were changed because they were not members of the PAOC. Thus, questions about their relationship with the PAOC were not asked and I note them in the tables of the thesis. While they agreed to administer the survey on a Sunday, the Eritrean elders felt it was best to administer the survey together as a congregation. Thus, the survey was distributed after a worship service and the members completed it together. During this time I read the questions in English and an Elder translated in

Tigrana. While most individuals completed the survey on their own, there was much discussion about the questions. The survey should have taken approximately twenty to thirty minutes to complete. In this case it took us more than sixty minutes. This was because the congregation values group participation and completing it together was important to them. During the time that surveys were to be filled out people asked each other and me questions. It was explained to me by an Elder that this was the best and only way they would agree to do it. He also told me that they enjoyed doing the survey together. One interesting observation was the group's unwillingness to tell me their age. Even when I attempted to change the survey by adding a range for age, people would not fill it in. Although these results modified the survey, for the purposes of the study I chose to accept the adjustments rather than not include the congregation. Furthermore, after comparing this congregation with the other congregations, I decided to use the data because it was not noticeably skewed.

For all the congregations the quantitative data resonated with my qualitative observations. The obvious problems about representation, survey administration, and language should be noted. To compensate for these problems, the analysis of the data has focused primarily on the dynamics of the congregations and no attempt is made to generalize about the larger population of Pentecostal congregations in Canada. Even with the problems discussed above, I feel confident that the sample accomplishes what it set out to do. The

design of this research project was to examine the transnational links maintained between ethnic congregations and their places of origin and how their particular Pentecostals functioned within the organizational confines of the PAOC. As a case study, the data provides a good profile of eight congregations representing different cultural groups in two different cities in the PAOC. It also goes beyond the limitations of a single congregational profile.

Finally, the data were tabulated and analyzed with the use of SPSS 7.5 for Windows. There are several advantages of the SPSS for Windows program including the ease and quickness of data analysis on a personal computer with the focus on analysis, not statistical formula (see Bryman and Cramer, 1997).

Secondary Data Analysis

My research also includes an analysis of existing statistical databases. Specifically, the sources I use are from Statistics Canada, Gallup polls, Reginald Bibby's (1987, 1993b) ProjectCan data, and membership figures from *The Yearbook for American and Canadian Churches* (Bedell, 1992). The advantages and disadvantages of using secondary sources have been reported elsewhere (see Roozen and Carroll, 1979; Baker, 1988:277-278; Mentzer, 1991). Thus comparisons between different data sets are limited or are not made.

Document Review

Finally, I conducted a document review with a variety of materials

including denominational policies, annual reports from congregational meetings, conference reports, newsletters, Internet sites, District publications, letters, and other records that I have had access to or that have been given to me. I have several reasons for examining these records (see Bouma and Atkinson, 1995:96). First, I wanted to discover what information was available from the denomination on ethnic congregations. I discovered there is very little. Second, for the information that existed, I wanted to know what was being said about ethnic congregations and how was it being said. I looked for different kinds of responses between the denomination and the congregations that would indicate some of the cultural, theological, and organizational implications of the PAOC's changing diversity.

Data Analysis

Finally, a reasonable amount of data was collected to examine some implications of contemporary migration and the transnational links maintained between ethnic congregations and their places of origin. As indicated above, my intention is to use both qualitative and quantitative methods for presentation. Both approaches are important in this research. The quantitative data is used for a demographic profile of each congregation including their views on some organizational, theological, and cultural questions. However, it is with the qualitative material that I am able to examine how and why global

Pentecostalism facilitates transnational relationships and practices for these ethnic congregations. I believe the two approaches complement and support each other. The PAOC is undergoing a transformation that can be understood to have cultural, theological, and organizational implications. The new diversity in the PAOC and the various ways in which it is expressed points to transnational affiliations that serve to link Pentecostal migrants in a globalizing world. Due to the fact that these congregational questionnaires are not random samples and for other reasons discussed later, statistical tests for significance are not performed and thus not the focus of this research.⁶

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the theoretical and methodological directions of my research. I examined the respective theoretical contributions for understanding globalization and its relation to religion and global migration. I also made note of the potential for transnational affiliations and practices at the local level. My use of migration theory and the sociology of religion have required an analysis of globalization, religion and migration in order to examine several implications for the PAOC. Finally, I provided a detailed outline of my research methodology for evaluating the various transnational relationships and practices of global Pentecostalism.

⁶ See Jackson (1999:245-249) for a discussion about when tests of significance are not appropriate to use.

CHAPTER TWO

GLOBAL AND CANADIAN PENTECOSTALISM

Introduction

Historians generally argue that twentieth century Pentecostalism began in the United States and then spread around the world (Nichol, 1966; Synan, 1971).⁷ New evidence challenges the basis of this assumption (see McGee, 1996). It now appears that at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Pentecostal currents emerged and took shape to form a global Pentecostal movement. These separate, yet similar events then converged at Azusa, Los Angeles during the three-year revival meetings between 1906 and 1909. Among the many Pentecostals were diverse local expressions in, for example, the United Kingdom, Russia, India, Canada and the United States.⁸ What they all had in common was an experiential religion. I am not underestimating the importance of the Azusa meetings, for they defined the various idioms of Pentecostalism around the world. As much as Azusa defined Pentecostalism globally, it was also shaped by the local Pentecostals. The Canadian Pentecostal story illustrates the coalescing of global and local experiential Christianity in the twentieth century.

⁷ See Grant Wacker (1982) where he examines the historiographic debate about the inauguration of Pentecostalism.

⁸ See McGee (1996:7) for references to Russian experiences of speaking in tongues prior to 1906.

In this chapter I will show how three local Pentecostalsisms contributed to a global Pentecostal movement largely defined by versions in the United States, but not as a consequence of the Azusa meetings. Specifically, I will outline the Welsh meetings at New Quay, Wales in 1903 - 1904, at Kedgaon, India, in 1905 -1907, and at Toronto, Ontario, in 1906. In addition, I will give attention to the United States and specifically the meetings in Azusa, Los Angeles between 1906 and 1909. I will show how these localized Pentecostalsisms contributed to the defining and re-spreading of a global Pentecostalism through Azusa. It is not my intention to cover the nineteenth century historical and theological contributions of the Methodist and Holiness movements for Pentecostalism. The historical and cultural roots of Pentecostalism are adequately chronicled (see Nichol, 1966; Synan, 1971, 1975; Anderson, 1979; Dayton, 1987; Blumhofer, 1993a; Miller, 1994). I do acknowledge that they are also forerunners of twentieth century Pentecostalism in Canada.⁹ What I will focus on are those local events that displayed Pentecostal characteristics between 1901 and 1909 and their contribution to a global Pentecostalism.

Canadian Pentecostalism will receive specific attention here as it provides the background for this thesis. Furthermore, I will provide a demographic

⁹ The historical and cultural roots of Pentecostalism are found in the nineteenth century Methodist Church and the Holiness movement. For accounts of Canadian Methodism and Holiness see Clark, 1948; Grant, 1988; Westfall, 1989; Christie, 1990; Gauvreau, 1990; Airhart, 1990, 1992; and Semple, 1996.

analysis of Canadian Pentecostalism, especially in the contemporary period. This will serve as a backdrop for the profiles of the focus-congregations in this thesis. My analysis compares Canadian Pentecostals with other Canadian denominations to demonstrate change. Observations and cross-references will be made for religion and general characteristics including, for example, ethnic origin, mother tongue, and immigrant status. My emphasis is on the post-war period. Again, the Canadian story is an example of localized global Pentecostalism. It is both a contributor to and a beneficiary of the worldwide Pentecostal movement. The point of the data is to not only show that Pentecostalism is growing, in part through migration, but to situate Pentecostalism in its Canadian and global context thus making it a candidate for this thesis.

Constructing A Global Pentecostalism

The focus of most scholarly attention on Pentecostalism is generally on the events in the United States. Minimal recognition is awarded to the globalization of Pentecostalism, with some exceptions (see Poewe, 1994; Cox, 1995; McGee, 1996; Van Dijk, 1997). In his book, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (1995), Harvey Cox questions his early hypothesis in *The Secular City* (1965), that religion was in decline and facing imminent death. His journey took

him from the United States of America to Africa, Latin America, Korea, and Europe to explore the impact of Pentecostalism.

Cox researches the question of Pentecostalism's global appeal. He asks why Pentecostals are growing in the midst of denominational decline of other Christian denominations? What is their spiritual, social and political impact? How are Pentecostals reshaping religion for the twenty-first century? For Cox, Pentecostals have achieved great success because of their ability to fill "deep" spiritual needs. He (81-122) argues that Pentecostalism's appeal is found in its emphasis on "primal spirituality" - trance, healing, dreams, and speaking in tongues.

Pentecostalism is described as a renewal movement of the Spirit proclaiming that "the spiritual power of the first-century church can be the norm for Christians today" (Burgess and McGee, 1988:1). The characteristics of Pentecostalism include "exuberant worship; an emphasis on subjective religious experience and spiritual gifts; claims of supernatural miracles, signs, and wonders - including *a language of experiential spirituality*, rather than of theology; and a mystical 'life in the Spirit' by which they daily live out the will of God" (Burgess and McGee, 1988:5; italics mine). As a global culture, Pentecostalism is unbound spatially, temporally, institutionally, and linguistically; it is experiential, idealistic, biblical, and oppositional (Poewe, 1994: xi-xii).

The diversity of Pentecostalism, historically, sociologically, and

theologically, has made it difficult to classify or identify Pentecostals. For example, Walter J. Hollenweger (1972:71-72) classifies Pentecostals according to their theology. His seven categories are (1) Pentecostals who teach a two-stage way of salvation; (2) Pentecostals who teach a three-stage way of salvation; (3) the 'Jesus Only' groups; (4) Pentecostals with a Quaker, Reformed, Lutheran or Roman Catholic doctrine; (5) independent African Pentecostal Churches; (6) the Latter Rain movement; and (7) Pentecostal denominations of the Apostolic type. Vinson Synan (1992:10) prefers to classify Pentecostals according to their historical development that occurred in three stages. They are the classical Pentecostals (1900s), the mainline Protestant and Catholic charismatic movements (1960s) and the Third Wave renewal Pentecostals like the Vineyard Movement (1980s). Some general sociological characteristics help us identify this type of Christianity.

Based on David Barrett's statistics in his *World Christian Encyclopedia* (1990), Vinson Synan (1992:10-11) summarizes some features of Pentecostalism globally. He estimates that in 1990, 14,000 Pentecostal groups in 230 countries around the world claimed 372 million Pentecostal Christians. Approximately 21% of the world's Christians were Pentecostal and growing at a rate of nineteen million a year. Of these Pentecostals, 29% were white and 71% were non-white. In 1992, the estimated number of Pentecostals totalled 410 million. Again, using Barrett's data, Grant McClung (1990:106) states:

A cross section of worldwide Pentecostalism reveals a composite "international Pentecostal" who is more urban than rural, more female than male, more Third World (66 percent) than Western world (32 percent), more impoverished (87 percent) than affluent (13 percent), more family oriented than individualistic, and is younger than eighteen.

According to Peter Wagner (in Synan, 1992: 15), the five largest Pentecostal congregations in the world are in Korea (800,000 members), Chile (350,000 members), Argentina (145,000 members), Brazil (85,000 members), and Nigeria (65,000 members).

The beginnings of twentieth century Pentecostalism have several theological currents (see Dayton, 1987). Historically, these many streams of Pentecostal expression converged during the Azusa meetings. Specifically, I will outline three pre-Azusa meetings that parallel Azusa and augment it in different ways. Finally, I will argue that these local Pentecostal events not only contributed to Azusa but were also redefined as Pentecostalism re-spread around the world.

The Azusa Street revival is well documented thus I will not attempt to analyse all the events between 1906 - 1909 (see Bartleman, 1925; Nichol, 1966; Synan, 1971; Hollenweger, 1972; Anderson, 1979; Robeck, 1988a). I will provide a summary of the central figures and events for the purpose of this thesis. While evidence suggests that Azusa is not the birthplace of Pentecostalism, it is clear that Azusa played a significant role in shaping and defining what Pentecostalism is globally. As Thomas Miller (1994:28) rightly

observes: "It was at the Azusa Street Mission that all these strands of 'Pentecostal' theology coalesced to form a basis for 20th-century Pentecostalism. All branches of the new movement, including the Canadian, were shaped by the events of 'the thousand day revival' in Los Angeles." Still, Azusa has been described as the birthplace of Pentecostalism (Nichol, 1966) and the American Jerusalem (Synan, 1971).

The Azusa Street Revival is the term given to the meetings that occurred from 1906 to 1909 at the Apostolic Faith Mission, 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles, California. The Azusa revival was the outgrowth of a prayer meeting and was established on April 14, 1906 under the leadership of a black Methodist preacher, William J. Seymour. Seymour was the son of African American slaves. The African origins of American Pentecostalism largely influenced contemporary Pentecostalism in the United States (see Hollenweger, 1972: 24; Lovett, 1975; MacRobert, 1988). The transporting of an oral African primal religion to North America during the slave trade together with missionary activity created an indigenous experiential Christianity. Spirit possession, dance, ecstatic worship, shouting, celebration, and pragmatism characterized it. The slave trade origins of this form of Christianity reflect its character as a product of globalization, not just a local movement that subsequently spread around the world (see Wallerstein, 1974; Meyer, 1979). The emotional, bodily, and experiential aspect is itself, however, not just African. Yet, Pentecostalism does

draw upon this sort of religion as it developed independently in several places.

At the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, many Christians in different places expected a world wide Christian revival (Anderson, 1979:44). Denominational leaders encouraged prayer for revival and the new millennium especially among the Methodist and Holiness groups, with their already established traditions of emotional, bodily, and experiential religion. Calvinist groups like the Keswick convention in Wales also awaited signs of the dawning of the new century. According to Anderson (44), the Corresponding Secretary of the Methodist Church, North, wrote a series of articles about the ensuing world revival including what he believed would be its emphasis on primitive Christianity. As the nineteenth century closed, there was still hope for a global Christian revival. In the summer of 1903, a Welsh Keswick convention was established for the purpose of prayer and revival in England, Wales, India, Canada, and the United States.

According to C.E. Jones (1988a: 881), the leader of the Welsh revival was the twenty-six-year-old, Evan Roberts, a miner-blacksmith and ministerial student. The name of Roberts became synonymous with the meetings through his preaching and general influence. While the Welsh revival was not called a Pentecostal revival, it contained all the dynamics of experiential Christianity. As Jones (881) states: "Peculiarities of the revival outburst included hour-long singing, interruptions by worshippers, stress on the baptism of the Spirit and on

Spirit guidance, and the *Hwyl*, spontaneous half-sung, half-spoken hymn of thanks or penitence.”

The one year revival was significant enough to influence future English Pentecostals like Donald Gee and Thomas B. Barratt who both made significant contributions to the movement globally through their evangelistic endeavours and books. One other important person was the Anglican minister, Alexander A. Boddy, who occasionally assisted Roberts. In 1907 he experienced speaking in tongues under the ministry of Barrett in Oslo, Sweden. Boddy also travelled to Los Angeles before and during the Azusa meetings with first hand knowledge of the Welsh revival (Jones, 1988a: 882).¹⁰

The three main Pentecostal denominations in the UK, the Elim Pentecostal Church, the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, and the Apostolic Church, all credit the Welsh revival for its influence on their leaders and organizational patterns (Jones, 1988a: 882). Americans also came to the Welsh revival, including biblical theologian F.B. Meyer and Joseph Smale, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Los Angeles. Smale, who later rejected Pentecostalism, was a colleague of Frank Bartleman, a participant and historian of Azusa (882). The Welsh revival, and especially Evan Roberts, Alexander Boddy, Donald Gee, and Thomas B. Barratt all contributed to the formation of a pre-Azusa

¹⁰ Boddy was an Anglican minister who travelled in Canada, Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, and Russia. His trips won him membership in the Royal Geographical Society (England) and the Imperial Geographical Society (Russia) (see Bundy, 1988:91).

Pentecostalism with its emphasis on experiential Christianity. Azusa later shaped and redefined the Welsh revival as individuals like Donald Gee embraced it, while others like Joseph Smale and Evan Roberts rejected the American movement (Jones, 881-882).

Another influence on early twentieth century Pentecostalism was the revival meetings in India from 1905-1907 (McGee, 1996). Prior to the end of the nineteenth century, Christians in India were also praying for a world Christian revival. In addition, there was much interest in the signs that revival had come. Intrigued with the reports of revival movements around the world, Pandita Ramabai, the director of the Mukti Mission at Kedgaon sent her daughter to observe revival meetings in Australia and New Zealand in 1903.

In 1905, an expectation of revival during prayer meetings began at the Mukti Mission at Kedgaon. In late June, the matron of the girls' dormitory rushed to the quarters of Minnie F. Abrams, the former Methodist missionary and now associate of Pandita Ramabai, and explained that one of the girls was speaking in tongues (McGee, 1996:4). Mission publications began writing about other similar experiences occurring across India, now embraced by Anglicans, Baptists, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church of Scotland, Brethren, Lutherans, Methodists, Reformed, and Presbyterians among others. During this revival in India, Minnie Abrams wrote *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire* (1905) to encourage Christians to experience the power of the Spirit (5). Abrams'

account of the event was published a year before the Azusa revival meetings began.

In 1906 two major Christian newspapers, the *Bombay Guardian* (Bombay) and the *Christian Patriot* (Madras), as well as the periodical the *Indian Witness* (Calcutta) serialized her book for its readers (6). The *Indian Alliance* also reported on the Mukti events in September 1906. This report was then published in November 1906 in the *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), the voice of the Apostolic Faith Mission on Azusa Street where the Azusa revival had been in progress for just a few months (10). Later, in July 1907, the Chicago *Daily News* reporter, William T. Ellis, visited the Mukti Mission and gave a sympathetic coverage of the event (12).

Then, in 1907, American Pentecostal missionary, A.G. Garr came to Calcutta from Azusa with a Classical Pentecostal doctrinal view largely defined through the Azusa meetings. His ministry was controversial because of the doctrinal position he held stating that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is also the beginning evidence of the Azusa-ization of the movement in 20th century Pentecostalism. The debate not only heightened the transnational awareness of the movement but it also served to define the experience. McGee (19) writes: "The history of Pentecostalism in India represents an important chapter in the story of modern Pentecostalism that must be examined on its own merits and not simply as a spin-off from the Azusa

Street Revival.” The story of Pentecostalism in India shows how experiential Christianity in India and other places converged with Azusa to form a global movement.

Likewise, the Canadian story contributes to the constructing of a global Pentecostalism through its own local events and the influence of Azusa. Specifically, in Toronto on November 17, 1906, Ellen K. Hebden, director of the East End Mission, first experienced speaking in tongues (Miller, 1994:39-40). Hebden was an independent evangelist who had recently arrived from England to begin her ministry in Toronto. There is no indication in her writings about what sources influenced her, but her comments indicate no acquaintance with Azusa (see Miller, 1994). Later that year, though, her experience was published in Seymour’s paper, the *Apostolic Faith*.

The Pentecostal ministry she began attracted many people to her mission, including several key people from the United States like Frank Bartleman, Daniel Awrey, and A.S. Copley. They came to Toronto to observe the meetings and then reported them in the *Apostolic Faith* and other publications (41). Still, some spoke against the meetings at the East End Mission, including George Chambers, Pastor of a Mennonite Brethren in Christ congregation in Toronto.

Ironically, Chambers was to become the first General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1919.¹¹

Other Canadians, like the Holiness pastor Robert E. McAlister from the Ottawa area, travelled to Azusa to experience the revival meetings himself. McAlister arrived in Los Angeles on December 11, 1906 by train, experienced speaking in tongues, and only a few hours later returned to Canada. When he arrived home he began to spread the Pentecostal news and to pioneer several congregations in Ontario. McAlister wrote to family members in Montreal and Winnipeg and encouraged them to also seek the Pentecostal experience.

From 1906 to 1925 Pentecostalism took root in Canada and spread from coast to coast with large groups in Toronto and Winnipeg. While the largest number of Pentecostals was in the prairies, it was a group in the East that attempted to organize the Canadian Pentecostals in 1910. This endeavour was to fail in the face of opposition.¹² A successful attempt at organizing occurred on May 17, 1919 with the formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). This occurred after a group of Pentecostals received its charter from the Canadian government (Kydd, 1988:695-699).

¹¹ The unstable relationship between Pentecostals and Fundamentalists is documented in Spittler (1994).

¹² According to Kydd (1988:696) the decision had two results. First, it united the Eastern Pentecostals with the Western Pentecostals and, second, it caused a split. Some Pentecostals in the East held a "Jesus Only" theological position when the PAOC joined with the AOG which was Trinitarian in doctrine (see Jones, 1988:16). Those Canadians who were "Jesus Only" Pentecostals soon formed the Apostolic church of Pentecost in 1921.

Pentecostal groups in Saskatchewan and Alberta, however, decided to join the Assemblies of God (AOG) in the United States with an American acting as their first district superintendent. In 1920, the PAOC then decided to join the AOG while maintaining itself as a separate entity. The organizational relationship between the PAOC and the AOG lasted until 1925 when George Chambers, the PAOC General Superintendent, requested the PAOC to be released from the AOG (Kydd, 1988:696).

The next twenty-five years, from 1926 to 1951, were years of consolidation within the PAOC. Leadership, which was originally from the East, enlarged to include Western Canadian leaders who had active ministries in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican Churches. Evangelism preoccupied the Pentecostals at this time through the efforts of many, including the prominent work of Aimee Semple McPherson from Ingersoll, Ontario.¹³ The PAOC not only grew numerically, but also grew financially, spending its resources on larger facilities. For example, in 1927 Pentecostals in Kitchener built an 800-seat sanctuary and in Winnipeg the 1500-seat First Baptist Church was purchased for Pentecostal worship. Theological education also became a preoccupation with the PAOC as they established their first Bible School in Winnipeg in 1925 under the direction of Dr. J. Eustice Purdie, an Anglican minister and graduate of Wycliffe College in

¹³ McPherson later established the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in Los Angeles. She was known for her flamboyant ministry (see Blumhofer, 1993b; Epstein, 1993).

Toronto. Purdie's Anglicanism and Pentecostal experience combined for a unique contribution to Pentecostal theological education (see Althouse, 1997).

Eventually, some Pentecostals became wary of organizational efforts. In the 1940s articles appeared in *The Pentecostal Testimony* such as "The Love of Many Waxen Cold," and "Is Pentecost Doomed to Defeat." According to Kydd (1988:698) George Chambers stated: "We have not only turned aside, but have stepped down to the level of other religious bodies who long ago lost the anointing." It was also during this time of consolidation that in 1947-1948 another split would occur in the PAOC. A new movement began in Saskatchewan known as "The Latter Rain" or "The Sharon Movement" which placed a renewed emphasis on the gifts of the Spirit, fasting, and its own missionary emphasis called Global Outreach. Up to 50% of the PAOC churches in Saskatchewan and elsewhere in Western Canada left the PAOC to join the "Latter Rain" movement. Between 1930 and 1949 the PAOC established Branch Conferences within the general framework of the denomination in response to growth among German, Finnish, Slavic, and Italian immigrants (see Miller, 1994:201). Miller (277) reports that the expansion of the PAOC during this period, especially in western Canada, was largely due to ethnic Pentecostals among the Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish immigrants (also see Drewitz, 1986; Doberstein, 1990).

Since 1952, the PAOC has experienced growth both in terms of members and affiliates. While evangelism would be its main emphasis, the young denomination, according to Kydd (1988:698) “took its place among the other Canadian denominations.” Economic, social, and educational developments within the PAOC pointed to its maturity (698-699).

With economic growth, the PAOC attempted to expand and grow through private investment and enterprise (698). As a result, a national stewardship program was developed outlining national guidelines for establishing new congregations. The PAOC also developed a social awareness as some members held public office, including Sam Jenkins as president of the Marine Workers and Boiler Makers Union of the Canadian Coalition of Labourers. Everett Wood held a cabinet post for the New Democratic Party in Saskatchewan for sixteen years during the 1950s and 1960s. Between the 1960s and the late 1970s, homes for women, a major regional hospital, senior’s residences, and work with, for example, Vietnamese refugees became the social focus of the PAOC. In 1982 an Ethics and Social Concerns committee was established in order to mobilize members to express PAOC opinions locally, provincially, and nationally. Educationally, the PAOC increased its academic standards at its Bible schools, sought accreditation with American associations, and affiliated one of its colleges through a Lutheran seminary with the University of Saskatchewan. The Canadian Pentecostal story illustrates the particularities

of its local nature. Nevertheless, it is a story connected to a global Pentecostal movement as both a contributor and a beneficiary.

There are several ways in which Pentecostalism became global. First, a world revival was expected by, for example, Methodist and Holiness denominations, at the turn of the century. One of the signs of the new millennium was a return to primitive Christianity as evidenced in Pentecostalism. Furthermore, as already mentioned, Pentecostalism spread through the many publications and reports on this revival including tracts, books, mission journals, and newspapers. They included Seymour's *Apostolic Faith* publication, Abrams book on Indian Pentecostalism, and newspapers like the *Chicago Daily*.

These early publications, according to W.E. Warner (1988:744) served "to promote and preserve the revival." By the end of 1907, Seymour's paper ran a press run of 40,000 copies growing to 80,000 a year later. It is not difficult to see why Azusa became as prominent as it did. Many people attributed their initial experience with Pentecostalism to Seymour's publication. With the rise of Pentecostal denominations, like the Assemblies of God in the United States in 1914, more magazines were published including Sunday School materials with a distinct Pentecostal flavour (744-745).

The individuals who experienced it also carried the Pentecostal message to other places around the world. Many travelled as missionaries with its message. They served to facilitate a global Pentecostal network. Conferences

and conventions on a global scale also promoted Pentecostalism. In 1920 an International Pentecostal Convention was held in Amsterdam (Robeck, 1988b: 707). Pentecostals from Britain, Scandinavia, Germany and Switzerland were in attendance. In the United States conferences were held during the 1920s on "World Wide Cooperation" for the new Pentecostal movement. A European conference was held in Stockholm in 1939 in preparation for a world Pentecostal conference. More than 8,000 people from twenty different countries were in attendance. Eventually, in 1940, the first Pentecostal World Conference was held in London, England. In connection with the Pentecostal World Conference, the leaders felt a worldwide Pentecostal magazine should be published (708).

In 1947 Donald Gee became the first editor of *Pentecost*, a magazine to promote Pentecostalism globally. The periodical is currently published as *World Pentecost*. The Pentecostal World Conference is still held and in 1998 participants will travel to Korea for the eighteenth Pentecostal World Conference. Canadian Pentecostals have also participated in these conferences in leadership roles. For example, Rev. James MacKnight, General Superintendent of the PAOC in 1983, served on the advisory committee in preparation for the fourteenth Pentecostal World Conference. Travel, conferences, meetings and a variety of communication technologies facilitated the global spread of Pentecostalism. Thus, a global Pentecostalism is characterized by a convergence of many Pentecostal streams. Each local version not only

contributes to the story but also is defined and reshaped through the events of Azusa, especially in the development of classical Pentecostalism. Today, Pentecostalism continues to be defined and redefined. The current migration of Pentecostals to Canada and the transformation of Canadian Pentecostalism is one example.

Global Migration and Canadian Pentecostalism

Religion in Canada is changing through immigration, but not the way some think it is, especially in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). While the volume of Canadian immigration actually declined in the 1980s compared to the 1950s and 1960s, the country has been second only to the United States in the number of immigrants it has accepted (see Dumas, 1992; Badets, 1993; Bibby, 1993b:20-21). The most significant change is the origin of immigrants, which has changed from primarily European countries to non-European countries, notably Asian and Latin American ones.

Historically, immigrants came to Canada as Christians, and as late as 1971, when Canada was officially declared a multicultural country, 90% of the population said their ancestral roots were European (Bibby, 1993b:20). Multiculturalism has heightened Canadian's awareness of cultural and religious diversity. Nevertheless, new patterns in global migration have raised questions about the future of the country. Canada is a polyethnic and a multicultural

country. Still, as Canada's cultural mosaic changes, what has been the response to religious diversity?

Reginald Bibby (1993b:22) explains that there have been primarily four responses to religious diversity. First, there are those, like the United Church of Canada, who attempt to *embrace diversity* by celebrating it. A second response is to *accept diversity* recognizing that Canada is post-Christian, and Canadians must live with this fact. Canadian evangelical Don Posterski has been this position's key proponent. Thirdly, many evangelical groups and evangelicals such as Enoch Wan are advocating the *use of diversity*, that is, new immigrant populations are viewed as a "mission field." Fourthly, there are those who *reject diversity* and resent the disappearance of the Canada they once knew.¹⁴

Canadian Pentecostals have generally responded in a fashion similar to evangelicals such as Enoch Wan. Their response to new religious diversity is one of mission. For example, the Western Ontario and the Eastern Ontario and Quebec Districts of the PAOC commissioned Don Young to conduct a research project on ethnic congregations in Canada. He submitted a report titled, "The Changing Face of Canada. Our Changing Challenge: Strategizing for Reaching Ethnic Minority and New Immigrant Peoples - the New Canadians of a New Canada" (1992). Young correctly identifies the changes in Canadian

¹⁴ While Bibby (1993b) states this is one response among Canadians he provides no examples and I am not aware of any religious group that publicly calls for the rejection of immigrants.

demography. Yet, he assumes most of these new Canadians are non-Christians representing other religions and therefore in need of evangelism. Young explained that: "The greatest spiritual harvest for Christianity in Canada at this time, a harvest lying largely unreaped by the PAOC, lies in new immigrants to Canada" (13). Two years later Young (1994:13) published an article in *The Pentecostal Testimony* entitled "Reaching New Canadians" where again he declares "there may be no greater challenge to Pentecostal ministry in Canada during our generation than this: to reap the growing harvest of immigrants coming to our fair Dominion."

Yet, what do the statistics tell us about the religious identification of these new Canadians? According to Bibby (1993b:22-23), all four responses to global migration may be largely out of touch with the Canadian reality. First, in spite of massive immigration between 1871 and 1991, the proportion of Canadians identifying with religions other than Christianity has not changed significantly. Second, even with the changes in the sources of immigration since the 1970s from European to non-European countries, most immigrants have been arriving in Canada as Christians. In fact, the proportion of those who identify with a religion other than Christianity has dropped from its highest point of 6% in 1941 to 4% in 1991 (23). Bibby (24) states that new Canadians are generally "not adding all that much to the literal religion mosaic. Frequently what they are really bringing are cultural variations on the Christian religion." What this means for

Pentecostals in Canada is that their greatest challenge is not religious diversity so much as it is cultural diversity as represented by the increasing pluralistic nature of the PAOC.

As of January 1997, there were 120 ethnic congregations out of a total of 1,110 congregations in the PAOC. Most of this growth has been in the last five to ten years and includes such ethnic groups as Chinese, Ethiopian, Filipino, Ghanaian, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Spanish, Tamil, and many others. According to my interviews with denominational leaders and educators of the PAOC, the fastest changing segment of their constituency is among new ethnic groups. In addition, my research verifies Bibby's point. The majority of the members of the congregations in my research were Christians before they arrived in Canada. As well, a significant percentage of the immigrants were Pentecostal before coming to Canada. The migration of Pentecostals continues to be an important source of change for Pentecostalism in Canada.

New sources of migration means change for the PAOC, its congregations, and the new ethnic Pentecostals. This alteration has theological, cultural, and organizational implications. In this thesis I argue that the local particularities of this transformation are best understood in the context of global realities. It is the global context that allows for the local analysis. As well, the local analysis demonstrates how the impact of globalization constrains the PAOC and its congregations. Explicitly, the adaptation is also about power and

authority in the contention for a Canadian Pentecostal identity. This is a critical point that I will return to later in this thesis.

A Demographic Profile of Canadian Pentecostalism

Canadian Pentecostals first appeared in the Canadian Census in 1911 and continued to grow until 1991, by which time they had become the sixth largest Protestant group in Canada. In the pre war years, Pentecostals grew at a steady rate. Still, the largest Pentecostal denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), does not represent all Pentecostals (see table 2.1).

An analysis of Pentecostals in Canada according to ethnicity before the passing of official multicultural policy in the 1970s, reveals that Pentecostals were largely represented by those with a British ethnic background (see table 2.2). In addition, between 1931 and 1971 there was very little change in terms of the ethnic origin of Pentecostals except in the “other” category which increased from 1% in 1931 to 6% in 1971. As well, Pentecostals with a French background remained very low. Pentecostals have made little impact in the strong Roman Catholic communities of Quebec. For example, in 1931, Pentecostals with a French ethnic origin accounted for only 0.01% of the French population rising to a mere 0.3% in 1991. The “other European” category has

Table 2.1: Pentecostals in Canada, 1911 - 1991.

	Total Number of Pentecostals	Pentecostals as % of Canadian Population	PAOC Members	PAOC as % of Total Pentecostals	PAOC as % of Total Canadian Population
1911	515	0.007			
1921	7,012	0.008			
1931	26,349	0.3			
1941	57,742	0.5			
1951	95,131	0.7	45,000	47	0.3
1961	143,877	0.8	60,000	42	0.3
1971	220,390	1.0	150,000	68	0.7
1981	338,785	1.4	125,000	37	0.5
1991	436,435	1.6	222,000	51	0.8

Sources: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c, 1963; Statistics Canada, 1973, 1883, 1993; Bibby, 1987:14; 1993:6.¹⁵

consistently declined since 1931. Generally, Pentecostals in Canada did not witness any major sociological patterns of change between 1931 and 1971.

¹⁵ The total number of Pentecostals is based on Census Canada figures. It represents those who subjectively identify themselves as Pentecostal. It does not include those who identify with Charismatic groups or the Vineyard. The membership numbers for Pentecostals includes affiliates in the membership figures. While some denominations distinguish between "card carrying" members and those who attend, Pentecostals do not. In addition, Pentecostals, unlike Roman Catholics, do not use Census Canada figures for membership. Membership is generally based on congregational reports of service attendance.

Changes do begin to occur between 1971 and 1991 after the new changes in immigration policy began to take effect (see Frideres, 1992).

Table 2.2: Single Ethnic Origin of Canadian Pentecostals, 1931 - 1971.

	1931	1941	1961	1971
British	69	67	65	67
French	2	3	4	3
Other European	28	28	26	24
Other	1	2	5	6

Source: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1953c, 1963; Statistics Canada, 1976.

While the overall ethnic characteristics of Pentecostals changed very little between 1931 and 1971 (“Other” European decreasing and “Other” increasing), the proportion of Pentecostals among some ethnic groups did increase. For example, the proportion of Pentecostals among those with a British ethnic origin steadily increased from 0.3% of the total British population in 1931, to 1.5% in 1971. In the same years, the proportion of German Pentecostals in relation to the total German population in Canada increased from 0.6% to 1.6%. Increases have also occurred among the Scandinavians (0.8% to 2%) and the Dutch (0.4% to 1.2%). The only ethnic group to lose proportionately was the Italians who went from 1.1% in 1941 to 0.4% in 1971. The greatest change occurred among the Pentecostal aboriginal population that grew from 0.08% in 1931 to 2.1% in

1971.

Table 2.3: Pentecostals as a percentage of main ethnic groups, 1931 - 1971.

	1931	1941	1961	1971
British	0.3	0.7	1.2	1.5
French	0.01	0.04	0.1	0.1
German	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.6
Scandinavian*	0.8	1.5	1.7	2.0
Dutch	0.4	1	1.2	1.2
Italian	0.7	1.1	0.4	0.4
Aboriginal	0.08	0.1	1.1	2.1

Source: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1953c, 1963; Statistics Canada, 1976.

*Note: Scandinavian includes Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic.

Prior to the current wave of immigration, the initial response of the PAOC to ethnic groups seeking affiliation was to allow for the formation of Branch Conferences. A branch conference is defined as:

a unit in the General Conference organization equivalent to a District Conference in General Executive membership and relationship . . . A Branch is distinguished from a District Conference in that its territory of operation is not geographical, but is confined to ministry among certain races or language groups. Its geographical area of operation may therefore overlap or coincide with that of one or more District Conferences (General Constitution, 1968: Article XI).

Branch conferences operate independently, like the District conference, within the General framework of the General Conference Constitution and By-laws.

Some ethnic groups, such as the Dutch, assimilated into the main Pentecostal congregations rather than form their own branch conferences, even though their numbers were much larger than, for example, the Finnish. By 1941 three of the four Branch conferences in the PAOC had formed. This included the Slavic Conference in 1931, the Finnish Conference in 1939, the German Conference in 1940, and in 1949 the French Conference.

Between 1951 and 1971 the Canadian population grew by 54% and another 25.2% between 1971 and 1991. Table 2.4 indicates the population

**Table 2.4: Population of Canada and Selected Religion
In Actual Numbers, 1951 - 1991.**

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Canada	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,310	24,083,495	26,994,045
Anglican	2,060,720	2,409,068	2,543,180	2,436,375	2,188,115
United Church	2,867,271	3,664,008	3,768,800	3,758,015	3,093,120
Roman Catholic	6,069,496	8,342,826	9,974,895	11,212,015	12,203,620
Baptist	519,585	593,553	667,245	696,850	663,360
Pentecostal	95,131	143,877	220,390	338,790	436,435

Source: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c, 1963; Statistics Canada, 1973, 1976, 1983, 1993b.

growth of Canada and the growth and decline in actual numbers among the Anglican, United Church, Roman Catholic, Baptist, and Pentecostal affiliates.¹⁶ The decline in actual numbers of mainline Protestant affiliates for the Anglican and United Church between 1971 and 1991 totals more than 675 thousand for the United Church and approximately 355 thousand for the Anglican Church. In contrast, the Pentecostals grew by more than 216 thousand affiliates.

Table 2.5 indicates the religious group identification between 1951 and

Table 2.5: Religious Group Identification in Canada as percentage of Population, 1951 - 1991

	1951	1971	1991
Roman Catholic	43.3	46.2	45.2
Protestant	50.7	44.2	36.2
Eastern Orthodox	1.2	1.5	1.4
Other	3.0	2.7	4.2

Source: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a; Statistics Canada 1973, 1993b.

1991 of the total Canadian population. While the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Other categories remain relatively unchanged, the Protestants decreased from 51% in 1951 to 36% in 1991. In 1971, the Roman Catholics exceeded the Protestants by growing to 47.3% of the population. Although the

¹⁶ Affiliates refers to those who subjectively identify with a particular religious group. It does not mean attendance or membership. See footnote above.

Roman Catholic percentage decreased, the margin between Roman Catholics and Protestants grew in 1991.¹⁷

Table 2.6 also indicates the growth and decline in terms of the percentage distribution of these selected religious groups in Canada. Again, the Anglican, United Church, and Baptist affiliates all declined since 1951. While the Roman Catholics grew with the overall population between 1951 and 1981, in 1991 they experienced a decline in terms of their share of the Canadian population. The Pentecostals, however, grew from 0.7% in 1951 to 1.6% of the Canadian

Table 2.6: Distribution of the Canadian Population by Religion in Percentage, 1951 - 1991.

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Anglican	14.7	13.2	11.8	10.1	8.1
United Church	20.5	20.1	17.5	15.6	11.5
Roman Catholic	43.3	45.7	46.2	46.5	45.2
Baptist	3.7	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.5
Pentecostal	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.6

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1973, 1983, 1993b.

population in 1991. The Roman Catholics still continue to be the largest religious group in Canada.

¹⁷ While Pentecostals grew in comparison to other Christian denominations, the most significant change occurred among the religious "nones", increasing from 0.4% in 1971 to 12.5% of the population in 1991 (see Statistics Canada, 1973, 1993b).

Tables 2.7 and 2.8 summarize the growth and decline of these selected groups and compares their growth and/or decline in terms of the actual numbers, percentages, and also in terms of relative growth (i.e., a comparison with population growth). Between 1951 and 1971 the selected groups all grew in actual numbers (see table 2.7). However, the Anglican, United Church, and Baptist groups all decreased in terms of their share of the religious market. The

Table 2.7: Growth and Decline of Selected Religion, 1951 - 1971.

	1951	20 year Growth	Growth in %	Relative Growth	% in 1951	% in 1971
Anglican	2,060,720	482,460	23.4	-30.6	14.7	11.8
United Church	2,867,271	901,529	31.4	-22.6	20.5	17.5
Roman Catholic	6,069,496	3,905,399	64.3	10.3	43.3	46.2
Baptist	519,585	147,660	28.4	-25.6	3.7	3.1
Pentecostal	95,131	125,259	131.7	77.7	0.7	1.0

Source: Derived from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1963; Statistics Canada 1973.

Roman Catholics in this same period grew by 64.3% and exceeded the population growth by 10.3%. The Pentecostals grew by 131.7% reflecting a relative growth of 77.7%.

Between 1971 and 1991 decline was experienced by all groups except the Pentecostals (see table 2.8). However, in this period the Anglican, United

Table 2.8: Growth and Decline of Selected Religion, 1971 - 1991.

	1971	20 year Growth	Growth in %	Relative Growth	% in 1971	% in 1991
Anglican	2,543,180	-355,065	-14	-39.2	11.8	8.1
United Church	3768800	-675680	-18	-43.1	17.5	11.5
Roman Catholic	9974895	2228725	22	-2.9	46.2	45.2
Baptist	667,245	-3,885	-0.6	-25.8	3.1	2.5
Pentecostal	220,390	216,045	98	72.8	1.0	1.6

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1973, 1983, 1993b.

Church, and Baptist groups all lost in actual numbers of affiliates. While the Roman Catholics did grow numerically, they were unable to keep up with the overall population growth that is reflected in a 2.9% loss. In contrast, the Pentecostals in this twenty-year period grew by more than 216 thousand affiliates, which translates into a 98% growth or 72.8% growth when compared with the population. This increase is also seen in terms of the percentage distribution for the same period. Between 1981 and 1991, the Pentecostals grew by 29% and were the only group of the major Christian groups to grow for the same period.

It should be noted that the Pentecostal category in Census Canada does not represent any particular denomination. In fact, there are a number of

Pentecostal denominations in Canada (see table 2.9) and sources like the

**Table 2.9: Denominational Membership Numbers
For Pentecostals in Canada, 1992.**

Organization	Inclusive Membership	Year Reported
The Apostolic Church in Canada	1,600	1989
Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada	11,306	1989
Church of God (Cleveland, TN.)	5,958	1991
The Church of God of Prophecy in Canada	2,915	1991
Foursquare Gospel Church of Canada	2,019	1990
Independent Assemblies of God - Canada	4,500	1977
The Italian Pentecostal Church of Canada	3,300	1990
The Open Bible Standard Churches of Canada	1,000	1987
The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	194,972	1990
Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland	31,972	1990
United Pentecostal Church in Canada	23,000	1989
TOTAL	282,542	

Source: *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* (1992).

Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches do not account for the numerous independent Pentecostal congregations nor the Pentecostal house Churches (see Mentzer, 1991). As well, the Pentecostal category does not include other "Pentecostals" such as the Charismatics and the Vineyard Fellowship. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is the largest Pentecostal denomination in

Canada and reported its total membership and adherents in 1990 to be 194,972. A comparison of the membership figures and the Census Canada figures still leaves approximately 154 thousand Pentecostals or 35.3% unaccounted for in the *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* (1992). The combined figure for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland (the two are affiliated) are 226,691 members and adherents. This accounts for 51.9% of the Canadian Pentecostals in the 1991 Census (see Statistics Canada, 1993b).

While Pentecostals in Canada have increased from 0.7% of the population in 1951 to 1.6% in 1991, this has not occurred evenly across the nation (see Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c; Statistics Canada, 1973, 1983, 1993b). Between 1951 and 1981, all of the provinces and territories increased their proportion of Pentecostals. Between 1981 and 1991, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island saw an insignificant decrease by 0.1% each. Pentecostals in Newfoundland also decreased since 1961 from 14.2% to 9.2% in 1991. This decrease may be a reflection of interprovincial migration and economic factors rather than the actual loss of numbers. The province with the smallest proportion of Pentecostals is Quebec, where just 0.4% of the population indicates they are Pentecostal. However, this represents an increase from 0.1% in 1971. The largest number of Pentecostals is found in Ontario (38%), British Columbia (16.2%), Alberta (12.1%), and Newfoundland (9.2%). Ontario has

seen its number of the Pentecostal population increase from approximately 31,393 Pentecostals in 1951 to 167,154 Pentecostals in 1991.

The percentages of the population as Pentecostals for selected Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) in 1971 and 1991 also indicate change (see Statistics Canada, 1973, 1976, 1992, 1993b, 1994). For example, the percentage of Pentecostals in Toronto grew from 0.7% in 1971 to 1.5% in 1991 for the Census Metropolitan Area. In Ottawa-Hull, the Pentecostal population grew from 0.3% in 1971 to 0.7% in 1991. While the percentage of Pentecostals has increased in the Census Metropolitan Areas, Pentecostals in Canada still remain rural when compared to the overall population and the population of other large religious groups. In 1981, 66.6% of all Pentecostals were found in urban areas compared to 75.6% of the Canadian population. Among Christian denominations, the Roman Catholics had the highest percentage of urban dwellers at 76.6%. However, the percentage of urban Pentecostals has risen steadily from 51.1% in 1951 to 66.6% in 1981.¹⁸

In terms of religion, post-War Canada has seen the growth of Pentecostals compared to the relative decline of the other large Protestant groups and the Roman Catholics. Pentecostals are found in every province and in all the major urban areas, the selected CMA's, although the distribution is

¹⁸ Rural and urban figures for religion are not available in the 1991 Census (see Statistics Canada, 1993b).

uneven with Pentecostals over represented especially in Newfoundland and the Territories. In actual numbers, Ontario has the largest number of Pentecostals, totalling more than 167 thousand.¹⁹

The data on the ethnic origin of the Canadian population have undergone two important changes since the 1950s. First, the data demonstrate an increase in immigration from non-European sources. Second, in 1981 for the first time, multiple responses were recorded in response to the ethnic origin question.²⁰ This change has made it difficult to examine with precision and consistency the ethnic origin of the population. However, whether one includes the multiple responses as part of the equation, or only analyses those who reported a single ethnic origin, the trends remain the same. A lower percentage of people are identifying with a European ethnic origin and an increasing percentage of people are identifying with the "other" category (see table 2.10). For example, those who identified themselves as having a British ethnic origin decreased in 1971 from 44.6% to 20.8% of the population in 1991. Decreases are evident for the French and other European categories. The "Other" category has seen an

¹⁹ A further analysis along the lines of sex, age, and education demonstrates that Pentecostals fairly represent the Canadian population. While there are some specific differences in terms of education and age, the general trends are the same for the selected groups and the Pentecostals (see Statistics Canada, 1993b).

²⁰ In 1981 respondents were allowed for the first time to indicate multiple ethnic origins. Again in 1991 multiple ethnic origins were allowed and this is reflected in the increase in multiple origins between 1981 and 1991. See Kralt (1995) for an explanation for the increase in multiple responses.

Table 2.10: Ethnic Origins of Canadian Population by religion, 1971–1991²¹

	1971	1981	1991
British			
Canada	44.6	40.2	20.8
Anglican	85.0	80.3	48.6
United Church	78.6	74.7	40.1
Roman Catholic	19.9	18.2	9.8
Baptist	74.1	68.4	36.2
Pentecostal	66.8	59.0	30.2
French			
Canada	28.7	26.7	22.7
Anglican	2.3	1.5	0.8
United Church	3.0	2.2	0.8
Roman Catholic	58.3	54.3	46.8
Baptist	5.7	3.5	2.9
Pentecostal	3.4	4.5	4.8
Other European			
Canada	18.9	19.1	15.4
Anglican	7.1	5.3	3.5
United Church	13.6	11.1	7.4
Roman Catholic	14.7	16.5	16.0
Baptist	14.7	13.6	10.3
Pentecostal	20.9	18.2	13.2
Other			
Canada	7.8	5.6	12.2
Anglican	5.6	5.1	10.1
United Church	4.8	2.1	6.3
Roman Catholic	7.1	4.3	7.5
Baptist	5.5	5.6	12.4
Pentecostal	8.9	8.6	17.1
Multiple Origins			
Canada		8.4	28.9
Anglican		7.8	37.1
United Church		9.8	45.3
Roman Catholic		6.8	19.9
Baptist		8.9	38.3
Pentecostal		9.8	34.7

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1973, 1976, 1983, 1984, 1993a, 1993b.

²¹ The figures for 1971 refer to single origins.

increase from 7.8% in 1971 to 12.2% in 1991. These trends are evident among the Pentecostals as well.

A closer examination of the "Other" category for Pentecostals indicates an increase from 8.9% in 1971 to 17.1% in 1991 (see table 2.11). Canadian Pentecostals are highly represented among the Black, Caribbean, and Aboriginal categories. For example, 11.1% of the Black population indicates they are Pentecostal.

Table 2.11: Religious Affiliation of Selected Ethnic Groups, 1991.

	Black	Caribbean	Hispanic	Aboriginal	African	Asian
Anglican	14.0	7.3	0.3	17.3	6.1	1.2
United Church	3.0	1.5	0.4	6.6	1.2	1.7
Roman Catholic	24.0	33.4	71.4	51.0	13.1	21.0
Baptist	11.4	5.0	1.7	0.9	2.0	1.5
Pentecostal	11.1	6.0	3.2	4.1	1.5	0.6
Total	63.5	53.2	77	79.9	23.9	26

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1993b.

The large number of Black and Caribbean Pentecostals represents the strength of these groups in the Caribbean and the United States. For example, David Martin in his book *Tongues of Fire* (1990), assesses the historical and cultural developments of the explosive growth of Pentecostals in Latin, Central

and South American and African countries. Significant growth in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada is attributed to the migration of Pentecostals from these regions of the world. I will return to this point later in the thesis.

While the growth and distribution of Pentecostals among those in the “Other” category have increased, the same can be said when analyzing the European ethnic groups. For example, Pentecostals have increased among the British, French, German, Scandinavian, Dutch, and Italian populations since 1971 (see table 2.12). Again, the response of the PAOC to immigrant growth

Table 2.12: Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Groups as Pentecostals, 1971 - 1991.

	1971	1981	1991
British	1.5	2.0	2.3
French	0.1	0.2	0.3
German	1.6	2.1	2.3
Scandinavian	2.0	2.7	3.2
Netherlands	1.2	2.0	2.1
Italian	0.4	0.6	0.7

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1976, 1983, 1993b.

Note: Scandinavian includes people who are Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic. In 1991 it was reported as Northern Europe which also includes the Finnish.

experienced in the early half of the twentieth century was to develop Branch Churches for the German, Finnish, French, and Slavic communities. Italian

Pentecostals in Canada have maintained their own denomination, The Italian Pentecostal Church of Canada, in order to minister to the Italian community.

An examination of mother tongue and religion indicates that 59.9% of the population's mother tongue was English, 24.1% French, 7% other European, 0.6% Aboriginal, and 7.2% other languages (see table 2.13). For Pentecostals, 83% indicate their mother tongue is English, 4.8% French, 5.6% other European, 2.1% Aboriginal, and 3.4% other languages.

Table 2.13: Mother Tongue in percentage for selected religion and Canadian population, 1991.

Mother Tongue	Percentage	Mother Tongue	Percentage
English		Aboriginal	
Canada	59.9	Canada	0.6
Anglican	95.8	Anglican	2.1
United Church	96.5	United Church	0.4
Roman Catholic	34.8	Roman Catholic	0.7
Baptist	88.6	Baptist	0.1
Pentecostal	83.0	Pentecostal	2.1
French		Other Languages	
Canada	24.1	Canada	7.2
Anglican	0.3	Anglican	0.7
United Church	0.3	United Church	1.0
Roman Catholic	50.2	Roman Catholic	3.4
Baptist	2.8	Baptist	4.3
Pentecostal	4.8	Pentecostal	3.4
Other European		Multiple Responses	
Canada	7.0	Canada	1.2
Anglican	0.6	Anglican	0.4
United Church	1.5	United Church	0.3
Roman Catholic	9.5	Roman Catholic	1.4
Baptist	3.7	Baptist	0.6
Pentecostal	5.6	Pentecostal	1.0

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1993b.

Note: Other European includes Italian, German, Portuguese, Polish, Ukrainian, Spanish, and Dutch.

Finally, Canadian Pentecostals, when examined according to immigration

status, fairly represent the rest of the non-immigrant population (see Table 2.14).

Table 2.14: Immigrant Status in percentage for selected religion and Canadian population, 1991.

	1991
Non-Immigrant Population	
Canada	83.1
Anglican	84.9
United Church	94.6
Roman Catholic	86.3
Baptist	86.5
Pentecostal	84.4
Immigrant Population	
Canada	16.1
Anglican	14.8
United Church	5.4
Roman Catholic	13.1
Baptist	12.9
Pentecostal	14.5
Non-Permanent Residents	
Canada	0.8
Anglican	0.3
United Church	0.1
Roman Catholic	0.6
Baptist	0.6
Pentecostal	1.1

Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, 1993b.

While 14.5% of Pentecostals are immigrants, though, 16.1% of the Canadian population indicates their status as immigrants. Thus Pentecostals are not the only group affected by global migration. Yet, for the United Church only 5.4% are immigrants while 94.6% indicate they are non-immigrants. A high number of Pentecostals are non-permanent residents. This may well represent the strong relationship between Canadian and American Pentecostals and the number of American ministers who pastor Canadian congregations. Harry Hiller (1978) has

examined and demonstrated the particularly strong continental relationship between Pentecostals in Canada and the United States. In this thesis I will show that there is a strong global link for Pentecostals that extends beyond Canada and the United States. Furthermore, the global migration of Pentecostals to Canada is resulting in a transformation of Pentecostalism. Several implications are examined in this dissertation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that a global Pentecostalism has developed through the convergence of several localized Pentecostal revivals including the Canadian story. Each account has contributed to the construction of a world-wide Pentecostal movement. These Pentecostal events were also shaped by the Azusa Street Revival in the United States. Furthermore, as much as Azusa demarcates Pentecostalism globally, it was also shaped by the convergence of local Pentecostalisms. A global network of Pentecostals emerged in the twentieth century and expanded largely through a variety of communication technologies, travel and transnational conferences. The Canadian Pentecostal story illustrates the coalescing of local and global Pentecostalism in the twentieth century.

As Pentecostals continue to grow, new immigrant Pentecostals are bringing about substantial change. While not all Pentecostals in Canada identify with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), they do constitute the largest of the Pentecostal groups. This thesis focuses on the changing ethnic diversity of the PAOC and the interaction between the organization and the

congregations from a global perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUALIZING ETHNIC PENTECOSTALISM

Introduction

To this point, I have not explicitly detailed how the effects of globalization relate to ethnic Pentecostal congregations or to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). The purpose of this chapter is to analyze four key concepts that bridge globalization theory with the empirical data that I collected on ethnic congregations in the PAOC. Any number of concepts could be examined. I propose the following conceptual tools, experiential religion, ethnicity, organizational networks, and power/authority, for understanding the consequences of global migration for Pentecostalism in Canada.

In beginning, it may be sufficient to say that Pentecostalism serves to maintain ethnicity in the face of assimilation; but this fails to recognize the religious role of Pentecostalism among ethnic groups (see Toulis, 1997:122-123). According to Geertz (1964:4) religion consists of “powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations.” In the context of this definition, Pentecostalism is an experiential religion. As a system of meaning it informs who ethnic Pentecostals are and their place in the world. Thus, Pentecostalism provides for its followers the means to maintain ethnic identity, if so desired, and

more importantly, the ability to construct religious identity.²²

The transnational "glue" is both ethnicity and religion. Pentecostalism is that which allows a universalist transnationalism, linking ethnic/immigrant Pentecostals and "indigenous" Pentecostals in a common identity and global culture. Yet the particular ethnicity is also transnational, linking "home" with "diaspora" in a global cultural identity. Globally there are multiple possibilities for either ethnic or religious identities. While my data tend to show a de-emphasis on the importance of ethnicity on the level of ideals (i.e. when I asked them about the importance of their ethnicity, they said it was not as important as the religious aspects), on the level of practice it was emphasized (e.g. processions with flags, the existence of strong ethnic congregations). What this indicates is that there is no particular global Pentecostalism as such, but that the global culture consists in the particular ones, all of which necessarily include an "ethnic" flavour. This is one of the points of emphasis of Robertson's link between the universal and the particular: the global can only always be expressed in particular form, the cumulative and pluralist result of which is globality.

The problem is that Pentecostalism is not organized like the Roman Catholic Church, for example. There is no central organizational authority. Yet,

²² Hans Mol (1976) argues that the essential function of religion is identity construction largely because humans are concerned with a universal search for meaning. This is not what I am saying. My point is that for these Pentecostals, religion along with ethnicity is a crucial aspect of who they are in a particular sense.

Pentecostals are organized. In addition, the nature of their organization is glocal; it is based upon networks of people, denominations, and ministries. The network aspect of Pentecostal organization is key to understanding its global character.

Finally, an important question to be explored concerns power/authority. This concept focuses on who is a Pentecostal and how one participates in the movement. My point is that participation in Pentecostal "circles" largely depends on who self-identifies with them. Still, to be Pentecostal, one has to have experienced the hallmark of Spirit baptism usually followed by speaking in tongues. Other signs include physical healing, dreams and visions. The experiential language of speaking in tongues, though, serves to globalize and localize Pentecostalism. For Pentecostals, if you speak the language of prayer, you are a Pentecostal. Authority, that is, claiming to be Pentecostal largely depends on charisma. One cannot claim to be a Pentecostal without having the Pentecostal experience. The experiential aspects of Pentecostalism are the locus of the religion. Again, the central authority of Pentecostalism is not based in the organization, ethnicity or leadership. The authority of Pentecostalism rests in the diffusion of charisma. In other words, to be Pentecostal in Canada depends not on one's ethnic origin, organizational structure or leadership. Rather, what counts among Pentecostals are the experiential aspects of the religion. Before I examine the implications of global migration for the PAOC, I will expand further on these concepts of experiential religion, ethnicity, religious

organization and networks, and power/authority.

Experiential Religion

As discussed above, the global-local dynamic is a feature of globalization (Robertson, 1992). In addition, the reflexive quality of a global world has implications for the individual and the construction of social identities (Simpson, 1996). The consequences for religion include an emphasis on diverse and localized individual experience. Thus, religiosity in a global world, as discussed in chapter one, is increasingly characterized by personal experience, emotional involvement, pragmatism, and transnational links (Hervieu-Léger, 1997). If there is one concept in the sociology of religion in need of investigation, it is experiential religion (see Spickard, 1993, Yamane, 1998). The idea of religious experience, what it is and how it is applied is important in a global world where global dynamics increasingly favour the grounding of the religious life in (individual) experience. In this section I outline how sociologists have attempted to operationalize religious experience. I then examine the role of experience as it is applied to Pentecostalism. While all experiential religion is not Pentecostal, all forms of Pentecostalism are experiential.

The first technical use of the term was by William James (1902[1988]).²³ For James religious experience was a combination of religious activity and

²³ This section relies heavily on Yamane, 1998.

emotions. The problem with James' psychological work is that, while it intended to examine the varieties of religious experience, it was in fact limited to mysticism. Mysticism and experiential religion, however, are not the same. Mysticism is a specific type of religious experience. While James pioneered work on religious experience, it was not until the 1960s that the concept received further examination.

Empirical studies in the 1960s operationalized religious experience as "the sense, feeling, or perception of being in the presence of the sacred, holy or supernatural" (Yamane, 1998:180). For example, Rodney Stark (1965) asked, "Have you ever as an adult had the feeling that you were somehow in the presence of God?" Other studies looked at religious experiences as out-of-body experiences or altered states of consciousness. In 1974 Andrew Greeley asked, "have you ever felt as though you were close to a powerful, spiritual force which seemed to lift you out of yourself?" Greeley calls this ecstasy from the Greek word *ekstasis* meaning to be placed outside. For Greeley, religious experience is a valid source of knowledge.

Research on experiential religion tended to examine the psychological or the social factors of the phenomenon. Psychological factors like meditation, sensory deprivation, drugs and music were researched to see how they facilitate alternative modes of religious experience. Social facilitators like the participation in religious rituals and other religious activities were researched to examine how

they manipulated sensory stimuli and thus facilitated religious experience. For example, Yamane and Polzer (in Yamane, 1998) argue that “religious traditions provide symbolic resources for the construction of alternative realities and promote actions directed at breaking through to those realities.” In other words, involvement in religious traditions is conducive to religious experiences. These attempts at understanding religious experience, however, are limited to very specific accounts or types and do not allow for a general definition of experiential religion that incorporates the specificities. Yet, each account provides a perspective that, when taken together, can reveal greater insight into the phenomenon.

Spickard (1993) has called for sociology to examine several aspects of religious experience including the physiological characteristics, the ideas that inform them, and the social context. In addition, he calls for a cross-cultural and comparative approach to religious experience that allows for the refinement of the concept. Religious experience needs to be defined in a way that allows for both the universal and the particular. This is precisely because there are a variety of religions and religious experiences. Within Christianity for example, religious experiences range from a sense of peace and stillness one may experience while participating in ritual to a sense of catharsis as in Pentecostalism. Religious experience is a physical and emotional activity informed by the social context including the specific ideas of the tradition.

Pentecostalism is one type of experiential religion. It is physical and emotional. It is characterized by such things as speaking in tongues, being slain in the Spirit, shouting, dreams, shaking, and claims of physical healing. The central idea behind all Pentecostalism is the revival of the early Church in the contemporary period. Thus, the model for Pentecostalism is in the New Testament where many physical signs accompanied the disciples and the new believers.

Gerlach and Hine (1968) propose five factors that are crucial to the growth and spread of the Pentecostal movement. The five factors are: 1) reticulate organization, 2) fervent and convincing lines of significant social relationships, 3) a commitment act or experience, 4) a change-oriented and action motivating ideology, and 5) the perception of real or imagined opposition. Of importance here is the third factor, a commitment act or experience. I would argue that while the other four points are important, it is the experiential aspect of Pentecostalism that is the most distinct and defining of the movement. Moreover, experiential religion is also central to Pentecostalism as a global culture.

The role of experience cannot be underestimated as it serves to link Pentecostals globally. What follows is an analysis of religious experience as applied to Pentecostalism. I discuss three elements of Pentecostal experience, namely an appropriation of the past, the construction of meaning, and the transformation of community.

The Pentecostal movement is a biblical movement in that it looks to the

first century Church as a model and pattern for contemporary experience. Acts 1:8 says that Jesus told his disciples to wait for the coming of the Holy Spirit to empower them as his witnesses in Jerusalem and throughout the world. Acts 2:4 is another significant reference recording the story of the upper room encounter when the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples and “all of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them” (New International Version). Pentecostals also refer to the many stories of the early Church as recorded in Acts that speak of phenomenal growth, miraculous healing, deliverance, spiritual encounters, charismatic preaching, commitment to community, persecution, conversion, and hope.

Pentecostalism, according to Harvey Cox (1995:81-83), is about the recovery of primal spirituality. Primal spirituality refers to the recovery of biblical practices of primal speech, primal piety, and primal hope for the modern era. Primal speech refers to ecstatic utterance, glossolalia, speaking in tongues, or praying in the Spirit. Trance, healing, dreams and other practices appropriated from a biblical past are examples of Pentecostal piety. A third element, primal hope, is about a new world, a future millennium based upon the return of Christ to make all things new again. The appropriation of the biblical stories and their metaphors and images is the first step in the transformative role of experience.

Another aspect of experiential religion is that it allows for the construction of meaning. The construction process is directly related to its appropriation of a

biblical past. This construction of meaning, however, is paradoxical in that it deconstructs the past by taking from the Bible what is needed to construct new meaning for today (Poewe, 1992). Pentecostals differ from fundamentalists precisely at this point. Fundamentalists also look to the early Church but the charismatic elements remain for them in the age of the apostles. In contrast, Pentecostals believe in the present workings of the Spirit and in the use of charismatic gifts for today (see Spittler, 1994).

Karla Poewe (1989) argues that globalization simplifies and diversifies world religions so that the nature of religion has changed with an increased emphasis on metonym rather than metaphor, in effect, experience rather than cognition. Metaphor suggests likeness or similarity while metonym refers to substitution or contiguity (see Nöth, 1995:341). Within Christianity, especially Pentecostalism, there is an emphasis on charismatic experiences as “signs” of the active and present working of the Holy Spirit. In other words, religious experience indicates something else but it does not necessarily share in its nature like metaphor. Metaphor stresses faithfulness to the model whereas metonym only shares a key feature with it. As well, metaphor stresses content whereas metonym stresses form. The experiential form guarantees the authenticity of the content whereas in metaphoric religion continuity of content sets more restricted limits to the variation in form. Experience is also more individual and in that sense metonymous in that the part that represents the

whole is the individual who re-presents or embodies the tradition. For example, a dream or vision can indicate just about anything for the person who has it. Dreams and visions, speaking in tongues, divine guidance, healing, and other experiences can be employed by the individual for the construction of meaning in a changing world (Poewe, 1989:365). Pentecostals believe in the creativity of the Holy Spirit and the possibility of a new future. Metonym is employed to create that future both for the individual and the community.

A third element of experiential religion then, is its ability to transform the individual and community. By this I mean that each Pentecostal denomination and congregation operates under the premise that the Holy Spirit is guiding and leading them in the direction they must go. If a Pentecostal congregation is "led by the Spirit" it will fulfill the will and ministry of Jesus. The point I want to make here is that the guiding of the Holy Spirit has a communal dimension as well. The Spirit leads each local congregation and therefore there is variation among the mission and vision of each congregation.

Local Pentecostalism varies from region to region and from congregation to congregation. A general Pentecostal pattern, however, shows a relationship between individual experience and the congregation (see Hervieu-Léger, 1993:131-132). First, Pentecostal congregations are voluntary organizations, which implies conversion and a personal charismatic experience for its members. The role of testimony bonds the members together according to Spirit-led

experiences and reinforces commitment to the congregation. Second, Pentecostal congregations are also characterized by bodily involvement through prayer, dancing, raising arms and hands in worship, loud singing, vocal praising of God, speaking in tongues, prostrations, holding of hands, embracing one another, and other physical manifestations (see Simpson, 1993). A third quality is mistrust for any kind of doctrinal or theological formulation (Hervieu-Léger, 1993:132). The implication of this apprehension is a certain fluidity in the congregation in terms of individual experience, who controls the direction of the congregation, and the level of participation by its members. Pentecostal congregations, therefore, adapt, change and grow through a complex interaction of biblical images and signs experienced individually and corporately in response to the changing social and cultural conditions.

What I have attempted to provide is a conceptual framework with which to think about the physical and social aspects of religious experience including their relationship to religious ideas. Specifically, among Pentecostals, experience is definitive for the movement. Pentecostal experience is not just about the beliefs regarding experience. It is also about the practice and utilization of experience both individually and corporately. Pentecostalism as a global culture provides a basic metonymic framework that links the various local Pentecostalisms globally (see Poewe, 1989). The experiential basis allows a universal pattern for the movement that simultaneously permits a great many and greatly varied local

particularizations. The emphasis on religious experience enhances the transnational character of Pentecostalism.

Ethnicity

The resurgence of ethnicity in the late twentieth century calls for clarification of the term. Definitions of ethnicity tend to focus on the distinctiveness of the term or else its intertwining with other features including religion (Kivisto, 1998). Ethnicity is a useful concept that highlights the strategies of identification used by migrant groups. In addition, it points to how ethnic Pentecostals perceive of themselves in the world and the PAOC. In this section I outline the nature of ethnicity as a social construction (see Sollors, 1989; Conzen et al, 1990; Kivisto 1993) consisting of a particular interpretation of history, a method of self-identification, and shared cultural symbols.

The term ethnicity broadly covers the terms ethnic, ethnic group, and ethnic identity (Driedger, 1996:2-24). Ethnicity conveys the idea that all peoples have a historical background, real or fictitious, with varying forms, importance, and loyalty to that origin. By ethnic, I refer generally to a group of people bound together by a belief in shared characteristics such as nationality, culture, and religion. An ethnic identity, however, expresses itself through specific actions, feelings, and thinking. Thus ethnicity refers to a sense of group belonging based on shared history, cultural characteristics, and contemporary experience. An

examination of ethnicity begins, therefore, with the apprehension that ethnicity is a form of social organization in a particular context.

The context of ethnic group formation is migration, whereby large numbers of people socially identify as belonging together through a belief in a common ancestry and a shared sense of community (Herberg, 1989). Ethnicity and ethnic group, according to Herberg (3), are “terms denoting a particular ascriptive characteristic of a certain aggregate or collectivity of persons.” Herberg highlights the importance of ethnic identity as defined by those outside of the group. The social construction of an ethnic group may include the designation of individuals as such by economic and political processes of the society. My point is that ethnic identification contains a significant element of choice and definition both by insiders and outsiders.

The social construction of ethnicity is a complex and multifaceted strategy. As a dynamic historical process, it is further characterized by the interaction of a variety of social groups. The contribution of a diverse number of groups to the social construction of ethnicity varies according to the competing visions of each group, often resulting in a hegemonic struggle. The social construction of ethnicity emphasizes the role all groups play in shaping the form and content of the ethnic group. The construction of ethnicity, according to Kivisto (1993:101), “must be seen in a dialectical or reciprocal way, for not only do immigrants and indigenous peoples shape ethnic definitions and boundaries, but so does the

dominant group in the society and so do the other groups that make up the societal totality.” Again, the basis for the construction of ethnicity centres on three features including an appropriation of history, self identification, and a cultural-symbolic order.

First, the social construction of ethnicity is based on a particular utilization of history, both real and fictitious. The relationship between the rise of ethnic groups and the historical circumstances of the past two hundred years points to a reawakening in ethnic consciousness (Smith, 1981). This reawakening is rooted in the historical and philosophical climate of eighteenth century Europe and is connected to dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy of the nation-state. In addition, the historical emergence of ethnic groups in response to the nation-state has renewed ethnic ties and the potential for political action on a global scale. Ethnicity for Robertson (1992:51, 80) is one of the prime ways of declaring particular identity in the universalizing and relativizing global circumstance.

The historical foundations of ethnic communities demonstrate that ethnic groups are a persistent fact of world history through to the contemporary period. Smith (1986) points out that ethnic groups appear to emerge and reemerge throughout history. That is, while ethnic groups have not always been continuous, ethnicity has persisted over time. As Smith (32) states clearly: “while making no claims for its universality, I am arguing for the widespread and

chronic, if intermittent, appearance and persistence of this phenomenon. The paradox of ethnicity is its mutability in persistence, and its persistence through change.”

The historical persistence of ethnicity is related to the various ways in which ethnicity is used as a strategy. Ethnic groups use their particular interpretations of history for declarations of ethnic identity and their legitimacy. As Tonkin, McDonald, and Chapman (1989:8) state: “In any situation of ethnic conflict, or of competitive assertion, the ability to render history malleable is a potent one.” Ethnic groups, in unique ways, also appropriate history as a strategy for their maintenance. The idea of ethnicity as a strategy points to one way in which ethnicity is a social construction.

Second, ethnic groups are also characterized by self-identification in a context of comparison. As a result the category of ethnicity is not a permanent or fixed category. Rather, ethnicity forms and changes under specific circumstances (Eriksen, 1993:11-15). The formation of ethnic identity is not in isolation but in interrelationship. The interaction between two or more groups that see themselves as culturally distinct is characterized by cultural comparisons. When two groups compare, the focus is not only on difference but also on sameness depending on the social context and the historical circumstances. Groups may form because of adaptation problems, discrimination and racism, cultural interests, and political interests.

The formation of ethnic groups includes three interconnected components. They are, first, the selection, modification, and creation of categories of interaction; second, the formation of community in relation to the categories; and finally the creation of organization in relation to the categories and community (Charsley, 1974). In other words, the self-identification element in the social construction of ethnicity is based on social interaction. The social interaction between differing groups may lead to a sense of community and to the mobilization of a group. The organization of an ethnic group is often for the pursuit of certain goals that may range from the political and economic to the cultural and religious.

The idea of the social construction of ethnicity, however, needs further refining including distinguishing between national and ethnic differences (see Cohen, 1974). For example, the difference between the Cambodian and the Vietnamese within their own countries are national and not ethnic differences. When groups of Cambodians and Vietnamese immigrants interact with one another, and with a host culture in a new cultural context, they then may be referred to as an ethnic group. Cambodian and Vietnamese could combine for a South East Asian ethnic identity in the new country. The primary reason, according to Cohen (xi), is that ethnicity, "is essentially a form of interaction between culture groups operating within common social contexts." In other words, an ethnic group refers to a group of people who self identify and interact

within a larger population. This interaction often extends beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Furthermore, the employment of symbols, both cultural and religious, serves to socialize the individuals into the group and mobilize the members for the group's activities.

The cultural-symbolic dimension of an ethnic group serves a number of roles. Through a system of ideas, images, and symbols, ethnic group members are able to identify with the group, construct meaningful experiences, and relate to other groups (Breton, 1992). The ability of an ethnic group to maintain a sense of cohesion depends on the following factors. They include the size of the group, area of concentration, language retention, geographic distribution, religion, inter-ethnic marriage, level of organization, state policies toward a group, continued immigration of members, level of acceptance or rejection by the host culture, economic needs of group and state, and the transplanting of a group's culture and religion (Herberg, 1989:81-82, 93-94). Any changes to the factors can result in an adaptation. One important source of change is migration. As noted already, migration can result in the formation of an ethnic group. A change in sources of migration can also influence a group's vitality. Changes in migration can also transform the current ethnic group and the host culture. New sources of migration can result in demographic changes including the size of the population, its age, regional changes, socio-economic changes, and linguistic-cultural changes. The result is varying degrees of uncertainty, culturally,

historically, and structurally. The transformation of a culture is often competitive.

Competition, according to Breton (12), is “a central process in symbolic construction.” In other words, competition involves the negotiation of a symbolic order between competing and often contradictory interests about cultural values, various interpretations of history, and the role of ethnic groups in society.

Competition may last over a long period of time as different models of social reality are considered. Often competition results in compromise (15). The cultural and symbolic materials that groups use to constitute their ethnic identity often serve as important resources for responding to changing circumstances, both global and local.

In sum, ethnicity is a social construction informed by the historical and cultural setting of ethnic groups, the interrelationship of social groups within but not limited to the nation-state, and the utilization of cultural and symbolic material in group adaptation. As Waters (1995:139) states, “the effect of globalization on ethnicity is to revive it and to differentiate it from politics and economics. It enables the view that all ethnic identities are legitimate and not merely those successful ones that managed to establish states in the nineteenth century.” As we shall see, the Pentecostal congregations that are the empirical focus of this thesis use and construct ethnicity in various ways, stressing it in some ways, and de-emphasizing it in others. A critical aspect of this variation is the way that the shared religious, in this case Pentecostal, identity relates to the different ethnic

identities; and the way that both Pentecostal and ethnic identities, in different ways, refer to the wider context of global migration and global Pentecostal culture.

Religious Organization and Network

Another problem for explication is the organizational nature of Pentecostalism, especially at the global level. Pentecostalism is not highly organized globally. Nonetheless, Pentecostals are organized and the various local Pentecostal denominations and congregations do interact. What enables Pentecostal organizations to exchange among each other on a global level are transnational networks. Sociology of religion has spent considerable effort defining the nature of church, sect, and denomination. While these constructs are valuable, organizational theory provides the basis for understanding contemporary religious organization. In this section I analyze the nature of religious organizations using open systems theory. Open systems theory provides a framework for global Pentecostalism by focusing on the network aspect of organizations, denominations, and congregations (see Scherer, 1998: 345). What I propose is that an analysis of religious organization globally, including the nature of church, sect, and denomination, is further enhanced by incorporating the idea of network.

Max Weber (1922) is credited with delineating the characteristics of

church and sect and it was his student Ernst Troeltsch (1931) who wrote comprehensively on the subject. Weber established the concept as one worthy of sociological inquiry by examining the characteristics of religious organizations, including the effects of the historical processes of modernity in their development. Weber's church-sect type generally distinguishes the church as an inclusive group and the sect as an exclusive group.

Troeltsch (1931) refined the concept albeit in a narrower Christian sense. His systematization of the concept focused on the internal dynamics of three types of Christian groups - church, sect, and mystical movement. The distinction between church and sect, like Weber's, is based on the idea that the church makes accommodations to society while the sect tends to reject it. His concept of mysticism tended to be more inclusive and incorporated other religious practices that did not fit into his church-sect type. Troeltsch (1960:734, 743, 745) characterized mysticism as emotional, spiritual religion, that stresses unmediated experience between the individual and God. Given the above discussion on experiential religion, Troeltsch's favouring of mysticism, as characteristic of the modern context, requires some comment. Troeltsch viewed mysticism as radical individual religious experience that tended to resist control by authorities. Thus it was a threat to organized religion. Yet, at the same time, he viewed it as uninterested in changing the church or the world and therefore lacking the social impact of sectarian groups. Troeltsch was essentially pessimistic about this trend

in religion since he felt that it posed a threat to historical Christianity (see McGuire: 1997:143). His objective was to examine Christian groups with the narrow purpose of a discussion on Christian ethics and the relation of these types to doctrine. His types, though, should be understood as reflecting his own ideals and values more so than providing a conceptual tool with which to examine religious organizations as such (see Beckford, 1973:14).

A further development in the sociological discussion of religious organizations was the denomination. The idea of the denomination developed in an American historical context to counter the pejorative term sect (see Swatos, 1998:134). H. Richard Niebuhr introduced it into the sociology of religion in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929). Niebuhr examined the concept of religious organization as a process of transformation from sect to denomination to church. He attributed the rise of denominationalism to the changing social conditions in the USA. The source of denominational divisions, according to Niebuhr, was ethnic, class, and national differences, not disagreements about doctrine and religious practice. Niebuhr argues that the same social conditions that shaped America also shaped American religion. For example, the migration of millions of Europeans to America from the 18th to the 20th century influenced politics, economics, and religion.

Niebuhr (203-212) argued that there were two tendencies in the history of migration to the USA. First, there was the tendency toward the incorporation of

immigrants into the established churches. Second, there was a tendency toward the differentiation of the immigrant church from the established churches. By the second generation, according to Niebuhr, the influence of the dominant social conditions led immigrant churches to choose between accommodation or extinction. The problem Niebuhr addressed assumed that mobile populations made contributions to the development of American religion. His work thus provides a link between ethnicity, global migration, and religious organization.

The treatment of religious organizations after the post war period changed very little until the 1960s. One important work is Joachim Wach's (1944) analysis of religious organization as a distinctive sociological concept. Specifically, Wach's analysis examined the question of religious organization beyond the borders of Christianity. He was not overly concerned about the theological problems that consumed Troeltsch or Niebuhr. More in the tradition of Weber and Durkheim, Wach considered religious organizations comparatively, utilizing a theory of institutional differentiation, institutionalization, and the role of religious leaders in the development of religious organizations (see Beckford, 1973:16). Another example is Thomas O'Dea's (1961) work on religious organizations, where he examined the implications of rationalization and institutionalization for religious organizations. O'Dea's central concern was whether or not religion could survive these processes. O'Dea (31-37) argued that while institutionalization was necessary for religious organizations, it tended

to change the qualities of the group and introduce specific dilemmas: the dilemma of mixed motivation, the symbolic dilemma, the dilemma of administrative order, the dilemma of delimitation, and the dilemma of power. O'Dea's value is that he talks about the practicalities involved in religious formation: organization is the field in which practical strategies and identities get worked out.

Another development in the 1960s is the examination of religious organizations using organizational theory and especially the notion of networks (see Beckford, 1973). Analyzing religious organizations as social systems and the networks they engender points to the transnational character of Pentecostalism. Before I examine the nature of networks and some implications for religious organizations, several things need to be said about the use of organization theory and especially open systems theory for religious organizations.

First, organization theory assumes that religious organizations are not unlike other organizations. This does not imply that religious organizations do not have distinct features. As James Beckford (1973: 21-22) states:

The desirability of having broad and flexible definitions, the usefulness of drawing constant analogies with forms of non-religious social organization and the need to be attentive to radical transformation in the social expression of religious phenomena do not preclude the possibility of establishing a number of basic characteristics which are found in most religious organizations.

The religious organization, while similar to other types of organizations, is different in degree. Organization refers to the deliberate construction of social units for the purpose of seeking specific goals (McCann, 1993:35). Religious organizations, writes Beckford (1973:22-29), have three distinctive features. First, they have a unique structure and dynamic in relation to their goals. Second, religious organizations have a particular view of the world that includes ideological aspirations and claims to legitimacy. Third, religious organizations require various levels of commitment as displayed in values, beliefs, and action. Religious organizations are thus like other organizations but they are also unique.

Recent organizational theory attempts to understand how organizations are structured and function in relation to other organizations by utilizing open systems theory (Scherer, 1998:345). Open systems theorists argue that organizations exist within a network of other related organizations. A network of related organizations (e.g. other congregations, denominations), therefore, characterizes the organizational environment. Thus, networks are not a type of organization. Rather, the concept of network indicates the process through which organizations utilize resources. Open system theorists view organizations as processes that mobilize resources into action within the organization and with other organizations. What makes religious organizations distinct, especially Pentecostal ones, is that resources are mobilized to do the will of God and to

share God with others. A very important resource for Pentecostals is the Holy Spirit.

A network analysis assumes that social systems can be examined according to networks (see Wellman, 1988). Networks refer to the relationships between members of organizations and the specific links that characterize their interconnectedness (see Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988:4). A network analysis of an organization has a number of characteristics (Wellman, 1988:20). First, it allows an analysis of transorganizational and transnational relationships and practices vis a vis the metaphor/metonym distinction. In as much as metonym allows a mere part to stand for the whole, so in transorganizational and transnational relations more limited commonalities can accomplish a network where a metaphoric relation would require something closer to organizational fusion. Transnational relationships and practices increasingly depict a global world. Second, the focus is on relations between organizations and not just individuals. In other words, a network analysis attempts to look beyond individual actors within an organization to understand the relationship between organizations. Third, a network analysis assumes that these relationships and practices affect the operation of organizations. Fourth, the organization is viewed as a network of networks. Finally, the focus of a network analysis is on the relational nature between networks. The link between networks is an important element that needs further elaboration.

The various links between networks have been described in different ways as ties (Wellman, 1988), social remittances (Levitt, 1998), flows (Berkowitz, 1988), and transnational flows (Basch, et al, 1994). Each idea conveys a sense of movement across boundaries. Network exchanges include relationships, practices, ideas, money, information, and material goods. As Rouse (1991:15) states: "Through the continuous circulation of people, money, goods, and information, the various settlements have become so closely woven together that, in an important sense they have come to constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites." Thus a network of transnational relationships and practices points to how Pentecostal organizations is structured and how they function globally.

Power and Authority

Notions of power and authority and their social dimensions are increasingly relevant for the sociology of religion (see Beckford, 1987). It is not my intention to document the decline and resurgence of power or the many ways it has been defined in the discipline. In some ways power and authority are contested concepts (see Abercrombie, et al, 1988; Chaves, 1994; Philp, 1996a, 1996b). Conceptualizing ethnic Pentecostalism requires refinement of the term authority and especially charismatic authority. There is some confusion about the application of the term to religion and especially Pentecostalism as

charismatic Christianity. The media often refer to charisma as sex appeal, attraction, and popularity. Yet, charisma is a theoretical concept that refers to a type of authority. It derives from a theological concept of grace or gift, especially a divine gift of grace (Wallis, 1996:80). Max Weber developed its sociological use in a discussion about power and authority (Ritzer, 1992:236-239). What I propose is that Weber's notion of charisma is both insightful and limited in its application to Pentecostalism.

Max Weber (1947) distinguished different types of authority from power. According to Weber (152), power involves the ability of a person within a social relationship to carry out his or her will despite opposition. Power, in this general sense, means the ability to get something done. Weber's notion of power implies that individuals employ power over other individuals. The exercise of authoritative power for Weber, however, required another element and that was legitimacy. Legitimacy involves confidence and the belief that a social relationship was valid (124). For power to be legitimate authority, individuals had to have confidence in some kind of order. That is, individuals readily comply with the decisions of another because they view the exercise of power as legitimate. Legitimate power implies that it is reasonable, authentic, or mandated.

Weber (1947:324-392) developed three types of authority. They are legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. Legal authority is grounded in the legally established order or office which itself is the object of

legitimacy, and not directly the person occupying it. Traditional authority rests on the basis of the order as it has been handed down from the past. Power rests in the person who occupies the position bound by tradition. Charismatic authority, however, rests in the individual who is granted authority based on his or her personal qualities and the ability to exert power through supernatural or superhuman characteristics.

Much of Weber's work in religion focussed on his concept of charisma and the emergence and formation of religious groups based on charismatic leaders. Charisma refers to individual leaders who have supernatural or superhuman qualities as designated by their followers. Yet there are some ambiguities in the use of the term (Wallis, 1996:80). Psychological explanations focus on charisma as inherent in the individual leader. Social psychological explanations focus on the interpersonal relationship between the leader and the followers. This is not what Weber meant by charismatic authority. Weber contrasted charismatic authority with his other types of authority to describe how the charismatic leader broke with tradition or the legal norms of gaining power. Charismatic authority rests on obedience and devotion to the Prophet who embodies or possesses supernatural or superhuman power. The charismatic leader is a compelling individual who is perceived as extraordinary and set apart from all others. They gain power in contrast to legal or traditional ways of gaining power. Therefore, in Weber's use of the term, Pentecostal leaders as

conventionally elected are not charismatic because of attractiveness or popularity.

No doubt some leaders within Pentecostalism began their ministries and congregations on charisma in the Weberian sense of the word. This is not just a historical fact for the emergence of the movement in the early twentieth century. Pentecostal pastors occasionally reject their denomination for a higher calling of the Spirit because the denomination has lost its power. This is characteristic of some independent Pentecostal congregations and ministries. Yet, the use of the word charismatic for Pentecostals is problematic. Charisma provides insight into Pentecostalism but it is also limited.

Karla Poewe (1992) critiques the Weberian use of charisma by showing its limitations for understanding Pentecostalism. Poewe argues that Weber's distinction between prophet and priest has become blurred in contemporary Pentecostalism. While the roles are distinct, both are beneficiaries of charismatic gifts. That is, charisma is diffused along with the gifts of the Spirit throughout the religious leadership and the laity. According to Poewe (163) this represents "the democratization of the gifts of the Spirit." She agrees that the term charisma better fits the founders of new religious movements. Yet, the notion of charisma with the advent of Pentecostalism needs refinement precisely because the locus of charisma is the Holy Spirit and not the individual leader. It is the Holy Spirit who gives spiritual gifts to ordinary people to empower them for

service. Poewe (167) says, “the emphasis is not on leadership but on the recognition of the democratic distribution of gifts.” Furthermore, a Pentecostal understanding of charisma is associated with a diffusion of spirituality and thus her argument that Pentecostalism is metonymic as discussed above. The authority of Pentecostalism rests therefore not in the individual leader but in the distribution of gifts to all Pentecostal Christians. The key point is that there is no basis for centralizing power in Pentecostalism because of how charisma or authority operates. Anyone can claim it at any time if they demonstrate the accepted use of the gifts of the Spirit according to the norms of the Pentecostal movement. That leads simultaneously to decentralized organization and even constant formation of new versions of Pentecostalism, but at the same time, to the elaboration of the Pentecostal network. Charisma is central to understanding how ethnic congregations are experiential, use ethnicity as a strategy, and networks as an organizational mode. Thus, these concepts will be used to explain the transformation among Canadian Pentecostals due to global migration.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have conceptualized ethnic Pentecostalism by employing experiential religion, ethnicity, organization, and authority. Together these terms assist in understanding the migration of Pentecostals to Canada and the

implications for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. My point is that religion in a global world is increasingly experiential and pragmatic. The global spread of Pentecostalism is through the migration of people. The various transnational networks that are maintained by ethnic Pentecostals serve to transform the nature of Pentecostalism. While ethnicity is an important identity strategy, it is subordinate to religious identity through the diffusion of charisma. In the following chapters I will show how these concepts help interpret the empirical data. Ethnic Pentecostal congregations are transforming the PAOC not only through their ethnicity but also through their Pentecostal style and the transnational networks they maintain. What allows this to occur is a Pentecostal appropriation of authority, specifically the metonymic nature of this type of Christianity.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY: INTRODUCING THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF CANADA AND THE CONGREGATIONS

Introduction

The current phase of globalization requires an examination of the effects of global migration for religion in Canada. It is my argument that transnational relationships and practices involve networks of people and ideas that transform religious life. Religious and social change, however, cannot be understood simply in terms of immigrant accommodation or resistance. Rather, new sources of immigration to Canada point to new relationships and practices that have implications for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. According to the PAOC executive and its ministers, the fastest changing segment of its constituency revolves around the transplanting of Pentecostalism in Canada from non-European sources. In this chapter I provide a description of the PAOC and the eight congregations that I researched for this thesis. The purpose of this introduction is to provide a description and analysis of the history, worship style, and demographics of each congregation. I also include an analysis of three issues that have preoccupied the PAOC in the 1990s as examples of the kinds of changes it has faced. Each relates to the structure and mission of the denomination. This chapter provides the background for a detailed analysis of the effects of global migration for the PAOC in chapter five.

The PAOC International Office is located in Mississauga, Ontario. The Office provides oversight of its 1,100 congregations, 1,758 ordained ministers, 297 missionaries, 5 Bible Colleges and a total revenue in 1995 of more than sixteen million dollars (Slauenwhite, 1996:17). The congregations I researched were found in the two Ontario districts of the PAOC. The Eastern Ontario and Quebec District Office is in Kanata and the Western Ontario District Office is in Burlington. Each office has a representative that oversees ethnic congregations and I interviewed both of them. I also interviewed other denominational officials from the two Ontario District offices of the PAOC and from the International Office of the PAOC. I also collected various documents from the PAOC that I have used in the analysis.

The eight congregations I studied for this thesis are located in the cities of Toronto and Ottawa. Two of the congregations are non-ethnic English speaking congregations and I included them for comparison purposes. The six ethnic congregations represent different regions of the world. They include two Spanish-speaking congregations from Central and South America, two Korean congregations, one Sri Lankan Tamil speaking congregation, and one Eritrean congregation representing northern Africa. All of the congregations are Pentecostal and members of the PAOC except for one. The Eritrean congregation has an affiliation with the PAOC but has decided at this point not to officially join the denomination. A general congregational profile is presented to

describe some of the characteristics of individual members and the congregations.²⁴

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

Throughout its history, the PAOC has pragmatically adapted to its changing social and historical climate (Kydd, 1988). For example, with the rest of the Canadian population, the general education levels of Pentecostals have increased. The establishment of higher educational standards for Pentecostal ministerial education has also followed similar trends among other theological schools (699). As it endeavours to fulfill its mission of establishing Pentecostal congregations, responses to issues like divorce and remarriage, denominational restructuring and ethnic congregations reflect the denomination's pragmatism. During the 1990s the PAOC experienced what could be interpreted as a Niebhurian drift or an O'Dean institutional dilemma as the denomination debated these issues. The examples broadly illustrate the type of transformation the PAOC is experiencing. The issues of divorce and remarriage and denominational restructuring have implications for all Pentecostal congregations, including ethnic congregations. At the very least, they illustrate the adaptability of the PAOC, a feature of its history.

²⁴ There is a partial overlap with Ammerman's (1997:47-62) characteristics of congregations where she analyzes them according to three general dimensions: resources, structures of authority, and congregational culture.

The divorce and remarriage debate culminated at the 1994 PAOC General Conference held in Calgary, 1994. On August 26, 1994 the General Conference approved constitutional amendments that allowed divorce and remarriage so that PAOC clergy could remarry divorced persons. The debate was emotional as those on both sides of the debate argued their positions. The PAOC was very concerned with the passing of the resolution and a "Guidelines for the Minister in Implementing Resolution #33" was distributed to all ordained clergy shortly after the conference in 1994. The statement (n.d.: 1) reads:

Before we consider some suggested guidelines which may be helpful to the minister who chooses to participate, let us be alerted to the need of special caution. The issue of *Divorce and Remarriage* remains a difficult one within our Fellowship. The territory is a "mine field" of powerful emotions. Ministers who consider officiating at the marriages of divorced persons must recognize and be sensitive to the depth of emotion "on both sides" of this issue. The frequency and passion of the debate at the General Conference level over the past twenty-five years reflects the diversity of opinion and range of emotion.

Even though the resolution was passed, the PAOC was concerned about potential schism and made a provision for ministers to choose, for personal reasons or matters of conscience, not to remarry divorced persons. The implications of resolution #33 for the PAOC are still to be examined. The debate, however, illustrates the intensity of change experienced by the PAOC in the 1990s.

Another issue concerns the restructuring of the PAOC. At the 1992

General Conference in Ottawa, Resolution #1 spoke to the issue of structural change of the Executive Offices of the PAOC. The motion, however, was defeated as it became evident during the discussion that the opinions among members of the Conference were divided.²⁵ Restructuring of the PAOC, however, was approved at the 1994 General Conference in Calgary. The major implication was the reduction of six Executive Office positions to four. The structure of the PAOC is hierarchical with a General Superintendent and Executive Officers. All positions are elected positions by the General Conference every two years. Prior to the structural change in 1994, the Executive Offices included the following: the General Superintendent, Rev. J.M. MacKnight, General Secretary, W.A. Griffin, General Treasurer, R.L. Schmunk, Overseas Missions, L.E. Markham, Church Ministries, K.H. Parks, and Home Missions and Bible Colleges, K.B. Birch. Following the 1994 General Conference, the PAOC structure consisted of four offices: a Chief Executive Officer (the General Superintendent) Administration Office (the General Secretary-Treasurer), Overseas Missions, and Canadian Ministries.

The need for restructuring was due to several reasons, the most crucial being financial. The extent of the financial crisis did not become evident until 1995. On October 24, 1995 a letter was sent to the clergy of the PAOC in which

²⁵ This is based on my personal observations and conversations with members at the General Conference.

the General Superintendent, Rev. James MacKnight said “we face the accumulated impact of six years where we have tried to do too much with too little income. The situation is very serious. We have borrowed approximately one million dollars from reserve funds that must be repaid and, on top of this we owe \$730,000 in unpaid bills.” At the 1996 General Conference in Toronto, Rev. James MacKnight reported that, following full disclosure of the PAOC finances, he was confident the PAOC was living within its means. The financial report, however, showed that expenditures exceeded income by \$703,113 at the end of 1995. The total revenue for the PAOC in 1995 was \$14,033,802. The financial crisis was important for all congregations as they were requested to give extra funds to alleviate the debt. It also meant fewer funds were available for congregations, especially ethnic congregations that received support from the PAOC.

A third crucial area of concern for the PAOC in the 1990s was increased immigration to Canada. A detailed analysis of global migration for the PAOC will follow later in this thesis. By way of introduction, I will present the issue of ethnic ministry to illustrate how it is a central concern of the PAOC. For example, at the 1990 General Conference in Winnipeg, resolution #26, “Intolerance in Canadian Society Due to Ethnic Diversity,” was carried. In this resolution the PAOC recognized that Canada was increasingly diverse. It called upon PAOC congregations “to take steps to guard against intolerance in Canadian society

due to such diversity and, at the same time, view such ethnicity as an opportunity to manifest Christian love and charity and social concern, as well as Christian witness and evangelism" (Minutes, 1990:33).

The interpretation of this resolution by the PAOC executive and the District Offices has varied. For example, on November 20, 1991, Gordon R. Upton, executive Director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges sent a letter to PAOC clergy requesting funds for outreach in Canada. The logic of the argument, however, relied upon unsubstantiated evidence. Upton argued that the decline of evangelical Christianity in Canada was due to "a floodtide of immigrants." Upton points out that his concern was presented as a resolution at a meeting of the General Executive. In the resolution it states: "Whereas the rising rate of immigration from predominately pagan countries is continuing to reduce the ratio of evangelical believers to the local population, therefore be it resolved that as a fellowship we strongly affirm our commitment to the evangelization of Canada as well as to the world at large and that we seek to pursue means, whether conventional or unconventional, which will enable us to make greater inroads into the unreached masses around us"(copy of letter sent to PAOC clergy).

The two Ontario Districts of the PAOC also explored the prospects of reaching new immigrants. In 1992, Don Young was commissioned by the two District Offices to conduct a research project on ethnic ministry in Canada. In his

reports, Young rightly describes the changing ethnic composition of Canada, but incorrectly correlates ethnicity with religion when he declares that the majority of immigrants are non-Christians (1992, 1994). Rev. Pierre Bergeron, the Quebec Executive Assistant for the Eastern Ontario and Quebec District, also wrote about his concern over Quebec being influenced by Muslim immigrants. He called upon Pentecostals to “be aware of the shift in religious beliefs in order to effectively share the Gospel” (1993:11).

Increasingly, the concerns of migration and ethnic congregations have preoccupied the PAOC. The apprehension of the PAOC is largely misdirected though. As I already stated, the majority of immigrants to Canada identify with Christianity (see Bibby, 1993b). In addition, the majority of the immigrants in the ethnic congregations examined in this thesis were also Christian and Pentecostal before arriving in Canada. Thus, the challenge for the PAOC is not the non-Christian population. Rather, the challenge for the PAOC is the changing nature of Canadian Pentecostalism in the context of globalization. Often, though, the PAOC executive is unaware of the changes they face.

The Non-Ethnic Congregations

The two non-ethnic congregations in this thesis are located in Toronto and Ottawa. By non-ethnic I mean they do not see themselves as ethnic congregations. That is, these congregations do not employ ethnicity as a

strategy of identification. They are also both comprised mostly of people with a European ethnic origin. In addition, no single ethnic group constitutes the majority of the members. Both congregations also have a significant percentage of their constituency with a University education and household incomes over \$50,000. There are differences between the two congregations, especially in terms of a worship style. For all the congregations I provide a brief history of the congregations, its worship style, and a congregational profile.

Woodvale Pentecostal Church

In 1956, Woodvale, then City View Pentecostal Church, began as an outreach in the west end of Ottawa through the efforts of Bethel Pentecostal Church. The congregation began with thirty-one families and experienced initial growth through the first six years under the direction of their first pastor, Rev. William J. Edgington. The 1960s was a time of expansion, numerically and financially. As a result, the congregation began to assess its needs and they began the search for a place to build a larger facility.

The 1970s was a time of continued growth and was characterized by building expansion and program diversification including a church library, programs for college students, and a day care centre. In 1972 the congregation purchased a ten-acre site on Greenbank Road in Nepean, and in 1974 opened what is now Woodvale Pentecostal Church. The building project would prove to

be one of the most challenging for the congregation financially. Those who were there during its building tell the story of the many obstacles to overcome. With the opening of the new facility, the congregation showed its commitment to the community by opening a day care centre on the premises. The day care centre illustrates the congregation's vision in the early 1970s before day care centres became a greater issue in Canada. After its first year of operation the day care centre had an enrollment of sixty-three children. Attendance also grew after building a new facility.

In 1975 the average Sunday morning service attendance was more than three hundred. By the end of the decade, the congregation was again faced with problems of growth. After much deliberation it was decided to add another morning worship service to accommodate the people.

In 1981 Woodvale celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The congregation, not unlike other Pentecostal congregations, experienced numerical growth. However, 1981 was also a year of great pain as the congregation split over the doctrine of speaking in tongues, the very one for which the Pentecostal movement is known. While the congregation's pastor resigned and many people left to form an independent congregation, Woodvale's lay leadership provided capable direction during this time. The ministry of their first pastor following the split, Rev. William Carruthers, was one of healing and reconciliation. During his tenure, the congregation recovered quite well and grew. In 1989 the

congregation paid off its mortgage and continued discussions of expanding the current facility.

The 1990s was a period of great change for Woodvale paralleling the economic downturn in the city. While plans were being made for an expansion, the congregation was hesitant about assuming another debt load, especially during a poor economy. As the federal government made cutbacks, those employed in the civil service were faced with a new dilemma, namely whether to retrain and/or relocate. While the finances were maintained, the average Sunday morning attendance declined by approximately one hundred people. By the mid 1990s, however, the new and expanding high tech industry attracted new people to Ottawa. As a result, Woodvale gained new members between 1995 and 1997, even though its average attendance dropped. New members were largely Pentecostals transferring to Ottawa for high tech employment.

The history of Woodvale Pentecostal Church also includes my story with the congregation. Over the past twelve years I was a theological student intern, part-time pastor, and regular attender. My first contact with Woodvale was in 1986 when I came to the congregation as a theological student for a six-week internship. Woodvale was considered a large congregation in the PAOC and had an active and strong membership. The average Sunday morning attendance at that time was approximately 650 people. Over the six weeks I got a sense of the congregation's mission and vision. After my internship I

completed my theological studies and maintained a strong tie with the congregation. Between 1990-1992 and 1995-1996, I was a part time staff member. During my doctoral studies I was a regular attender at Woodvale.

The style of worship at Woodvale is contemporary. The two morning worship services are identical in the order of worship but rarely do the two worship times resemble one another. This is largely due to the profile of the two congregations that attend these times. There is nothing formal about what service people attend. Each service is the same in content. The first worship service begins at 9:00 and those who attend are generally seniors and families with small children. Between the two morning worship services, Sunday School takes place. The second worship service begins at 11:30 and is generally attended by single adults and families with teenagers. Worshippers in the second service tend to be more vocal in their praise. As well, each worship service has a different set of musicians. The musicians for the second service play a more contemporary rock version of the music. During the first service, parents with young children are often distracted and seen leaving the service with their children. The music pastor leads the worship at all the services.

During the past three years, an increasing number of seniors have expressed concern over the volume of the instruments during the worship. Few attempts have been made to meet the requests of the seniors by the worship pastor. Seniors still do not like the contemporary style. The worship team

Table 4.1. Profile of Woodvale Pentecostal Church²⁶

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed survey	148	26%
Average Age	145	44.18
Gender - Female	148	58.1%
Marital Status - Married	147	69.6%
Average Number of Children	62	2.03
University Education	146	37.7%
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	144	56.9%
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	147	2.54
Birth Place - Canada	148	84.5%
Mother Tongue - English	146	82.4%
Ethnic origin - European/North American	127	96.6%
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	21	3.7%
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	21	85.7%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	19	36.8%

²⁶ Respondents were asked: "If you were not born in Canada, what year did you come to Canada?" The immigrant population was then asked: "Were you Pentecostal (in belief or experience) before you came to Canada? If no, what was your religious affiliation?"

musicians play electric guitars, drums, keyboards, saxophones, and brass instruments. Woodvale also has a worship service on Sunday evening where a full band (more singers and musicians) plays a contemporary rock style. Contemporary music, vocal worship, an exhorting- style sermon and a protracted time of prayer for needs of the congregation characterize Sunday night. During the week the members of the congregation and the community attend meetings, including support groups for adults and programs for children.

I studied the congregation during a four-month period from May to August of 1997. The pastor announced that I was researching Pentecostal congregations and requested those in attendance one Sunday morning to pick up a survey as they left the building. They were then asked to return the completed surveys over the next several weeks. The average Sunday morning attendance during this time was 555 people. The total number of surveys completed was 148. This represents 26% of the average morning attendance. Of those who completed the survey, 58.1% are female and 41.9% are male. The average age is 44. In terms of marital status, 69.6% are married. The average number of children at home is 2.03. At Woodvale, 37.7% have a university education and another 30.1% a college diploma. The total number that has completed a post-secondary level of education is 67.8%. Clearly, this congregation is not typical of Pentecostals from the 1991 Census Canada data, where only 7.8% of Pentecostals completed a University education. Those with

a household income totalling more than \$50,000 are 56.9%. 84.5% of Woodvale's members were born in Canada and 96.6% claim a European/North American ethnic origin. In terms of ethnic origin, 25.7% indicate a Canadian ethnic origin, 4.1% French Canadian and another 14.2% did not respond. In terms of the immigrant population, twenty one of the respondents were not born in Canada. 85.7% claim they were Christians before coming to Canada and 36.8% of the Christians were Pentecostal.

The Stone Church

The Stone Church had its beginnings in December 1930 when evangelistic meetings were held in Toronto with Rev. John Goben of Detroit, Michigan. The new group of Pentecostals founded Central Full Gospel Assembly and in March of the following year changed the name to Calvary Evangelistic Association. Meeting in a vacant Methodist church on Bloor Street, the congregation later that year invited Rev. Harvey McAlister to be their new pastor when Rev. Goben returned to evangelistic ministry.

Three years later, in July 1934, the congregation relocated to a new building at Avenue Road and Roxborough Street. Influenced by the stone structure and various biblical passages about the imagery of "stone" and "rock" representing strength, the young congregation changed its name to The Stone Church Pentecostal Assembly. In 1938 they purchased land at 45 Davenport

Road and relocated there in December 1939. From 1931 through 1998, Stone's pastors have included Rev. Harvey McAlister (1931-1934), Rev. Walter McAlister (1934-1945), Rev. Hugh McAlister (1945-1955), Rev. Fred Parlee (1957-1970), Rev. Albert Vaters (1970-1976), Rev. Earl McNutt (1976-1995), and Rev. Ron Mattheson (1996-present).

This characteristic of Stone, that is, six pastors in over sixty-five years of ministry, speaks of the stability of the congregation. During its ministry and especially in the late 1970s, the congregation resisted moving to the suburbs and maintained its vision to be an urban congregation. With its proximity to the University of Toronto and the business district of Bay Street, the congregation attracts a disproportionate number of members who have advanced education degrees and work in professional occupations. Staying in the city means that the congregation has had to undergo a number of changes including a large turnover in its membership. As Rev. McNutt explained to me, he has pastored five distinct congregations during his twenty years as pastor at Stone. His observation is that as young people attend university, graduate, and get their first job they stay in the city. Those who marry and have children, though, tend to move to the suburbs for the bigger and less expensive home. The congregation also experienced cultural changes, as Toronto is the choice destination for the majority of immigrants to Canada.

Over the past several years, Stone appeared to be going through another

congregational turnover. While a core of people remained at Stone, a large number of people moved to the suburbs. At the same time, new members moved into the congregation. Change appears to be the norm for this congregation.

On Sunday, a Sunday School is held at 9:45 followed by a worship service at 11:00 and 18:00. The style of worship at Stone is contemporary but more folk in style. A worship team of lay people lead the congregational worship and not the pastor. The worship team musicians play acoustic guitars, electric bass, piano, keyboard, drums and other various percussion instruments like a tambourine. The folk style lends to a more relaxed worship atmosphere. This is also reflected in the style of preaching, prayer, and overall congregational praise, which is less intense than at Woodvale. The Sunday morning worship service is attended by an average of 400 people. Approximately 60 people attend the Sunday night service. Over the past several years, the pastoral staff have discussed several options including canceling this service. Generally, those who attend Sunday night are visitors or those older members of Stone who have been attending for many years. Mid week activities for adults and children are a part of the regular Stone Church programs.

I researched the congregation between October and November 1997. Again, like Woodvale, the survey was made available following a morning worship service for the parishioners to take home and return when completed.

Table 4.2: Profile of The Stone Church

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed survey	116	29%
Average Age	104	42.64
Gender – Female	113	63.8%
Marital Status – Married	113	42.2%
Average Number of Children	32	2.03
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	107	30.8%
University Education	111	45%
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	114	1.75
Birth Place – Canada	114	57.8%
Mother Tongue – English	116	67.2%
Ethnic origin - European/North American	98	73.5%
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	43	37.1%
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	43	93%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	40	52.5%

One hundred and sixteen people or 29% of the average Sunday morning attendance completed the survey. Of those who completed the survey, 63.8%

are female. The average age is 43. Like Woodvale, a high percentage of the respondents (45%) are University educated and a total of 79.2% have completed a post-secondary level of education. Unlike Woodvale, a smaller percentage was born in Canada (57.8%). 67.2% state their mother tongue is English and those with a European/North American ethnic origin total 73.5%. A large segment of Stone's membership is Filipino (14.7%). While the Filipino members attend their own fellowship group, they also worship with the main congregation and are not considered a separate congregation. 37.1% of the respondents are immigrants. In terms of religion, 93% of the immigrants identified with Christianity. A total of 52.5% of those Christians identified with Pentecostalism before arriving in Canada.

The Ethnic Congregations

The six ethnic congregations in this thesis are located in the cities of Toronto and Ottawa. The congregations are all very different from one another in terms of their history, ethnicity, and Pentecostalism. They all reflect local versions of a global Pentecostalism, as do the older congregations just profiled. The various transnational links of the congregations will be examined in the next chapter.

Alex Osorio Ministries and The Fire of God Church

The first and only PAOC Spanish congregation in Ottawa is the Fire of God Church, which began in 1987. Like Woodvale, its beginnings are associated with the Bethel Pentecostal Church. The Fire of God congregation worshipped in the Bethel congregation's facility before purchasing the former Knights of Columbus building on Murray Street in Ottawa's Lowertown. The pastor of the Spanish congregation is Rev. Alex Osorio. His calling card reads, "Pastor and International Evangelist: Divine Healing, Deliverance, and Salvation." The congregation began ten years ago at Bethel through the efforts of pastor Osorio and his wife. Pastor Osorio and his wife worked together to begin their ministry in Canada after pastoring in Latin America. They moved to Canada to escape the consequences of civil war in Nicaragua and are characteristic of Latin America's move toward Charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity.

I first met pastor Osorio on June 10, 1997. The congregation had just moved from Bethel's facilities to their own in April. The pastor at Bethel, Rev. Paul Cassidy, arranged for me to meet pastor Osorio at his new facility. The former Knights of Columbus building still has remnants of its past. A trophy case downstairs was in the process of being cleaned out and an official insignia was part of the basement flooring. The members of the congregation were very proud to have their own facility and, since obtaining it, were having meetings all day on Sunday and every night except Monday. Renovations of the building were

almost complete in anticipation of their "Opening Celebration" in July. Pastor Osorio met us at the door with a warm smile and good hand shake. He was happy for us to come and see his new facility.

The building is a plain, brick building with a glass door entranceway typical of buildings built in the 1940s and 1950s. It consists of a main floor that has been transformed into a sanctuary and a basement that is used for offices, a Sunday School, bookstore, and general meetings. At the front of the lower auditorium is a platform that is the focal point of the weeknight meetings.

The main sanctuary is very impressive and has been designed for television. Red carpet and red drapes adorn the hall. Theatrical lights and television monitors and stands are in place. The curtains at the front are designed to open and close and when they do they reveal the platform with a small plexiglass pulpit and musical instruments to the left and right. The sanctuary is very high tech and the main control room directs the lights, sound, and computer operated slides for worship. Pastor Osorio video tapes his meetings and sends the tapes back to congregations in Latin America. They serve to promote his "international ministry."

The pastor's office consists of two rooms. One is for meeting and counselling. The other is what he calls his inner sanctuary for prayer and study. It is an impressive office with a large desk, book shelves, chandelier, and banners with messages like "God is my Protector." His office is also connected

to another room with a two-way mirror looking into the sanctuary from the back. Pastor Osorio says he prays here during the worship services before he comes to preach. His wife, who is a very capable and energetic leader, leads the worship services. Pastor Osorio tells me that they paid cash for the building and have no mortgage or debt.

A typical week-night meeting begins in the late afternoon as members arrive for an hour of personal prayer at 17:00. Later the pastor joins them for concerted prayer until the service begins at 19:00. The meetings are in Spanish but most of the worship choruses are sung in English. The choruses are published by the popular American music company, Hosanna Integrity. The feature of each meeting is the worship band highlighted by a six-piece horn section, drummer, keyboardist, and a bass player that handles the difficult rhythms of the music performed with a Latin interpretation. For an hour and a half there is the crescendo and diminuendo of music along with the rise and fall of people in response to the "moving of the Holy Spirit." Meetings are characterized by shouts of hallelujah, clapping, singing, dancing, speaking in tongues, prayer for healing, and being slain in the Spirit.

At approximately 20:30 the pastor begins to preach. His message is in Spanish but one of the volunteers interprets it for me. His sermon style is an exhortation as opposed to a structured homily. Pastor Osorio says his sermons

Table 4.3: Profile of The Fire of God Church

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed survey	20	40%
Average Age	20	32.05
Gender – Female	20	65%
Marital Status – Married	20	55%
Average Number of Children	11	3.36
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	19	0%
University Education	20	10%
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	20	4.95
Birth Place - Latin America	20	90%
Mother Tongue – Spanish	20	95%
Ethnic Origin - Latino	16	80% (20% no response)
Percentage of Congregation as immigrants	15	75% (25% no response)
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	17	94.1%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	16	62.5%

are intended to “speak to the soul and not just the head.” He likes to motivate

his people to serve God, to be on fire for God, to reach out to people that are in need, and to be holy so they can experience the blessings of God. The sermon is followed by more singing and prayer and generally ends sometime after 22:00. Pastor Osorio envisions the building being open twenty four hours a day for prayer, worship, and ministry for people in need. On average 50 people attend at meetings during the week and on Sunday. The Sunday meetings vary little in style from the week night meetings except that they are part of an all day event. Following the Sunday morning service, members from the congregation share a meal together. Training sessions for evangelism and leadership occur in the afternoon. Usually, an evangelism team spends the afternoon with people in the downtown area. They then join together for another worship service Sunday evening.

Twenty people or 40% of the average Sunday morning attendance completed the survey during the summer of 1997. 65% who completed the survey are female. The average age is 32 years. The average number of children at 3.36 is the highest of all the congregations. As well, the members of this congregation attend the highest average number of services a week at 4.95. The activities of the congregation occupy the lives of its members. Interestingly, the percentage of those with a post-secondary level of education is quite high at 35% with 10% university educated. No one who completed the survey had a total family income over \$50,000. 31.6% indicated they had an average

household income between \$20,000 and \$29,000.

The birthplace of 90% of its members is Latin America with 45% from Nicaragua and another 40% from El Salvador. 75% of the congregation arrived in Canada as immigrants between 1980 and 1997, although 25% did not indicate when they arrived. In terms of religion, 94.1% of those who arrived in the same period identified themselves as Christian. Of this figure, 62.5% were Pentecostal.

Medhawalem (Saviour of the World) Evangelical Church

The second ethnic congregation in Ottawa is the Medhawalem Evangelical Church. Medhawalem translates into English as "Saviour of the World." The members of this congregation are from the North African country of Eritrea. The recent history of Eritrea is one of civil war, where fighting for independence from Ethiopia occurred for much of the life of this congregation's members. They have known more about war than peace. While this congregation is not a member of the PAOC, it was chosen for this study for several reasons. First, the congregation is Pentecostal in practice. Members have a high rate of speaking in tongues, dreams and visions, and claims of supernatural healing. Second, the congregation has an affiliation with other Pentecostals and demonstrates this by its close relationship to an Ethiopian Pentecostal congregation in Ottawa. As well, the congregation uses the facilities

of Bethel Pentecostal Church and the Eritrean elders told me they sense an affinity with the congregation. Interesting for this thesis is the process the congregation is going through in deciding if they want to become members of the PAOC or not. Many of my discussions with the Elders and members focussed on this question. To date they have decided to maintain their autonomy. They are, however, very close to PAOC congregations and always speak appreciatively about Bethel's support.

The Eritrean congregation is still very new. They began meeting two years ago as a small group as part of an Ethiopian Pentecostal congregation in Ottawa. As they grew they were encouraged by an Eritrean congregation in Toronto and another in Washington, DC to consider organizing. In the past year they established themselves as an autonomous congregation by electing elders to assist in finding a suitable facility to meet and by the establishment of a constitution. For approximately six months in 1997 a woman evangelist from the Washington, DC congregation ministered to the Ottawa congregation. The Elders believe God had sent her to them. She met with the congregation and encouraged them to organize. She also preached in the congregation for the entire time she was in Ottawa and led them in weekly prayer meetings. The congregation and the elders were very enthusiastic about her ministry and worked very quickly to establish themselves.

A typical Sunday meeting begins at 10:30 for intercessory prayer and is

attended by approximately 25 adults and 12 to 15 toddlers and infants. The prayer time, in contrast with the Spanish, was quiet yet focussed. During the prayer time, the choir prepared, others set up chairs or sound equipment, and refreshments were prepared at the back for after the meeting. Children restlessly played at the back or clung to their mothers. The meetings are held in a large Sunday School room at Bethel. The members of Bethel also use the building at the same time for their own Sunday School and morning worship. There did not seem to be any conflict. The Eritrean elders told me that they liked it this way so they could send their children to Bethel's Sunday School to learn English. Pastor Cassidy told me the arrangement worked well. The Eritreans were very easy people to get along with.

At 11:00 the worship leader invited the congregation to pray and worship. The worship at the Eritrean congregation is very unique. Characteristic of their worship is a North African drone. None of the worship is in English and I did not recognize any of the music. The worship leader told me that young Pentecostals from the Orthodox Church in Eritrea are writing their own music and in the past he received cassette tapes with new songs from Eritrea. He then teaches them to the congregation. Again, in contrast to the Spanish, the Eritreans do not rely on a band for worship. Sometimes a traditional African drum is played or a tambourine. A keyboard is occasionally played for the choir. Musical instruments are definitely not central to their worship. Yet, the worship is

probably one of the most wonderful aspects of their meeting.

The congregation will often sing for an hour. They will sway back and forth, clap hands, make trilling noises, and bow and kneel as they intensely yet peacefully worship. The sermon is generally a half-hour in length. The members of the congregation make notes of the sermon. This is not characteristic of the other ethnic congregations. Members of the non-ethnic congregations, however, can be viewed taking sermon notes but not as a regular congregational practice. At the Eritrean congregation, an occasional amen can be heard. Most intently listen to the sermon. Following the sermon the congregation will fellowship together and share in some refreshments. Often this occurs in the building. They have on various occasions, however, gone to someone's home or had a picnic in the park. One of the most enjoyable experiences for me was sharing in a traditional Eritrean meal with the congregation. They are very warm and friendly people.

I surveyed the congregation during the summer of 1997. Twenty people or 80% of the average Sunday morning attendance completed the survey. The average age is 32 and 65% of the respondents are female. In terms of education, 21.1% are University educated. Yet, none of the congregation's members have an average household income over \$50,000. 70% of the respondents indicate they were born in Eritrea and another 20% were born in

Table 4.4: Profile of Medhawalem Evangelical Church (Eritrean)

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed the survey	20	80%
Average Age	13	32.23
Gender - Female	20	65%
Marital Status - Married	19	60%
Average Number of Children	11	2.27
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	12	0
University Education	19	21.1%
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	17	3
Birth Place - Eritrea	19	70% (20% Ethiopia)
Mother Tongue - Tigrana	19	90%
Ethnic Origin - Eritrean	13	60% (35% no response)
Percentage of congregation that arrived as immigrants	14	70% (30% no response)
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	15	100%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	5	33.3%

Ethiopia. Only 60% say their ethnic origin is Eritrean. 35%, however, did not respond to the question. Clearly this congregation is ethnically homogeneous, though, as 90% state that their mother tongue is Tigrana (Eritrean). Although 30% did not respond to the question of when they immigrated, 70% of the congregation stated they came to Canada between 1985 and 1997. In terms of religion, 100% of the immigrants identified with Christianity before arriving in Canada. Of those Christians, 33.3% were Pentecostal.²⁷

Iglesia Evangélica Hispana

The first of the four Toronto ethnic congregations is Iglesia Evangélica Hispana. This congregation was the first Spanish Pentecostal congregation of the PAOC. PAOC ministry among Spanish speaking peoples in Toronto began in the late 1960s through the work of former missionaries to Argentina, Rev. Paul and Dorothy Sorensen. By 1970, a small group of Spanish Christians were meeting at the Danforth Gospel Temple for their children to attend an English Sunday School while the parents went to a Spanish speaking Sunday school class and worship service. While the members were all Spanish speaking, they were not all Pentecostal. A variety of evangelical denominations were represented at these worship services. As a result, the members, initially,

²⁷ I am unaware of information about the incidence of Charismatic Christianity in Eritrean Orthodoxy. Not all of the music they sing from Eritrea has explicitly Pentecostal themes.

stressed their “Evangelicalness” before any particular denomination. Thus, interdenominational services in Spanish were held on Saturday evenings. Eventually, the congregation established a constitution and a statement of faith stressing what they had in common. As the group grew numerically, it rented space at a United Church facility located on Donlands Avenue. Later the Spanish congregation moved to St. Matthew’s United Church on St. Clair Avenue. Finally, in November 1977 the congregation voted and approved a motion for affiliation with the PAOC.

In 1978 Rev. Garry Fricker became the new pastor and the congregation began to grow to approximately 150 in attendance on Sunday morning. Several issues challenged the congregation during this time, including discussions about the possibility of its own facility, increased cultural diversity, and social and political differences. Rev. Fricker pastored the congregation through this transition from interdenominational fellowship to PAOC congregation until 1980. It was during this time that Rev. Fricker and the congregation contacted Rev. Eusebio Perez and asked him to consider being their pastor. Rev. Perez was an interim pastor at a Spanish Assemblies of God congregation in New Jersey, USA.

Rev. Perez was a pastor in Cuba for eleven years before escaping his country of birth. He was not long in the USA before being asked to pastor the congregation in Toronto. Finally, in March 1980, he and his family moved to

Toronto to give leadership to Spanish ministry in Canada and its mission around the world. Through his pastoral gifts and abilities the young congregation flourished and in 1982 they purchased a building at 804 Broadview Avenue for \$300,000 from a German PAOC congregation. The German congregation relocated to the suburbs. The new building coincided with their anniversary celebration and the beginning of what they call "The Parade of Nations." This event is celebrated every year. During the occasion, a representative from each country in the congregation marches into the meeting carrying their nation's flag while singing their national anthem. Pastor Perez describes it as a solemn and patriotic event where they can thank God for their home country, for Canada, and new freedom. More will be said about this celebration in Chapter five.

Pastor Perez's vision and leadership is of value to the PAOC. In 1984 a number of new congregations began due to increases in Latin American immigration and pastor Perez's work. By 1987 Rev. Perez was appointed by the PAOC to oversee the "Spanish National Work" that consisted of twelve congregations and seventeen ministers. As the national coordinator, he appointed provincial delegates, including Rev. Alexander Osorio in Ottawa, to pray and plan for the development of new congregations in Canada. Through pastor Perez's efforts, a PAOC Spanish ministry organized nationally, published reports for the PAOC, developed a ministerial training institute called El Verbo

Table 4.5: Profile of Iglesia Evangélica Hispana

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed the survey	47	24%
Average Age	44	32.45
Gender - Female	44	27.7%
Marital Status - Married	44	57.4%
Average Number of Children	13	2.46
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	37	8.1%
University Education	41	14.6%
Average Number of Worship Services or other Church activities attended in a week	43	2.4
Birth Place - Latin America	44	93.1%
Mother Tongue - Spanish	41	92.7%
Ethnic Origin - Latino	33	87.9%
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	38	81%
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	34	91.2%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	20	64.5%

Bible College, organized Spanish Camp meetings at Lakeshore Pentecostal Camp in Cobourg, Ontario, planned Sunday School symposiums, Youth

programs, organized the Spanish Leadership Council, and assisted other Spanish congregations throughout Latin America. Pastor Perez has provided leadership for Iglesia Evangélica Hispana for the past 18 years.

Sunday worship services are at 11:00 and 18:00. Sunday school is held at 9:45. The worship style, however, is different from the Fire of God Spanish congregation in Ottawa. First, worship is rarely in English. In contrast, the Fire of God congregation sang mostly in English. Second, worship services in the Toronto congregation were not as intense. The worship was characterized by vocal praise but it never seemed to be as emotional. The musical styles of both congregations, however, reflect a Latin American rhythm. Congregational singing would last for approximately forty-five minutes accompanied by shouts of amen and hallelujah. After the singing, the pastor would greet the people, make announcements, collect the offering, and preach. Pastor Perez's preaching style is also motivational. The congregation would respond at various times with shouts of "amen." Pastor Perez's family is also involved in the congregation's ministry. His wife and son are both ordained by the PAOC.

The congregation has planted many new congregations in, for example, Mississauga, Ontario with members and staff from its own congregation. In 1996, the total revenue for the congregation was \$217,288. Of this figure, over \$23,000 was returned to mission activities including efforts in Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Several Spanish

congregations in Canada also received financial support from Iglesia Evangélica Hispana.

The average Sunday morning attendance is 200 people. Forty-seven people completed the survey representing 24% of the average Sunday morning attendance. The average age of the respondents is 32 years and is younger than the English-speaking congregations in Toronto and Ottawa. 14.6% of the respondents have completed a University education. Interesting to note is the 8% of its members with household family incomes over \$50,000. While this number is small compared to the English congregations, it is larger than the Eritrean, the Ottawa Spanish, and the Tamil congregations. 93.1% of the congregation was born in Latin America and 81% are immigrants. In terms of religion, 91.2% identified with Christianity before arriving in Canada. Of this figure, 64.5 were Pentecostal.

The Agincourt Pentecostal Tamil Church

The Agincourt Pentecostal Tamil Church meets each Sunday in the 2,500 seat Agincourt Pentecostal Church along with three other ethnic congregations. To be there on a Sunday is to witness the intricacies of organization in a mega Church. No detail is left unchecked and well-ordered ushers make sure every one is taken care of. For the congregations to meet, a "Shared Facilities Agreement" was established primarily by the District officials of the PAOC but

also with the Agincourt Pentecostal Church, the main English speaking congregation, and the ethnic congregations including the Tamil Pentecostals.

Rev. Thaya Rasiah, pastor of the Tamil congregation says the agreement has worked quite well for his people. Rev. Keith Smith, pastor of the English congregation concurs. He did tell me that it has not been without its challenges. Still, Rev. Smith says they have made a conscious effort to work with the ethnic congregations and to encourage their ministries. This includes "Pastoral Fellowship" meetings several times a year where the staff from the different congregations comes together for prayer and sharing. Rev. Richard Green, the PAOC District official from the Eastern Ontario and Quebec District office, explains that there have been times of misunderstanding between especially the English congregation and the ethnic congregations over when and how the facility can be used. Everyone agrees that they are learning from each other and that they can overcome cultural differences regarding the use of space. The people I spoke to at Agincourt all spoke highly of the Tamil congregation and really believed it was their ministry to assist them by sharing the facility. Rev. Rasiah also spoke kindly about the English congregation and expressed his gratitude for their flexibility.

Rev. Rasiah has pastored the Tamil congregation since 1992. To worship with the Tamils is to sense their love for God and their thankfulness to be in Canada. Many people smile and greet you very warmly. Rev. Rasiah leads his

congregation in worship with his guitar, influenced by the latest country music sounds. The congregation loves to sing and do so non-stop for approximately an hour. People clap and sing and speak in tongues during worship. Rev. Rasiah's preaching changes back and forth between English and Tamil. All the singing was in Tamil. He is a gentle and encouraging pastor much loved by his congregation. His story of coming to Canada to pastor this congregation is one worth telling for it illustrates the great difficulty many of these congregations experience in establishing themselves in a new country. It is also an example of how the local congregation utilizes global resources for its ministry.

Rev. Rasiah was raised in a Christian Tamil family in Sri Lanka and attended a Methodist congregation. As a teenager, however, he recalled attending a Pentecostal congregation and being especially attracted by the singing and the music. Through a number of circumstances he made a decision to join the Pentecostals. In 1975 he felt that God was calling him to study and prepare for ministry. As a student he did very well and was encouraged by the Assemblies of God in Sri Lanka to travel abroad for further studies. However, Rev. Rasiah explained that what he really wanted to do was establish a Pentecostal congregation in his home town where there was none. After graduation, he planted a new congregation in his home town and pastored there for twelve years before coming to Canada.

Rev. Rasiah explained that his home town was devastated during the civil

war. Even though many people were leaving for the capital city of Colombo, Rev. Rasiah did not leave his congregation. He explained that in the midst of great stress and fighting, his congregation was still growing. New converts joined the congregation while others left for Colombo and Canada. In 1990 several of his former parishioners were in Toronto and wrote a letter to him asking him to come and pastor them in Canada. Rev. Rasiah did not want to leave Sri Lanka though. He explained that over the next two years the war escalated around his hometown. On several occasions he and his family would hide under their beds because of the shelling. On other days he was dragged out into the street and made to sit in the hot sun with others under the watchful guard of the military. Several times he was arrested and taken to a detention camp not knowing when or if he would be released. Yet, Rev. Rasiah, after experiencing the atrocities of war, explained with a wonderful smile, that he was always at peace. He said sometimes he would meet Sinhalese soldiers who were Pentecostals and they would pray together. Part of the difficulty lay in the fact that right across the road from his Church was a Tamil Tiger training centre. At one time the church was burned down during the fighting. Still he did not want to go to Toronto although the invitation was still open.

Finally, in 1992 when the war was intensifying around his hometown he received another invitation. His former parishioners said they were not interested in anyone else but him to come and be their pastor. Rev. Rasiah

Table 4.6: Profile of Agincourt Pentecostal Tamil Church

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed the survey	26	26%
Average Age	24	36.58
Gender - Female	25	34.6%
Marital Status - Married	24	57.7%
Average Number of Children	12	2.58
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	22	0
University Education	25	16%
Average Number of Worship Services or other Church activities attended in a week	24	2.42
Birth Place - Sri Lanka	25	96%
Mother Tongue - Tamil	21	95.2%
Ethnic Origin - Sri Lankan Tamil	13	92.3% (50% no response)
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	23	88.5%
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	22	77.2%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	12	70.6%

explained that part of the reason for not coming to Toronto was that he thought

they could find a pastor in Toronto. After he arrived in Canada, he discovered that there was a need for pastors in Toronto because the Tamil community is growing as more people are displaced from Sri Lanka. Rev. Rasiah remarked that he finds it quite odd that he came to Canada initially on a two-year missionary visa. He said “who would ever think a missionary would come from Sri Lanka to Canada!” Rev. Rasiah is torn between staying and going back. For now he is happy in Canada but if there was peace in Sri Lanka he would find it hard to stay. Rev. Rasiah is quite philosophical about the future of his home country and its future. For now he finds himself busy pastoring in Canada with his heart in Sri Lanka.

The average Sunday morning attendance is 100 people. Twenty-six people or 26% of the average Sunday morning attendance completed the survey. The average age is 36 years and 34.6% are female. Those who have completed a University level of education total 16%. Still, none of the respondents reported an average household income of \$50,000 or more. 96% of the respondents were born in Sri Lanka. 88.5% of the congregation came to Canada during the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of religion, 77.2% identified with Christianity. Of this figure, 70.6% were Pentecostal.

Pentecostal World Mission Church (Korean Speaking)

The next congregation from Toronto is the Korean Pentecostal World

Mission Church. Actually, there are two congregations. The first is the Korean-speaking congregation. The second is the English-speaking Korean congregation, which is the second generation of Koreans. I surveyed and visited both congregations. Although they worship at different times and in different ways, they are both pastored by Rev. Jacob Joo who converted to Christianity from Buddhism. He explained that the English congregation began largely through the request of the young people in 1996. Both congregations meet in a United Church building in north Toronto in the afternoon after the United Church congregation has finished. Rev. Joo explained that the relationship with the United Church congregation has worked out very well. They have provided not only space for the congregations to worship but also office space for Rev. Joo.

Rev. Joo explained that the term "Pentecostal" has a negative connotation among Koreans. In Korea, although they are Pentecostal in practice and experience, they often refer to themselves as Presbyterian or Full Gospel in association with Rev. David (Paul) Yonggi Cho. When new immigrants arrive in Canada looking for a Korean congregation, they resonate with the Pentecostals but are uncomfortable with the name. Rev. Joo explained that some new immigrants wonder if his congregation is a "cult". In my survey results, the majority indicated they were Presbyterian or Full Gospel before arriving in Canada. Rev. Joo and his congregation applied for affiliation with the North American chapter of Cho's Full Gospel Church. Rev. Joo explained that this

would allow them to use the Full Gospel name and networks, which he hopes will attract more Korean immigrants to the congregation. They will also maintain their affiliation with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. This, according to Rev. Joo, is desirable precisely because they are "Pentecostal" in practice.

In terms of worship style, the Korean congregation is more traditional than the other Pentecostal congregations. Congregational singing is led by a worship team of singers, two acoustic guitar players, a keyboardist, and a piano player and all worship is in Korean. I was able to recognize some music, though, as translations of English hymns. It is rare to hear hymns in Pentecostal congregations. A choir also sang a very traditional piece of music. Of all the congregations, this one is the least vocal in its worship. It is uncommon to hear an individual say amen during the singing and the preaching. Occasionally, the entire congregation together will say hallelujah or amen in response to one of the Pastor's points in his sermon. Another characteristic of the Korean congregation is prayer during the worship service. At a particular point of each service, the entire congregation will together participate in vocal, intercessory prayer for approximately five minutes. As soon as the congregation finishes praying, it will be silent for a few seconds. The pastor then leads in a congregational prayer. Even the pastor's preaching style is more didactic than motivational.

On an average Sunday morning, seventy people attend worship service. Forty people or 57% of the average Sunday morning attendance completed the

Table 4.7: Profile of the Pentecostal World Mission Church (Korean)

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed the survey	40	57%
Average Age	36	43.97
Gender - Female	40	65%
Marital Status - Married	38	81.5%
Average Number of Children	22	1.82
University Education	35	42.9%
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	34	11.8%
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	40	2.03
Birth Place - Korea	40	100%
Mother Tongue - Korean	40	97.5%
Ethnic Origin - Korean	39	100%
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	40	100%
Percentage of immigrants identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	29	75.9%
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	7	31.8%

survey. 42.9% of the respondents have completed a University education and 11.8% have an average household income over \$50,000. Of all the

congregations this one is the most ethnically homogeneous. 100% of its members were born in Korea and 97.5% indicate their mother tongue and ethnic origin is Korean. One other person indicated Japanese as their ethnic origin. The percentage of those arriving in Canada between 1980 and 1997 is 52.5%.

In terms of religion, 75.9% of the congregation came to Canada as Christians. Of this figure, 31.8% were Pentecostal, 26.7% were Presbyterian, and 6.7% were Full Gospel. It is difficult to assess the number who were "Pentecostal" before arriving in Canada. Although 31.8% indicated they were Pentecostal, the number could be significantly higher due to the different uses and understanding of the term Pentecostal. Koreans do not use the term Pentecostal to describe themselves although they do affiliate with the PAOC and other Pentecostal denominations globally. In Korea, the term "Full Gospel" or Presbyterian usually means "Pentecostal." Thus, if one includes Presbyterian and Full Gospel, the total for Pentecostal is 65.2%

The Pentecostal World Mission Church (English-Korean Congregation)

The English speaking Korean congregation began in 1996. It is comprised of the second generation Koreans of Rev. Joo's Korean speaking congregation. Rev. Joo pastors both congregations. The English-speaking congregation meets at 13:30 on Sunday in the United Church facility in a large meeting room. The Korean speaking congregation meets at 14:30 in the main

sanctuary of the same United Church facility. The two congregations remain separate although they come together for fellowship in the lower auditorium after the worship services are over. The main distinction between the two congregations is not just language. The most obvious characteristic is the style of worship, which reflects the age of the English speaking congregation.

The style of worship is contemporary with a drummer, keyboardist, guitar player, and singers. The music is from the popular worship songs published by Hosanna Integrity and the Vineyard. Congregational worship is not highly emotional compared to the other congregations but more so than the Korean speaking congregation. The worship service is led by one of the lay leaders who plays a guitar along with a drummer and a keyboardist. The choruses are all in English and the setting is very informal and relaxed. Members dress casually and stylishly. No one wears suits and ties as do the members of the Korean-speaking congregation. Some of the women are wearing skirts but they are still casual. During the worship the congregation is encouraged to speak in tongues and raise their hands. Some of them seem reluctant. Others openly and without hesitation vocalize their worship. While it is more vocal than the Korean-speaking congregation, it is still subdued in comparison to, for example, both Spanish congregations. Even Rev. Joo's preaching style is relaxed and informal.

Table 4.8: Profile of the Pentecostal World Mission Church (English)

	N	
Percentage of average Sunday morning worship service who completed the survey	13	52%
Average Age	13	19.46
Gender - Female	13	61.5%
Marital Status - Married	13	15.4%
Average Number of Children	13	0
University Education	13	30.8%
Percentage with Household Income Over \$50,000	7	0
Average Number of Worship Services or other congregational activities attended in a week	13	2
Birth Place - Canada	13	61.5%
Mother Tongue - Korean	13	46.2%
Ethnic Origin - Korean	13	100%
Percentage of congregation as immigrants	5	38.5%
Percentage of immigrants between identifying with Christianity before coming to Canada	3	60% (40% no response)
Percentage of Christian immigrants identifying with Pentecostalism before coming to Canada	1	33.3%

He makes use of a white board and teaches more than preaches. According to

Rev. Joo, the congregation began focusing on the second-generation youth to keep them from disengaging from the congregation. The worship service ends after approximately one hour. This is quite a contrast to the Tamils, Spanish, and even the Eritreans where worship services continue for several hours.

I surveyed the congregation between October and November of 1997. Thirteen members completed the survey representing 52% of the average Sunday afternoon worship service attendance. The average age of the English-speaking congregation is nineteen. Only 15% of its members are married and none of them have children. 30.8% are university educated. Of note is the 61.5% who indicate they were born in Canada and still 100% say their ethnic origin is Korean. Only five respondents or 38.5% indicated they were born in Korea. In terms of religion, 60% of the immigrants identified with Christianity (40% did not respond). One person identified with Pentecostalism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, each congregation I described in this chapter are clearly Pentecostal in practice and affiliation. They are, however, very different from each other in terms of history, worship style, and ethnicity. This reflects the local nature of a global Pentecostal culture. The two non-ethnic congregations, however, are more alike in worship style than they are different. Yet, they are very different from the ethnic congregations especially in terms of a worship

structure. Important for the ethnic congregations is the sense of belonging. For each ethnic congregation, life revolves around the congregation as evidenced in regular congregational activities and meals. This is in contrast to the non-ethnic congregations where activities outside of the worship service are limited to occasional events. In addition, the formation of the ethnic congregations centred on their ethnicity. Ethnicity has no bearing on the formation of the two non-ethnic congregations. In the next chapter I will flesh out this transnational character, showing through qualitative and quantitative data that these congregations share a recognizable Pentecostalism. Each of the congregations, however, develops and maintains a “local” variation of that Pentecostalism through transnational relations, specifically with Pentecostalism in other parts of the world and especially with their countries of origin.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBAL MIGRATION FOR THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF CANADA

Introduction

Among the ethnic congregations studied in this thesis, 60% of the total respondents (N=178) arrived in Canada between 1980 and 1997. In terms of religion, 78.3% identified themselves as Christians before coming to Canada. Of those Christians, 55.4% stated they were Pentecostal. This is an important finding for several reasons. First, it suggests that the findings of Bibby (1993b) about the majority of immigrants coming to Canada as Christians may be correct²⁸. Second, it challenges the notion held among some Pentecostals (discussed above) that immigrants coming to Canada primarily need evangelism. Third and more importantly, these findings point to a connection between diverse local expressions of Pentecostalism and Pentecostalism as a global culture. In this chapter I examine some of the transnational links that mediate the simultaneity of the local and the global. In addition, I explore some of the implications of these affiliations for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) as a denomination. What I examine are the transnational relationships and practices that characterize the current phase of globalization. Certainly,

²⁸ Further research needs to be done to examine the religious identity of migrants to Canada.

transnational links are not specific to Pentecostalism or to the present time. There is, however, evidence of a proliferation of transnational links since the early 1990s (see Robertson, 1992:59). The various transnational links among Pentecostals include a range of global relationships and practices such as new denominational affiliations, pastoral searches, theological training, special events and conferences, prayer networks, Internet sites, international ministries, publications, music, and television, not to mention continued global migration itself. In addition, the various affiliations that I discuss here consist of both sending and receiving links. Furthermore, the flow along the links is two directional. Yet for the PAOC, the increase in transnational networks is problematic. Unable to keep up with the level of change, the PAOC finds itself in the midst of a theological, cultural, and organizational transformation. Change raises questions about authority. Yet, the congregations and the PAOC show flexibility precisely because experiential religion allows ethnicity as a strategy, networks as an organizational mode, and charisma as authority.

Transnational Pentecostal Networks

Transnational relationships and practices increasingly carry Pentecostalism as a global culture. These transnational Pentecostal networks point to the relationship that exists between Pentecostals and the specific links that interconnect them. In addition, the networks are maintained through the

reciprocation of a variety of flows, including relationships, practices, ideas, money, information, and material goods. This observation is the result of the empirical data collected during my research. Specifically, I have identified three broad types of transnational Pentecostal networks. They are congregational ministry flows, special event and conference links, and denominational affiliations.

Congregational ministry flows refer to a variety of exchanges between Pentecostal congregations and their members. They occur through such means as the Internet, telephone, letters, videotapes, cassette tapes, mail, travel, and migration. The types of transnational ministry flows manifest themselves in pastoral searches, theological education, prayer, worship, the building of facilities, promotion and support. In each of the congregations I researched, transnational congregational ministry flows maintained ties between local congregations in different places. Congregational ministry flows have *theological* implications for the PAOC and specific examples will be examined later.

The second type of Pentecostal network is the special event and conference links. There are two kinds of special event and conference links. First, there are the transnational conferences for the Pastors and members of ethnic congregations. Generally, Pentecostals travel to these large global conferences and participate with other Pentecostals from around the world. The conferences I heard about were either seminars for pastoral training or

motivational worship conferences. The second kind of special event and conference link is more local in nature. That is, it occurs at the local level for the local congregation but it still has a global focus. The special event and conference serves to tie ethnic Pentecostals at the local level with the larger community of Pentecostals globally. Specific examples will be analyzed later. Special event and conference links have *cultural* implications for the PAOC and are related to questions of ethnicity. Generally, they serve to contribute to the formation and maintenance of ethnic identities.

The third type of Pentecostal network is the denominational affiliation. As a variety of Pentecostalisms mutually inform one another, new affiliations are created between existing organizations. What is evident is the proliferation of affiliations and the kinds of relationships, both formal and informal, which exist in Pentecostalism globally. These new transnational affiliations have *organizational* implications for the PAOC. Questions of authority are raised at the level of theology, of culture, and of organization. The tension experienced at the level of Pentecostal organizations demonstrates the extent of change and shows how the history, nature, and religious character of Pentecostalism almost encourages certain strategies and orientations.

Theological Implications of Experiential Religion

In this section I show that the congregations more or less share common

features and attitudes toward what is important in Pentecostalism.²⁹ Even though the members of the congregations come from diverse regions of the world, they identify with Pentecostalism in Canada. The commonality between the congregations points to the global nature of Pentecostalism. There are, however, important variations within that commonality, for instance, as regards worship style. Those divergences do not correlate precisely with locality. This is why Robertson (1992) uses the word particular and not local by itself. Thus, for instance, Latin American Pentecostalism maintains its specificities even in diaspora, not just in Latin America.

Pentecostalism is a twentieth century religious movement rooted in Christianity. Most observers have seen its identifying features as individual experience, charismatic worship, spiritual gifts, dreams and visions, claims of physical healing, and speaking in tongues. The data in this section is a clear example of experiential religion as discussed in chapter three. When the survey participants were asked “do you presently or have you ever spoken in tongues,” they reported a high level of this practice (see table 5.1). A high level of practice was also reported about dreams and visions, and claims of physical healing. The English-speaking Pentecostals of predominantly European background are

²⁹ The Eritrean congregation and the Fire of God congregation completed the surveys together as a group. This accounts for the responses to some of the questions in this chapter that total 100%. Important for these congregations were the group response and not the individual. Thus I decided to keep their responses even with the apparent problems. Variations are discussed in this chapter.

not an exception to this pattern. At Woodvale Pentecostal Church, for example, 76.2% said yes to speaking in tongues, 57.9% have had dreams and visions, and 69.9% claimed they have had a physical healing. 65.2% of the respondents from the Stone Church indicated they had spoken in tongues while 51% had dreams and visions, and 60.7% claimed they experienced a physical healing. For the Tamil congregation, which exhibited the lowest level of practice, 45.5% of the respondents said yes to having they have spoken in tongues, 53.5% had dreams and visions, and 72.7% made claims for physical healing. The other respondents from the ethnic congregations scored higher on all these measures (table 5.1). Thus the central experiential features that most observers see as characteristic of a global Pentecostalism are evident in the congregations of this thesis. Many of the Christians in these ethnic congregations arrived in Canada as Pentecostals and it is extremely unlikely that they had these experiences only after their arrival. As well, in the United States, Poloma's (1989:40, 61, 270) research of the Assemblies of God congregations indicates that 75% have spoken in tongues, 61.4% have had a physical healing, and among their pastors, 94% have had dreams or visions.

Furthermore, the respondents in these Pentecostal congregations share a high level of agreement regarding several theological issues that are characteristically Pentecostal. Pentecostal congregations are distinguished by a high level of expectation regarding the presence of the supernatural in their

worship services, including the use of spiritual gifts like prayer for healing and speaking in tongues.

Table 5.1: Percentage of those indicating “Yes” they have experienced the following.

Congregation	Speaking in Tongues (N)	Dreams and Visions (N)	Physical Healing (N)
Woodvale Pentecostal Church	76.2 (147)	57.9 (145)	69.9 (143)
The Stone Church	65.2 (112)	51 (104)	60.7 (107)
Fire of God Church	89.5 (19)	95 (20)	100 (20)
Medhawalem Evangelical Church	55.6 (18)	73.7 (19)	81.3 (16)
Iglesia Evangélica Hispana	56.1 (41)	53.7 (41)	59 (39)
The Agincourt Pentecostal Tamil Church	45.5 (22)	43.5 (23)	72.7 (22)
Pentecostal World Mission Church	60 (40)	57.5 (40)	53.8 (39)
Pentecostal World Mission Church (English)	53.8 (13)	30.8 (13)	30.8 (13)
AVERAGE	56 (412)	57.9 (405)	66 (399)

For example, each of the participants was asked about the importance of miracles in congregational worship (see table 5.2). Overwhelmingly, the majority of the respondents in all of the congregations stated it is “very important” or “somewhat important” that their congregation should have a strong emphasis on

God's power to heal and perform miracles. The experiential aspects of Pentecostalism are obviously very meaningful and in fact typify a Pentecostal perspective.

Table 5.2: "A congregation with a strong emphasis on God's power to heal and perform miracles" in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total in % (N)
Woodvale	72.3	23	4.7		100 (148)
Stone	46.5	40.4	12.3	0.9	100 (114)
Fire of God	100				100 (20)
Medhawalem	85	15			100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	66	25.5	4.3	4.3	100 (47)
Tamil	80.8	15.4	3.8		100 (26)
World Mission	64.9	29.7	5.4		100 (37)
World Mission (English)	23.1	53.8	23.1		100 (13)
AVERAGE	64.9	27.5	6.8	0.7	100 (425)

Closely related to miraculous signs in congregational worship is the notion that the congregation is to be a place of "Spirit led" worship as opposed to "Minister led" (see table 5.3). What this means is that while the pastor prepares the order of worship, it is assumed that he or she is doing so through the

direction of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals expect a certain degree of spontaneity in their worship. These are the moments when the Holy Spirit “breaks” into the service as evidenced in, for example, a change of direction in the order of

Table 5.3: “A Congregation that is open to the Holy Spirit and Spontaneous in its worship” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	89.9	10.1			100 (148)
Stone	84.3	14.8	0.9		100 (115)
Fire of God	100				100 (20)
Medhawalem	100				100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	95.6	4.4			100 (45)
Tamil	96		4		100 (25)
World Mission	69.2	25.6	5.1		100 (39)
World Mission (English)	69.2	11.3	0.9		100 (13)
AVERAGE	87.8	11.3	0.9		100 (425)

worship. This may be for a prophecy, prayer for healing, a word of knowledge, or some other operation of the spiritual gifts. As one pastor said during a worship service: “You did not come here this morning to hear my voice. If you

miss the voice of Jesus - if you miss the voice of the Holy Spirit, then you miss it all.”

Pentecostal congregations also expect the use of spiritual gifts to be encouraged during worship services. All of the respondents either strongly agree or agree that speaking in tongues and prayer for healing should be advocated (see table 5.4). The number is especially high among the Tamils

Table 5.4: “The use of spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues and prayer for healing, should be encouraged during worship services” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	46.9	49.7	0.7		2.7	100 (147)
Stone	36.3	49.6	8.0	1.8	4.4	100 (113)
Fire of God	89.5	10.5				100 (19)
Medhawalem	75.0	20.0			5.0	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	36.2	42.6	10.6		10.6	100 (47)
Tamil	65.4	26.9	3.8		3.8	100 (26)
World Mission	32.5	45.0	15.0		7.5	100 (40)
World Mission (English)	30.8	30.8	30.8		7.7	100 (13)
AVERAGE	45.4	43.3	6.1	0.5	4.7	100 (425)

(65.4%), the Eritreans (75%), and the Ottawa Spanish (89.5%). In contrast with the Ottawa Spanish, only 36.2% of the Toronto Spanish strongly agree.

Not only do the participants expect the moving of the Holy Spirit in their worship meetings, they also come to rely on the Holy Spirit in their daily lives (see table 5.5). An overwhelming majority indicates that “the Holy Spirit is active in my life and gives me direction and guidance.” For example, 100% of the Fire of God participants strongly agree with this statement. While the respondents from the two English and largely European congregations score lower in this

Table 5.5: “The Holy Spirit is active in my life and gives me direction and guidance” in %

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	58.8	39.2	1.4		0.7	100 (148)
Stone	52.2	43.5	0.9		3.5	100 (115)
Fire of God	100.0					100 (20)
Medhawalem	95.0		5.0			100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	65.2	28.3	4.3		2.2	100 (46)
Tamil	61.5	30.8			7.7	100 (26)
World Mission	77.5	20.0		2.5		100 (40)
World Mission (English)	23.1	46.2	7.7	7.7	15.4	100 (13)
AVERAGE	62.1	33.4	1.6	0.5	2.3	100 (428)

category, still 58.8% of those from Woodvale and 52.2% from Stone strongly agree that the Holy Spirit is active in their personal lives. This is not just a characteristic of the new immigrant Pentecostals. The English-speaking

Koreans represent the greatest variation among the groups for this question where 15.4% indicate they are not sure if the Holy Spirit is active in their lives.

One final question was asked about the extent to which people agree or disagree with the official doctrine of classical Pentecostalism, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. All

Table 5.6: “The baptism of the Holy Spirit is characterized by the initial evidence of speaking in tongues” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	28.6	39.5	16.3	2.7	12.9	100 (147)
Stone	24.3	30.4	16.5	12.2	16.5	100 (115)
Fire of God	85.0	15.0				100 (20)
Medhawalem	35.0	10.0	35.0	10.0	10.0	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	50.0	26.1	6.5		17.4	100 (46)
Tamil	16.7	45.8	16.7	20.8		100 (24)
World Mission	20.5	53.8	7.7	2.6	15.4	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	23.1	30.8	30.8		15.4	100 (13)
AVERAGE	31.1	34.4	15.1	6.1	13.2	100 (424)

Pentecostals do not hold this belief. Some, like the mainline Charismatic groups, believe that speaking in tongues may be evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, but it is neither the only evidence nor the initial evidence. The PAOC, a

classical Pentecostal group, holds to the initial evidence doctrine. Among the congregations surveyed, there is no evidence that the respondents deviate from this statement (see table 5.6). While a smaller percentage strongly agree with the doctrine among the two non-ethnic English-speaking congregations, an even smaller percentage disagree or strongly disagree with it. The exception is the Eritrean congregation, which is Pentecostal but not a member of the PAOC. For example, 68.1% of Woodvale and 74.3% of the Korean World Mission Church participants agree or strongly agree that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The high figure among the English-speaking Koreans who disagree with the doctrine may reflect the influence of the Vineyard (a neo-Pentecostal movement that does not adhere to the initial evidence doctrine) among its members. Still, it is remarkable that on this question there seems to be less agreement, just as there is within the global Pentecostal movement itself. True, all these congregations come from classical Pentecostal sources, but still more variation exists here than on any of the other questions that test for "conception of Pentecostal identity."

Clearly, the Pentecostals in this thesis share in a global religious culture characterized by personal experience, speaking in tongues, dreams and visions, and physical healing. An examination of each local congregation, however, reveals many variations in the style and practice of their Pentecostalism. While the quantitative data shows a similarity in Pentecostal characteristics, the

qualitative data shows greater variation in this regard. Later on, I show that some of the quantitative data shows significant variation too, but not on the "experiential religion dimension." In this sense we can speak of a variety of "Pentecostalisms."

The various ministry links maintained by the congregations illustrate how the PAOC is changing. The types of transnational ministry flows here refer to pastoral searches, theological education, prayer, worship, the building of facilities, promotion and support. An analysis of these networks and the theological implications for the PAOC follows.

One change centres on the problem of a lack of pastors for the ethnic congregations. The PAOC has attempted to deal with this issue in several ways. First, pastoral searches have extended beyond the borders of Canada. As one PAOC official explained, there are an insufficient number of qualified pastors for some congregations. For example, when new Chinese immigrant congregations emerged, especially with Pentecostals from Hong Kong, the PAOC thought there would be no problem with a Mainland Chinese pastor overseeing the congregation. It became apparent that even though the pastor and the congregation were Chinese, culturally, they were far apart. With no Hong Kong Chinese pastor available in Canada, the search for a pastor was made in Hong Kong. The intention was to have this person come to Canada and pastor the congregation. The Tamil congregation in this thesis is another example of a

transnational pastoral search. As detailed earlier, parishioners of Rev. Rasiah contacted him in Sri Lanka to come and pastor them in Canada. He now serves as the pastor of the Tamil congregation in Toronto. Rev. Eusebio Perez, from Cuba, was temporarily preaching in the United States when he was invited by the PAOC and a local Spanish congregation to come to Toronto. He is currently the pastor of *Iglesia Evangélica Hispana*, a congregation in this thesis. In each case the PAOC was involved in assisting the pastors to secure the proper immigration papers for ministry in Canada.

Related to a lack of pastors are the requests for theological education by ethnic congregations. In 1990, the Executive Director of Home Missions for the PAOC, Rev. G. Upton, approved the establishment of a Spanish leadership centre. *El Verbo*, a Spanish Bible college for ethnic Pentecostals, came into existence with the leadership of Rev. Otoniel Perez, son of Rev. Eusebio Perez. The college is under the supervision of the Academic Dean of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College (EPBC), Peterborough. Classes, however, are convened in Toronto at *Iglesia Evangélica Hispana*. In 1994, *El Verbo* became an official extension school of EPBC. Graduates of *El Verbo* pastor new ethnic congregations in Canada. One graduate returned to Latin America to pastor a congregation. As well, *El Verbo* now provides courses on the Internet. In 1997, Rev. Otoniel Perez travelled to Latin America to recruit students for the college. He told me he had five potential students and one registered student for the fall

semester of 1998. These students will stay in their home countries and study at El Verbo as distance education students. Rev. Otoniel Perez administers the college from the PAOC's International office in Mississauga, Ontario.

A group of Tamils also requested theological education from the PAOC. Tamil students studying at EPBC explained that it was difficult to study at the college because of language and cultural differences. Dr. Lyman Kulathungam, a Sri Lankan Tamil who teaches at EPBC, teaches courses for the Tamils. Kulathungam explained to me that it is a challenge for a variety of reasons. For example, in one class he has a female student who wants to be a pastor. The men in the class are trying to discourage her though. Kulathungam told me the class had a discussion about women in ministry. Eventually, it became clear that the Tamil Pentecostal men do not believe women should be pastors.³⁰ This issue is problematic for the men because the PAOC ordains women and allows them to pastor PAOC congregations. Kulathungam explained to me that the gender, language and related theological issues represent varying shades of theology. This is largely because the Tamil students also come from different regions of the world. Kulathungam also told me students are requesting classes in law and legal issues, and human rights, courses not traditionally offered as part of the Bible college curriculum. The PAOC and EPBC are endeavouring to

³⁰ When I asked the question "Congregations should give equal status and leadership opportunities to men and women," 46.2% of the Tamil respondents strongly agreed and another 34.6% agreed. The views of the students and those in the Tamil congregation obviously differ.

accommodate the requests of the immigrant groups.

Other transnational ministry networks are transforming the PAOC. For example, Rev. Richard Green, Executive Assistant for the Eastern Ontario and Quebec District of the PAOC, told me that some immigrants come to Canada for various reasons and then go back “home” to establish a congregation in their country of origin. After they have returned, some ethnic congregations in Canada will bypass the PAOC missions program and directly send funds to their home country to help the local work. This trend has raised the level of discussion on the nature of mission in the PAOC. In the Fire of God congregation in Ottawa, Rev. Osorio refers to his ministry as an “International Ministry” and he regularly travels to Latin America for evangelistic outreaches. During his trips he preaches as well as constructs facilities for local congregations. The members of his congregation in Canada financially support these international endeavours and often travel with him. The Fire of God congregation also promotes the international ministry both in Canada and in Latin America with videotapes of the ministry. Rev. Osorio makes it clear that his congregation is “officially” a member of the PAOC but in practical terms it is not. In other words, the national organization plays a secondary role to his “International Ministry.” Yet, he does not see himself as a missionary. Rev. Osorio’s global focus in ministry illustrates how the local congregation utilizes global resources for its ministry. However, the bypassing of the national

programs creates an internal stress for the PAOC.

There is also a reverse flow of Pentecostal ministry to Canada that has challenged the PAOC. According to Rev. Green, ethnic congregations sometimes invite non-PAOC evangelists to come to Canada to preach. Rev. Green explained that this is a problem because current PAOC policy states only PAOC approved evangelists can minister in their congregations. The policy was made, says Rev. Green, because in the past some non-PAOC evangelists preached contrary to official PAOC doctrine. The PAOC is trying to find a solution through new denominational affiliations. I will return to this point later.

PAOC officials told me that there are few problems doctrinally. The ethnic congregations teach water baptism and accept the general practices of the PAOC. Theological differences over styles of worship, however, do exist and are reflected in the increasing diversity of Canadian Pentecostalism. For example, I was told by a PAOC official that the Koreans are the "least Pentecostal" in worship style. In more than one interview it was explained that they are more Presbyterian in worship yet still Pentecostal in experience. The Chinese are also very quiet in worship whereas the Spanish are very boisterous.

The different styles of Pentecostal worship are maintained through ministry networks. For example, the Eritrean congregation in Ottawa continues to receive cassette tapes of worship music written by Eritrean Pentecostals. The Eritrean worship leader told me that he regularly teaches these new choruses to

the congregation. The Spanish congregation in Toronto has a worship team that has recorded its music on compact disc. In 1997 Rev. Otoniel Perez travelled throughout Latin America promoting the group. He told me that several radio stations in South America are now playing the music. According to Rev. Green, "it is not about sameness in the PAOC family. Not all of the kids are the same. What binds us together is a statement of faith. There is room for diversity. It is a matter of style. The difficulty is not with doctrine. There is diversity with style of worship and expression." Each Pentecostal congregation, however, states Rev. Green, feels they epitomize what is "real" Pentecostal worship. Clearly, diversity among Pentecostals is increasing and has the potential for conflict and/or compromise as they raise questions about whose Pentecostalism is considered the "authentic" version. It is by no means certain which, if any, of the versions will eventually become dominant or authoritative, either in the PAOC, or for that matter, in the various regions of origin. Again, the role of charisma (discussed in chapter three) as diffused among the individual members and congregations points to a more democratic role of religion among Canadian Pentecostals.

Cultural Implications of Ethnicity

In this section I analyse the various views among the congregations about ethnicity. Specifically, I examine issues of language, ethnic group maintenance, ethnic differences, and immigration. The data provides evidence that ethnic

congregations believe it is important to maintain their ethnicity. It also shows that ethnic congregations recognize diversity and agree with a level of pluralism. Thus, ethnic congregations express both the importance of homogeneity and heterogeneity. Heterogeneity and homogeneity are strict parallels to glocal in the sense that homogeneity is a thematization explicitly in the context of heterogeneity. In addition, the construction and maintenance of ethnicity is supported through transnational networks, specifically, special event and conference links. The local particularities of Pentecostalism also have cultural and ethnic implications for the PAOC.

One of the central issues for ethnic congregations is the question of language. When asked to indicate the importance of “a congregation which conducts services in your native language,” the majority indicate that it is very important or somewhat important (see table 5.7). For example, those respondents stating it is very important include the Eritrean (80%), Korean (70%), Toronto Spanish (57.4%) and the Tamil (61.5%). The lowest figure is reported by the Ottawa Spanish where only 20% state it is very important. This may reflect the outreach character of the congregation. While the majority of its members are Spanish speaking, the pastor explained to me that they want to expand their options for worship services by providing English and French services. When I asked why this was important, he told me that if the congregation does not evangelize it will not be the true Church. The pastor

believes they are to reach other people for Jesus regardless of their ethnicity. Also, the Fire of God is one of the two that filled out the questionnaire together. Still, 60% of the Fire of God respondents state it is very important or somewhat important to belong to a congregation that provides services in Spanish. The results of the Stone Church may reflect the views of the previous pastor of nearly

Table 5.7: “A congregation which conducts services in your native language” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	62.1	22.1	9.7	6.2	100 (145)
Stone	36.3	15.9	30.1	17.7	100 (113)
Fire of God	20	40	25	15	100 (20)
Medhawalem	80	5	5	5	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	57.4	31.9	10.6		100 (47)
Tamil	61.5	38.5			100 (26))
World Mission	70	22.5	2.5	5	100 (40)
World Mission (English)	38.5	53.8		7.7	100 (13)
AVERAGE	53.5	23.6	14.2	8.7	100 (424)

twenty years, Rev. Earl McNutt. Rev. McNutt believes that one congregational model is for English-speaking congregations to encompass ethnic groups within

their existing organization.

Maintaining language, however, does not mean that ethnic congregations feel uncomfortable with cultural difference. When asked if “congregations should be comprised of people who share the same ethnic background” an overwhelming majority in each congregation disagreed or strongly disagreed with

Table 5.8: “Congregations should be comprised of people who share the same ethnic background” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	1.4	1.4	61.5	33.1	2.7	100 (148)
Stone	4.4	4.4	48.7	40.7	1.8	100 (113)
Fire of God		5.3	52.6	42.1		100 (19)
Medhawalem	5	5	45	20	25	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	4.3	10.6	55.3	17	12.8	100 (47)
Tamil	20	32	20	12	16	100 (25)
World Mission	2.6	17.9	59	15.4	5.1	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	15.4	15.4	53.8	7.7	7.7	100 (13)
AVERAGE	4.2	7.3	53.3	29.5	5.7	100 (424)

the statement (see table 5.8). One exception is the Tamil congregation where 52% of the respondents feel that the congregation should encompass those of a

single ethnic group. This may reflect the fact that the Tamils are an ethnically homogeneous group from Sri Lanka. In addition, the nature of politics among Sri Lankan Tamils is very contentious. It is not uncommon to hear about the civil war during public testimonies and in the preaching. Political ideology can serve to rally together ethnic groups (see Driedger, 1996:135-136).

Table 5.9: “A congregation that is composed of a multi-ethnic mix” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	33.8	39.2	20.3	6.8	100 (148)
Stone	48.7	37.4	13	0.9	100 (115)
Fire of God	60	35		5	100 (20)
Medhawalem	65	15	10	10	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	33.3	48.9	11.1	6.7	100 (45)
Tamil	53.8	34.6	11.5		100 (26)
World Mission	10.5	44.7	36.8	7.9	100 (38)
World Mission (English)	33.3	50	16.7		100 (12)
AVERAGE	39.6	38.9	16.7	4.7	100 (424)

When the respondents were asked to indicate how important it is to for them to belong to a congregation composed of a multi-ethnic mix, all of the respondents, including the Tamils indicated it was very important or somewhat important. The

exception was the Korean congregation where only 10.5% of the participants believed it was very important (see table 5.9).

The Tamils and the Koreans, however, do believe it is very important or somewhat important that congregations understand ethnic differences (see table 5.10). 48.7% of the Korean respondents and 53.8% of the Tamils believe it is

Table 5.10: “A congregation which understands ethnic differences” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	41.9	47.3	8.8	2	100 (148)
Stone	52.6	38.8	7.8	0.9	100 (116)
Fire of God	36.8	31.6	21.1	10.5	100 (19)
Medhawalem	65	10	5	20	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	51.1	33.3	13.3	2.2	100 (45)
Tamil	53.8	42.3	3.8		100 (26)
World Mission	48.7	35.9	10.3	5.1	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	50	39.5	9.2	3.1	100 (12)
AVERAGE	48.2	39.5	9.2	3.1	100 (425)

very important. The congregation with the highest score is Medhawalem where 65% indicate understanding ethnic difference is very important. The data suggest that the Tamils and the Koreans want to maintain the use of language

and yet are open to the idea that congregations can consist of a multi-ethnic mix. It is possible that at least some of the participants are wrestling precisely with the issue of how to “do pluralism,” the globalization paradox. Globalization theory states that, seemingly paradoxically, one does the global by doing the local, or glocal in Robertsonian terms. It could be argued that these data reflect the logical dilemma that globalization presents.

The Tamil congregation illustrates the complexity of global migration for the PAOC. While the Agincourt Pentecostal Tamil Church membership consists of Sri Lankan Tamils, not all Pentecostal Tamil congregations in Toronto are as homogeneous as the one in this thesis. Dr. Lyman Kulathungam explained to me that Tamils have distinct geographies and histories that must be considered. For example, he said that it is important to remember that ‘Tamil’ refers to a language group and not a particular country. Tamil speaking people have come to Canada from South India, north and east Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore and South Africa. As well, PAOC congregations from South India speak Malayalam, a dialect of Tamil. There are four PAOC congregations in Toronto where Malayalam is spoken. Thus, according to Kulathungam, “the challenge is to keep in mind this multi-historical population that has come from different areas of the world.”

Kulathungam also pointed out that there are cultural differences in terms of when Tamils came to Canada. He said that there are two different kinds of

immigrants in Sri Lankan Pentecostal congregations. Traditionally, immigrants from Sri Lanka came for education or for employment opportunities until approximately 1985 when, because of civil war and political pressure, many immigrants began coming as refugees. The earlier immigrants easily integrated and attended English-speaking congregations. Many of the political refugees, though, have expressed a desire to return to Sri Lanka if the opportunity becomes available; but because of the civil war, they cannot. As a result, language and cultural problems exist between Tamil Pentecostal congregations and within them. Newly arriving Sri Lankan Tamils, especially young soldiers, only know the "language of war" and use it to solve congregational problems. According to Rev. Green, the Sri Lankan civil war has implications for the PAOC and results in a stress previously not experienced by the denomination. Rev. Ken Birch, Executive Director of Canadian Ministries for the PAOC, explained that often, congregational problems are addressed by a split. Each faction will separate and establish a new congregation. Often the disagreements can be hurtful for the members.

While the Tamil Pentecostals have organized congregations largely based on their geography, the same cannot be said of the Spanish speaking Pentecostals. For the Spanish-speaking congregations, numerous countries are represented among their members. Clearly, for the Spanish, language is the central factor in ethnic group formation. Rev. Perez said that while they speak

the same language, culturally they are diverse.

The respondents from the ethnic and non-ethnic Pentecostal congregations tend to agree that it is important to both maintain ethnicity and to accept a certain level of pluralism. Clearly, there is divergence of opinion about immigration policy though (see table 5.11). When asked if “Canadian

Table 5.11: “Canadian immigration laws need to be more open” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	2.7	11.5	50	12.8	23	100 (148)
Stone	6.2	18.6	27.4	21.2	26.5	100 (113)
Fire of God	17.6	47.1	17.6		17.6	100 (17)
Medhawalem	45	25	5		25	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	14.9	44.7	19.1	4.3	17	100 (47)
Tamil	26.9	42.3	7.7		23.1	100 (26)
World Mission	17.9	35.9	25.6	2.6	17.9	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	7.7	7.7	46.2		38.5	100 (13)
AVERAGE	10.6	23.2	32.2	10.9	23.2	100 (423)

immigration laws need to be more open,” all of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed except for the two English-speaking non-ethnic participants. Among

the ethnic congregations, the exception is the Canadian born and English-speaking Koreans. Only 2.7% from Woodvale, 6.2% from Stone, and 7.7% from the English-speaking Koreans strongly agreed. In comparison, 45% of the respondents from the Eritrean congregation strongly agreed. All of the ethnic respondents varied on this question from the non-ethnic ones. There are several possible reasons. The non-ethnic participants may feel that the immigration laws are either fine as they are or that they are too open. In contrast, the ethnic participants may feel that the laws are too strict and they desire them to be open for other friends and family members to come to Canada.

According to Rev. Green, there are many cultural misunderstandings about ethnic congregations in the PAOC. He said that some English-speaking pastors are biased against immigration policies and feel that the ethnic congregations get too much attention. He also pointed out though, that there are difficulties among the congregations. For example, the different language groups do not mix very well with each other or with the English-speaking congregations. As a result, some ethnic congregations hold their own monthly rallies, conferences, and camp meetings. Some ethnic pastors are not involved with larger area wide ministerial meetings. It is not, however, because they desire to isolate themselves. As I will show, my research indicates that ethnic congregations do want to be part of the PAOC. They also want to maintain other ties through transnational networks.

The result is much confusion and misunderstanding among the PAOC and the ethnic congregations. The PAOC has attempted to deal with the issues by holding seminars for ethnic pastors and through promoting ethnic ministries such as Cantero, a Spanish singing group, among the English congregations. Rev. Birch explains that steps are being taken to establish a Cultural Ministries Committee that will give ethnic leaders a voice in planning and decision making. This is to provide a temporary parallel structure in the PAOC. According to Rev. Birch (1997), "the long term goal is to have significant representation of ethnic leaders with first-hand input into the major decision-making bodies." As well, Rev. Birch hopes to help local congregations develop an awareness and sensitivity to ethnic population groups. Some members of the Woodvale congregation have expressed a concern about the lack of understanding between ethnic groups and formed a Multicultural study group to foster discussion about ways to help new Canadians feel welcomed at Woodvale.

What may not be understood in the PAOC, is the role transnational networks play among ethnic congregations in Canada. Specifically, special event and conference links serve to maintain ties between Pentecostals at a global level. There are several examples I will describe here. Each one illustrates how Pentecostalism as a global culture supports and expresses itself in Pentecostalism locally. The first two examples focus on the global nature of the conference. The final two examples focus on the local nature of the event.

Both serve to foster ethnic identity in the congregation.

First, the pastor of the Korean congregation, Rev. Joo, is involved in an annual conference that takes place in Korea. The conference is for pastors of all Korean Pentecostal congregations around the world. Yonggi Cho of the Full Gospel Church organizes it. Rev. Joo of the World Mission Pentecostal Church told me that once he arrives in Korea, Yonggi Cho's ministry provides for all the participants. The conference connects Rev. Joo with other Korean pastors around the world where ideas for ministry are exchanged. As well, the participants are spiritually motivated through times of prayer, worship, and preaching. Rev. Joo's congregation then benefits from the conference.

Members of the Spanish congregation in Toronto also participate in global conferences. Rev. Otoniel Perez told me that he travelled to Mexico for a worship conference that was attended by Spanish speaking Pentecostals from Canada, the United States, and Latin America. He explained that it is important for Spanish Pentecostals to worship with other Spanish Pentecostals. He said that ministry in Canada can be very discouraging. In contrast, the Church is alive in Latin America and as he told me, it is good for him to celebrate the victories of other Spanish Pentecostals.

Conferences are also held for local congregations in North America by, for example, the Ethiopian Pentecostals. In 1995, a special conference was held in Toronto and hosted by the Ethiopian Evangelical Church. Nine different

Ethiopian congregations came to Toronto including congregations from the United States, for prayer, leadership training, and outreach planning. One of the elders told me that it is a very important event for the participants as they share together both the joys and the difficulties of living in new countries.

Another event that serves to link ethnic Pentecostals and maintain their ethnicity, is the annual "Parade of Nations." Each year, the Spanish congregations of the PAOC celebrate their congregation's anniversary. The problem, said Rev. Green, is that at the anniversary celebration as many as thirty-five different countries can be represented in one congregation. Each cultural group is very loyal to their country and at every anniversary celebration they will sing the national anthem of each country represented in the congregation. During the meeting someone will walk in with, for example, a Nicaraguan flag and everyone who is from Nicaragua will stand and sing the national anthem. This will continue until every country represented in the congregation has had their flag paraded in and the national anthem sung. Rev. Green explained that it often turns out to be an all-day event.

I had the opportunity to experience an anniversary celebration at Iglesia Evangélica Hispana during November 1997 on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the congregation and the fifteenth anniversary of Rev. Eusebio Perez as pastor. The "Parade of Nations" occurred on a Sunday, the final day of their three day missions convention and anniversary celebration.

The congregation was extremely excited about the weekend as they anticipated the "Parade of Nations" and the ministry of their guest speaker, Rev. Jerónimo Pérez, an evangelist originally from Latin America and now in the United States. Rev. Pérez resides in Florida where he coordinates ministry among Spanish people in the Assemblies of God. His radio broadcasts are heard throughout Latin America from his base in Florida. Musical guests for the weekend were from Mexico and added to the cultural and global quality of the celebration.

The climax of the weekend was the three hour Sunday meeting of the "Parade of Nations" when flags from twenty-two countries were waved and members from their respective countries rose to their feet to sing their national anthem. I was told that people come for the anniversary celebration each year who have no association with the congregation just to sing their national anthem. During the ceremony many cried, clapped, shouted, sang, and saluted. It was a very emotional experience linking religion and national pride. Rev. Perez, originally from Cuba, shouted "Viva la Cuba", waved to the flag, and cried as he sang his national anthem. At the conclusion of the ceremony, children came marching into the auditorium waving banners reading "Jesus is Lord" and singing "The Lord Reigns." Rev. Perez explained that it is an important time when they can thank God for the country they were born in, the new country they live in, and the world that needs revival.

Ethnic congregations represent members from disparate cultures with

different histories and ethnicities. Clearly, ethnicity is employed as a strategy for each congregation. The social and historical construction of these ethnic congregations, along with their employment of global resources for the expression of their Pentecostalism, demonstrate how Pentecostalism functions under the constraints of globalization. The congregations use ethnicity differently, sometimes with sharp boundaries, sometimes not, sometimes with internal divisions encouraged, sometimes not. This is precisely the "optional" nature of what is usually considered to be a "natural", ascribed category. That is, after all, one of the ways that globalization works: the local is global, the necessary is optional. Again, flexibility is evident precisely because experiential religion allows ethnicity as a strategy, networks as an organizational mode, and charisma as authority.

Organizational Implications of Transnational Networks

In this final section, I analyze the various views of the congregations toward the PAOC. Included are questions about the needs of ethnic congregations, the programs and objectives of the PAOC, and finances. The data show that ethnic congregations believe they should support the endeavors of the denomination. At the same time, there is the perception that ethnic congregations do not support the programs and objectives of the PAOC. For the ethnic congregations, though, it is not a matter of choosing one organization over

another. Generally, ethnic congregations maintain multiple affiliations and practices. The issue becomes clearer when examined in the context of transnational networks and specifically, new denominational affiliations. Furthermore, it is at the level of organization that the greatest diversity of opinion is expressed among the congregations. There are several reasons why. First, Pentecostals from other regions of the world organize their congregations differently than in the PAOC. As well, Pentecostals have always been suspicious of a rational bureaucracy which stifles the moving of the Spirit (see Poloma, 1989). Third and more importantly, the interaction between the different models has led to some disagreement over how congregations organize. Yet the PAOC officials claim they are learning to respond appropriately, and if necessary, differently to each congregation. There is evidence of new strategies for congregational organization in the PAOC. An important aspect is the transnational networks among ethnic congregations.

When asked how important it is for the PAOC to understand the needs of immigrants, clearly, all the respondents feel it is very important or somewhat important (see table 5.12). The data show that among the ethnic participants they believe the PAOC needs to empathize with them. According to Dr. Irving Whitt, a Pentecostal educator, the PAOC and its English-speaking congregations are unaware, uninterested, or unable to understand the new situation. While English congregations have provided space for new ethnic congregations,

explained Whitt, little is being done to actually interact with them. Rev. Ken Birch, Executive officer of Canadian Ministries for the PAOC, concurs and states that one of their main goals is to encourage an awareness and sensitivity to ethnic congregations.

Table 5.12: “A District or National Church Office which understands the needs of immigrants” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	33.3	54.4	8.8	3.4	100 (147)
Stone	36.2	44.8	16.4	2.6	100 (116)
Fire of God	25	40	30	5	100 (20)
Medhawalem*	65	25		10	100 (20)
Iglesia Evangélica	53.2	34	10.6	2.1	100 (47)
Tamil	61.5	38.5			100 (26)
World Mission	52.5	37.5	10		100 (40)
World Mission (English)	16.7	75	8.3		100 (12)
AVERAGE	40.4	45.6	11.2	2.8	100 (428)

* “A regional or national Church organization in Canada which understands the needs of immigrants.”

The participants were also asked how important it is to have a strong relationship with the PAOC. Generally, almost all the respondents believe it is

important. For example, 76.9% of the Tamils said it is very important to have a substantial association with the PAOC. Not everyone holds the same view. In fact, 80% of the Ottawa Spanish responded that it is not very important or not at all important (see table 5.13). There are two possible reasons. First, the Ottawa

Table 5.13: “A strong relationship with the PAOC” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	29.5	41.1	24	5.5	100 (146)
Stone	30.7	43.9	20.2	5.3	100 (114)
Fire of God	5	15	40	40	100 (20)
Medhawalem*	38.9	44.4	11.1	5.6	100 (18)
Iglesia Evangélica	47.8	34.8	15.2	2.2	100 (46)
Tamil	76.9	23.1			100 (26)
World Mission	32.5	37.5	22.5	7.5	100 (40)
World Mission (English)	30.8	30.8	30.8	7.7	100 (13)
AVERAGE	34.3	38.3	20.8	6.6	100 (423)

* “A strong relationship with a national denomination.”

Spanish congregation places a major emphasis on its global ministry, especially in Latin America. The congregation supports this ministry and its affiliation with, for example, the Assemblies of God in Nicaragua. Members of the Fire of God

congregation send money and travel with Rev. Osorio when he preaches in Latin America. Video tapes of the ministry in Ottawa are made and sent to Latin America for promotion of their international ministry. Another possible answer relates to the relatively unstable relationship between the Fire of God Church and the PAOC. Rev. Osorio told me that he has not felt supported by the denomination and does not expect to be so in the future. He explained that he once planned an evangelistic outreach in Hamilton, a city in the Western Ontario district of the PAOC. Unknown to him was the PAOC policy that required pastors to get approval for evangelistic meetings outside of their District. Unfortunately, Rev. Osorio felt betrayed by the PAOC when he was not allowed to hold meetings in Hamilton, Ontario.

The conviction that a strong relationship with the PAOC is important is also demonstrated through the idea that the local congregation should support the programs and objectives of the PAOC (see table 5.14). This is evident where 91.3% of the Toronto Spanish expressed that it is very important or somewhat important. In contrast only 25% of the Ottawa Spanish agreed that it is even somewhat important. A total of 75% said it is not very important or not at all important. Again, this may reflect their ambivalence toward the organization as much as their ministry emphasis outside of Canada. This shows how ethnic strategies vary. That is, ethnic identification by itself says nothing about organizational orientation and thus the importance of the variables of experiential

religion, ethnic identification and organizational orientation together.

Rev. Kirk Kaufeldt , Executive Assistant to Rev. Ken Birch, told me that while the PAOC International Office wanted to do more for these congregations, they are somewhat limited by their own purposes as an office. Rev. Kaufeldt

Table 5.14: “A congregation which financially supports the programs and objectives of the PAOC” in %.

Congregation	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total (N)
Woodvale	32.4	46.9	15.2	5.5	100 (145)
Stone	31.6	45.6	19.3	3.5	100 (114)
Fire of God		25	60	15	100 (20)
Medhawalem*					
Iglesia Evangélica	43.5	47.8	6.5	2.2	100 (46)
Tamil	61.5	23.1	15.4		100 (26)
World Mission	28.2	48.7	17.9	5.1	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	38.5	23.1	30.8	7.7	100 (13)
AVERAGE	33.5	43.5	18.3	4.7	100 (403)

* Data not available.

explained that the PAOC had no official policies for ethnic congregations. The role of the Canadian Ministries office is to distribute literature and distribute subsidies for developing congregations which may or may not be ethnic

congregations. Based on reports from the District offices, the PAOC sends monthly cheques to ethnic congregations. They also assist Rev. Eusebio Perez financially as the National Coordinator for Spanish ministries in Canada. No other language or ethnic group has organized as such.

I also asked the respondents to indicate the degree to which they agree or

Table 5.15: "Congregations should support PAOC programs financially" in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	10.9	65.3	6.1	2	15.6	100 (147)
Stone	11.5	61.1	6.2		21.2	100 (113)
Fire of God		11.1	50	11.1	27.8	100 (18)
Medhawalem*						
Iglesia Evangélica	14.9	61.7	8.5	2.1	12.8	100 (47)
Tamil	32	52	4		12	100 (25)
World Mission	10	60	10	2.5	17.5	100 (40)
World Mission (English)		46.2	15.4		38.5	100 (13)
AVERAGE	12.0	59.3	8.9	1.7	18.1	100 (403)

* Data not available.

disagree that congregations should support PAOC programs financially. Again, all of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that they should financially

support the programs of the PAOC except for the Ottawa Spanish (see table 5.15). One area where PAOC leaders have expressed concern, however, is the lack of support for its missions program by ethnic congregations. While the respondents state it is important to financially support the programs of the PAOC, several PAOC leaders explained that the congregations are not generally aware of the programs like the missions program and therefore do not support it.

Whitt's observation is that much of the energy of these new congregations is spent inwardly as they establish themselves and form their identity. What is often unrecognized in the PAOC, according to Whitt, is that the ethnic congregations are often going through culture shock. As "foreigners in another land," Whitt said most of their time and energy is spent identifying with those who share a similar world view and with defining who they are. As newcomers they are not sure how to work out their relationship with the PAOC. Priority is therefore not given to the support and maintenance of established denominational programs. Denominational networks beyond the PAOC, though, do serve to facilitate ethnic congregations in Canada, as I will demonstrate. In addition, rather than simply experiencing culture shock, the immigrants here are using global networks to avoid the problem to some extent. That is, to the extent that they do not totally leave the old home, they do not have to worry so much about transforming themselves to fit into the new one.

I also asked a question to explore the extent of each congregation's

knowledge of the goals and direction of the PAOC. My thought was, that it is possible that some congregations may not support the programs if they do not know what they are. Yet, the respondents all claimed to know the goals and direction of the organization and stated it is important to support the PAOC.

Table 5.16: “Our congregation knows the goals and direction of the PAOC” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	10.8	45.9	18.9	4.1	20.3	100 (148)
Stone	15	37.2	17.7	7.1	23	100 (113)
Fire of God		63.2	15.8	10.5	10.5	100 (19)
Medhawalem*						
Iglesia Evangélica	21.3	55.3	10.6		12.8	100 (47)
Tamil	48	28	8	4	12	100 (25)
World Mission	28.2	38.5	2.6		30.8	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	38.5	23.1	23.1		15.4	100 (13)
AVERAGE	17.6	42.8	15.4	4.2	20.0	100 (404)

* Data not available.

Even the Ottawa Spanish, which recorded the lowest support of PAOC programs, indicated they know the goals and direction of the organization (see

table 5.16).

When asked if the respondents personally understood their congregations' relationship to the PAOC, the majority strongly agreed or agreed that they did (see table 5.17). A total of 63.2% of the Ottawa Spanish said they

Table 5.17: "I understand our congregation's relationship to the PAOC" in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	8.1	51.4	12.2	3.4	25	100 (148)
Stone	8	40.7	20.4	3.5	27.4	100 (113)
Fire of God		63.2	10.5	15.8	10.5	100 (19)
Medhawalem*						
Iglesia Evangélica	12.8	51.1	17	2.1	17	100 (47)
Tamil	34.6	46.2			19.2	100 (26)
World Mission	15	20	7.5		57.5	100 (40)
World Mission (English)		15.4	30.8	7.7	46.2	100 (13)
AVERAGE	10.4	44.3	14.3	3.4	27.6	100 (406)

* Data not available.

agreed with the statement. Yet, some of the participants from congregations like Stone and the Korean congregations were divided. This is understandable for the Koreans when one recognizes that they have an affiliation with the PAOC

and a Korean denomination based in Korea. Some may wonder what the relationship is with either of the organizations. It does, however, reflect a new global reality in denominational alliances. I will return to this point later.

When I asked if they believed the leaders of the PAOC knew the needs and concerns of the congregations, there was some ambivalence even among the non-ethnic participants (see table 5.18). For example, 41.9% of Woodvale

Table 5.18: “The leaders of the PAOC know our congregation’s needs and concerns” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	9.5	18.2	23.6	6.8	41.9	100 (148)
Stone	12.3	34.2	18.4	1.8	33.3	100 (114)
Fire of God		36.8	10.5	26.3	26.3	100 (19)
Medhawalem*						
Iglesia Evangélica	17	51.1	14.9		17	100 (47)
Tamil	46.2	42.3			11.5	100 (26)
World Mission	15.4	33.3	12.8		38.5	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	30.8	23.1	7.7		38.5	100 (13)
AVERAGE	14.2	30.9	17.4	4.1	33.4	100 (406)

* Data not available.

stated they were not sure. Another 23.6% disagreed that the PAOC knew their needs and concerns. The vast majority among the Tamils (88.5%) and the Toronto Spanish (68.1%), however, indicated that they believe the leaders of the PAOC know what their interests are. Clearly, the response is divided among the others with a fair number responding that they are unsure. When asked if the programs of the PAOC were not important to the individual, a majority of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (see table 5.19).

Table 5.19: “The programs of the PAOC are not important to me” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	1.4	12.8	54.1	14.9	16.9	100 (148)
Stone	1.8	15.8	47.4	13.2	21.9	100 (114)
Fire of God	25	20	40	5	10	100 (20)
Medhawalem*						
Iglesia Evangélica	4.3	13	63	10.9	8.7	100 (46)
Tamil	8.3	25	50	12.5	4.2	100 (24)
World Mission	5.1	23.1	33.3	12.8	25.6	100 (39)
World Mission (English)		23.1	7.7	15.4	53.8	100 (13)
AVERAGE	3.7	16.1	48.8	13.1	18.3	100 (404)

* Data not available.

For the Ottawa Spanish the response was split equally. Obviously, the feeling among the participants is that the programs are important. The reality is that much of their time and energy is spent with their own congregation.

Still, ethnic congregations are also preoccupied with ministry in their home country. Among the Tamils, concern is expressed for families left behind in the civil war in Sri Lanka. For the Spanish, as Rev. Otoniel Perez said, they enjoy celebrating the victories of the Church in Latin America and often travel to conferences to be spiritually renewed and encouraged. While one District official expressed concern over the lack of participation by ethnic Pentecostals at the Canadian conferences, the ethnic Pentecostals told me that the conferences and special meetings they have within their groups, whether in Canada or outside, are more meaningful. I have already stated the importance of conferences and special events. Some of these are related to new denominational affiliations. More will be said about these relationships in this section.

The majority of the respondents stated it is important to belong to the PAOC (see table 5.20). The one apparent objection, again, is the Ottawa Spanish where only 5.3% agree it is important. Rev. Eusebio Perez expressed it well. He said he appreciates the PAOC for providing him and his congregation a place where they can pursue their ministry objectives in an autonomous fashion yet also enjoy the benefits of affiliation with the denomination. Both Rev. Otoniel Perez and his father, Rev. Eusebio Perez, spoke about their relationship with the

PAOC as a partnership where they can mutually support one another through such things as resources and a supportive structure for ministry. They also expressed the importance of maintaining ties with Pentecostals in Latin America.

Table 5.20: “On the whole, it is important to belong to the PAOC” in %.

Congregation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total (N)
Woodvale	15	41.5	21.8	7.5	14.3	100 (147)
Stone	18.8	34.8	21.4	5.4	19.6	100 (112)
Medhawalem*	33.3	27.8	22.2	5.6	11.1	100 (18)
Fire of God		5.3	36.8	47.4	10.5	100 (19)
Iglesia Evangélica	6.4	57.4	25.5	2.1	8.5	100 (47)
Tamil	23.1	53.8	11.5		11.5	100 (26)
World Mission	10.3	38.5	30.8		20.5	100 (39)
World Mission (English)	15.4	38.5	23.1		23.1	100 (13)
AVERAGE	15.2	39.7	23.0	6.7	15.4	100 (421)

* “On the whole, it is important to belong to a denomination.”

In my discussions with the leaders of the PAOC, it is clear that the organizational implications of global migration for the PAOC centre around how the congregations organize and second, how they share facilities with a variety of language and culture groups. In an interview with PAOC official, Rev. Richard

Green, we discussed some misunderstandings between the PAOC and the ethnic congregations. Specifically, we discussed the interaction between the PAOC and two Ethiopian congregations over church organization. The varied responses illustrate the difficulty the PAOC had in dealing with cultural variations of Pentecostalism yet also its flexibility to change.

Rev. Green explained that they had “lost” an Ethiopian congregation in Ottawa because of a rigid expectation regarding church organization. The PAOC did learn to be more flexible and to even allow for an informal constitutional change giving the Ethiopians in Toronto the ability to organize around a group of Elders as opposed to a pastor. This change, however, came at the expense of a congregation of Ethiopian Pentecostals in Ottawa who no longer seek affiliation with the PAOC.

According to Rev. Green, primarily Finnish Pentecostal missionaries, who apparently had a different form of church government, evangelized the Ethiopian Pentecostals that came to Canada. The Finnish missionaries used this structure in Ethiopia whereby they established congregations led by a group of lay leaders or elders with a pastor, if any at all, taking an equal role. The Ethiopian congregations, therefore, based their own congregations on a similar form of organization or church government, transplanting it to Canada. In the PAOC, where churches are organized hierarchically with a pastor giving leadership as opposed to a group of elders, the confrontation was inevitable.

In the Ottawa case, a young Ethiopian man came to Canada via Greece where he had co-pastored a congregation and demonstrated pastoral abilities. At the time, the pastor of the Ottawa congregation which gave space to the Ethiopians to meet, wanted to recognize this person as the pastor. According to Rev. Green the English congregation felt it had good intentions, only wanting to recognize someone as the pastor of the congregation. The differences in organization, though, created a crisis. The leadership at Bethel told the congregation that they would recognise him as the pastor and that the congregation should endorse this decision or perhaps consider worshipping somewhere else, not thinking they would leave. Over 60% of the Ethiopian congregation left and began meeting in another facility in Ottawa. Distraught over the crises, the Ethiopian congregation invited an evangelist from Ethiopia to come and minister to the congregations in Ottawa. After several meetings, Rev. Green explained that the split Ethiopian congregations reconciled but no longer sought affiliation with the PAOC. The young man whom they asked to be recognized as the pastor of the Ethiopian congregation no longer worshipped with the Ethiopian community.

The differences in church government between the Ethiopian Pentecostals and the PAOC almost resulted in a split in an Ethiopian congregation in Toronto. I asked if there was any way of compromising with the Ethiopians regarding church leadership and organization? Rev. Green said they

could have dealt with the Ottawa situation better “if we had not been so rigid.” In the Toronto congregation, the PAOC allowed an informal constitutional change in order for the church to be governed by a group of elders and thus provide room in the PAOC for the Ethiopian Pentecostals. The differences in organization and the ensuing conflict illustrate issues of authority and the struggle over who defines how the congregations will organize in the PAOC.

While the Ethiopian congregation in Ottawa decided not to join the PAOC, the Eritreans, a congregation in this thesis, are in the process of organizing. While they have not officially joined the PAOC, one elder, Solomon Gebreendriais, explained to me that when the time is right they will talk about whether or not to join. For now they worship in a PAOC church facility and are clearly Pentecostal. Some of their members were part of the Ethiopian congregation in Ottawa that experienced the split and they are not anxious to join the PAOC. They do, however, desire to have an affiliation with other Pentecostals. Currently, the Eritrean congregation shares an affiliation with other Eritrean congregations in Toronto and Washington, DC.

Other organizational issues for new ethnic congregations centre around the sharing of facilities by more than one congregation. Most ethnic congregations cannot afford their own buildings and many meet in the buildings of the established English-speaking congregations. For example, Agincourt Pentecostal Church in Toronto has four language groups, including the Tamil

congregation in this thesis, sharing the same facility. The English-speaking congregation, which built and paid for the facility, felt the other congregations had no respect for the property. They claimed that the other groups would use up all the supplies of the English congregation or spill coffee on the floor without cleaning the facility or replacing any supplies. Because of this conflict, Rev. Green met with all the pastors and leaders of the four congregations. As a result, they developed a shared facilities agreement with "guidelines for peaceful cooperation in the building." Rev. Green explained that the PAOC recognizes organizational and leadership problems and is attempting to learn from their mistakes.

One effort is to have a yearly seminar or conference for the leadership of the ethnic congregations that are lead by ethnic leaders and other national PAOC leaders to deal with specific issues in the ethnic churches. In 1995, PAOC official, Rev. Stewart Hunter told me that,

the district is a fellowship of churches and it has to be flexible with all of the diversity. We are still learning. We lost a Korean church. They wanted to have affiliation with us but also have an affiliation with their church in Korea with Paul Yonggi Cho. We felt it wasn't going to work out organizationally. So they never affiliated. But we're learning to be flexible. We're learning not to hamper but facilitate the work of God for these people who are believers.

In 1997 the PAOC changed. Korean congregations can now have dual affiliation. They can maintain their ties with the home country and with the host country. Korean pastors in Canada hold dual affiliation for various reasons. For

the Koreans, the name "Pentecostal" is suspect in Korea, but "Full Gospel" is not. Holding affiliation with the Full Gospel organization in North America and globally allows them to use their name and maintain a sense of their Korean Pentecostalism. As Rev. Joo explained, the change in name will appeal to new immigrants and may result in growth for his congregation. An official partnership was also established between the Korean and Canadian Pentecostals for theological education. In 1998 EPBC established an official relationship with Korea's Hansei University, operated by Pastor Yonggi Cho's Full Gospel work. The two institutions signed an agreement for student and faculty exchanges (see "Building Bridges" in *On Track*, Summer 1998).

Another example of dual affiliation is with the Ghanian congregations in Canada. Rev. Jack Ozard, Western Ontario District official, explained that the PAOC has a partnership with the Assemblies of God of Ghana for the purpose of arranging funeral rites. Rev. Ozard told me that Ghanians in Canada want to be buried in Ghana after they die. The Church in Ghana, however, will not bury them unless they demonstrate they were members of a congregation affiliated with the PAOC. Rev. Ozard said that the PAOC is more than willing to work with the Assemblies of God of Ghana to meet this request. Thus, members of Ghanian congregations have dual affiliation. This occurs precisely because the global culture allows it and the two denominations agree to do it.

The idea of partnership between the PAOC, ethnic congregations, and

other Pentecostal denominations, is largely a response to the contemporary situation. Partnership in ministry, according to Ken Birch and Eusebio Perez (1995), assumes a spiritual unity between equals. They write that non ethnic congregations also need to make adjustments to new Canadians through a practical and strategic partnership. This partnership occurs at several levels between the PAOC and its congregations. First, the local congregation can partner with an ethnic group by allowing them space in their facility for worship. Second, District and National offices can partner with ethnic congregations by providing resources like finances to support developing congregations. Finally, the National office encourages ethnic congregations, once they have sufficiently grown in numbers, to form a national fellowship for the purposes of leadership development, sharing of resources, vision, and to assist the PAOC in decisions for ministerial credentials. As the authors (1995:61) state: "The challenge we wish to address is that of seeing churches of believers from other cultural groups authentically planted and taking root in Canadian soil." The PAOC is slowly recognizing the reality of global networks for both the denomination and the ethnic congregations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the PAOC is undergoing a transformation largely related to global migration and the various transnational relationships and practices

maintained by ethnic congregations. Specifically, global networks such as congregational ministry flows, special event and conferences links, and new denominational affiliations indicate how the PAOC and the ethnic congregations are adjusting to new global realities. The transformation in the PAOC has several implications including theological, cultural, and organizational ones.

First, there is greater diversity within the PAOC than ever experienced before. This is a challenge for the PAOC as evidenced in the responses to these new global realities. Second, ethnicity is important to these new congregations in the PAOC. Members of the congregations state that identifying with their ethnic group is important. At the same time, they also want to identify with the PAOC. This, however, is not at the expense of maintaining transnational ties. The challenge for the PAOC is to allow ethnic congregations to maintain their identity and place in the world and in the PAOC. Finally, the ambivalence expressed toward the PAOC reflects both the local and global nature of Pentecostalism. Local congregations are members of the PAOC and as such participate in a global Pentecostal culture through transnational ministry ties, special events and conferences, and with other Pentecostal organizations. In terms of authority, the congregations and the PAOC should be expected to react in the flexible and varied way they have. This is because experiential religion allows ethnicity as a strategy, networks as an organizational mode, and charisma as authority. This is, however, not a monopoly of the Pentecostals.

Nonetheless, the history, nature, and religious character of Pentecostalism almost encourages such strategies and orientations.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis I have examined the implications of global migration for religion in Canada. I have argued that contemporary migration is characterized by transnational relationships and practices that both globalize and localize religious life. I have shown that current changes in migration to Canada have implications for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. In addition, new ethnic Pentecostal congregations are maintaining ties between the host country and “home” through reciprocal flows of people, ideas, practices, money, information, and material goods. These transnational relationships and practices illustrate the strategic aspect of networks among ethnic congregations.

To understand the relationship between globalization and ethnic congregations, I have relied heavily on the concepts of experiential religion, ethnicity, social networks, and power/authority. Each concept has acted as a hinge between the theoretical and the empirical. What I endeavoured to demonstrate is that the story of ethnic congregations is both a global and a local one. Thus I attempt to supplement ideas about migrant groups in Canada by examining transnational relationships and practices. In this thesis I argue that the data can be looked at from a global perspective. This is a theoretical position. Obviously I could have done more but what I have presented are some preliminary findings about the relationship between globalization and religion.

What I have discovered is that charisma encourages variation and provides a “theological” grounding for the particularization of Pentecostalism. Thus, the congregations and the PAOC should be expected to react in the flexible and varied way they have. This is precisely because experiential religion allows ethnicity as a strategy, networks as an organizational mode, and charisma as authority. Pentecostalism virtually makes easier such strategies and orientations. Again, I am not saying this is a monopoly of Pentecostalism. Other religious groups can also be varied and flexible.

In this thesis I examined several congregations. My strategy was to cover a wide range of cross-cultural and transnational practices and ideas, quite possibly at the expense of an in depth participant analysis of one congregation. An in depth analysis of one congregation has the advantages of exploring in greater detail the extent of transnational networks among the members of the congregation. This type of research may also allow for an examination of the effects of globalization on the sending end. My point, however, is that these transnational practices are not limited to one particular ethnic congregation but that the variety of practices also vary among the congregations.

Still, there are several areas and questions that require future research. First, how are religious institutions in the “home” countries of immigrants changing due to the migration of Pentecostals to Canada? A very interesting study would be to examine, for example, how the Ghanaian Assemblies of God is

changing because of its affiliation with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. How are transnational relationships and practices between Ghanaian ethnic congregations in Canada and Pentecostal congregations in Ghana affecting the Ghanaian Assemblies of God? Specifically, what are the consequences of the funeral arrangement (see chapter five) between the two denominations for Pentecostal congregations in Ghana? The global story of Pentecostal networks can be expanded through research in other countries (Marcus and Fischer, 1986).

In this thesis I have only established that transnational ties exist between migrant and non migrant Pentecostals in the regions of origin. A second area of research needs to examine how the lives of Pentecostal migrants and non-migrants become transnationalized through incorporating the ideas and practices from both societies (see Levitt, 1998:76). This requires a synthesis of empirical data on migrant Pentecostals in Canada and research from another location. For example, how are Canadian Spanish congregations affecting Latin American Pentecostalism? We now know that Canadian Spanish Pentecostals are traveling back to Latin America to establish congregations, build buildings, and provide education. What are the implications of Canadian Spanish Pentecostals returning to Latin America? What ideas and practices are they taking with them? How is Latin American Pentecostalism appropriating Canadian Spanish Pentecostalism? A study of transnationalizing dynamics among Pentecostals

could provide evidence of not only further Pentecostal construction but also religious transformation.

Third, in this thesis only one congregation, the English-speaking Korean congregation, is comprised of predominately second generation migrants that formed in late 1996. This is because many of these new congregations in the PAOC are the first generation Pentecostals. They have not been in Canada long enough to establish second generation congregations. What needs to be determined in the future is the role of transnational networks in shaping their lives. In addition, how will global Pentecostal networks be maintained by second generation ethnic congregations? If they are, how will they differ from the first generation migrants? Obviously, this question cannot be answered yet. Past responses of immigrant congregations may or may not be a predictor: transnational ties have existed before but my point is that the intensity and possibilities for such ties have increased to the point that a different future scenario may result (see Robertson, 1992:57-60).

The findings from this thesis highlight the local aspect of global migration for Canadian Pentecostalism. It points to transnational relationships and practices between migrant and non-migrant congregations. Furthermore, the links maintained between both groups have several implications for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada including theological, cultural, and organizational ones. Thus, the relationship between global Pentecostalism and

local Pentecostalism is one of transformation.

APPENDIX

A. CONGREGATIONAL CONSENT FORM

Project: "Transformative Responses Among Canadian Pentecostals to Global Migration"

Investigator: Michael Wilkinson
50 Dolan Drive
Nepean, ON K2J 1Z1

Supervisor: Dr. Peter Beyer
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario

This research project is being conducted as part of the requirements for the PhD in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. The results of this research will be used in a thesis to be submitted by Michael Wilkinson. Publication in the form of articles and/or a monograph may also ensue.

The purpose of the research is to examine the role of religion among new Canadians. I plan to study the cultural, religious, and organizational implications of global migration not only for religious institutions but also for the broader social context of life in Canada. It is my intention to research the transformation of Canadian Pentecostalism due to its changing ethnic composition.

The project involves no physical risk and anonymity will be maintained. I am asking the congregation to allow me to participate in and observe its worship services and other related activities.

Congregations will be observed and surveyed in order to study their experiences as ethnic and immigrant Pentecostals in Canada. My research will endeavour to discover such things as beliefs, values, practices, personal perspectives on organizational characteristics, cultural characteristics, interaction with denomination, other congregations, and experiences in Canada.

The investigator may quote from the observations or use the data in other accepted research forms, but the participants' anonymity, if so desired, will be ensured at all times. Again, at the congregations request, they will be identified

only by a pseudonym and all personal data that could identify the participants will be omitted from transcriptions and quotations. No compensation will be given for this project.

Questions concerning the ethical performance of the research may be addressed to the Secretary of the University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/o School of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5; telephone: (613) 562-1246.

Investigator's signature:

I have received a copy of this form and I agree to the conditions stated above.

Participant's signature:

Date:

B. INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Project: "Transformative Responses Among Canadian Pentecostals to Global Migration"

Investigator: Michael Wilkinson
50 Dolan Drive
Nepean, ON K2J 1Z1

Supervisor: Dr. Peter Beyer
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario

This research project is being conducted as part of the requirements for the PhD in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. The results of this research will be used in a thesis to be submitted by Michael Wilkinson. Publication in the form of articles and/or a monograph may also ensue.

The purpose of the research is to examine the role of religion among new Canadians. I plan to study the cultural, religious, and organizational implications of global migration not only for religious institutions but also for the broader social context of life in Canada. It is my intention to research the transformation of Canadian Pentecostalism due to its changing ethnic composition.

The project involves no physical risk and anonymity will be maintained. I will ask individuals to participate in an interview for one hour which will be recorded with notes taken.

Participants will be asked to describe their experiences with ethnic and immigrant Pentecostals in Canada. Questions asked will endeavour to discover such things as beliefs, values, practices, personal perspectives on organizational characteristics, cultural characteristics, interaction with denomination, other congregations, and experiences in Canada.

The investigator may quote from interviews or use the interviews in other accepted research forms, but the participants' anonymity, if requested, will be ensured at all times. If so desired, participants will be identified only by a pseudonym and all personal data that could identify the participants will be omitted from transcriptions and quotations. The tapes of interviews will be kept

in safe guard for fives years and only the investigator and the research supervisor will have access to these tapes. No compensation will be given for this project.

Questions concerning the ethical performance of the research may be addressed to the Secretary of the University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/o School of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5; telephone: (613) 562-1246.

Investigator's signature:

I have received a copy of this form and I agree to the conditions stated above.

Participant's signature:

Date:

C. Interview Schedule for Non-Ethnic Pastors and PAOC Officials

1. Tell me about your or your church's association with ethnic Pentecostal congregations.
2. How do you view ethnic congregations in the PAOC? What place do they have in the PAOC and/or the local church?
3. What is special or unique about ethnic congregations? What challenges do they face?
4. How would you describe the people who attend? What kind of people are they? What do you think are the most important things in the lives of its members? Are these important to you or your congregation or the PAOC?
5. Are there people or groups who don't seem to fit in well? What is different about them? How do others react to them?
6. Can you tell me about any cultural, theological, or organizational differences, tensions, or conflicts? How do you or your church or the PAOC respond to these differences? What is important to ethnic congregations about their faith or their expression of Pentecostalism? Is this important to you or your church or the PAOC?

D. Interview Schedule for Ethnic Pastors

- 1. Could you tell me something about your faith: your Christian background, your call to ministry, any events that have been especially important to you in terms of your ministry?**
- 2. What is the history of the congregation you are now involved with: when and where did it start, how did it begin, who were the people or groups involved, what were some of your challenges and accomplishments?**
- 3. What is your vision for your congregation?**
- 4. What is your congregation's association with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada? Do you feel that the PAOC understands your needs?**
- 5. As a new ethnic Pentecostal congregation, what challenges do you face? What is important to your congregation? Is this important to the PAOC?**
- 6. What is the future for congregations like yours in Canada?**

E. Survey of Pentecostal Congregations

The following contains some statements about the changing ethnic composition of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). They represent opinions for which there is no right or wrong answer. All surveys will remain confidential. You do not have to sign your name to this survey. There are two pages of questions printed back to back. Please answer all questions and return to Michael Wilkinson. Thank-you for your time.

A. How important, to you personally, are the following? Circle the number which best represents your view.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
1. A congregation with a commitment to missionary work.	1	2	3	4
2. A congregation with a strong emphasis on God's power to heal and perform miracles.	1	2	3	4
3. A congregation which reaches out to the community.	1	2	3	4
4. A congregation which conducts services in your native language.	1	2	3	4
5. A District or National Church Office which understands the needs of immigrants.	1	2	3	4
6. A congregation that is open to the Holy Spirit and spontaneous in its worship.	1	2	3	4
7. A congregation that is composed of a multi-ethnic mix.	1	2	3	4
8. A strong relationship with the PAOC.	1	2	3	4
9. A congregation which understands ethnic differences.	1	2	3	4

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
10. A congregation which financially supports the programs and objectives of the PAOC.	1	2	3	4

B. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle the number which best represents your personal view.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
1. A Christian's faith should influence all areas of life.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Our congregation is close to other Pentecostal congregations.	1	2	3	4	5
3. The Holy Spirit is active in my life and gives me direction and guidance.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Our congregation knows the goals and direction of the PAOC.	1	2	3	4	5
5. It is not important that ethnic groups maintain their cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The use of spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues and prayer for healing, should be encouraged during worship services.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Spiritual matters and not social or political affairs should be the concern of Pentecostal congregations.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
8. Congregations should give equal status and leadership opportunities to men and women.	1	2	3	4	5
9. The leaders of the PAOC know our congregation's needs and concerns.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Congregational worship should not be structured, quiet, and contemplative.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Canada spends too little money on social programs.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Congregations should be comprised of people who share the same ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5
13. On the whole, it is important to belong to the PAOC.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Congregations should speak openly about social problems such as poverty and racism.	1	2	3	4	5
15. There are occasions when the Bible is overruled by the Holy Spirit.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Congregations should support PAOC programs financially.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
17. Canadian immigration laws need to be more open.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I understand our congregation's relationship to the PAOC.	1	2	3	4	5
19. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is characterized by the initial evidence of speaking in tongues.	1	2	3	4	5
20. The programs of the PAOC are not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5

C. This final section includes some questions about your congregation and about yourself. Please remember that all information will be confidential.

1. Which of the following best describes your position or area of involvement in your congregation?

Pastor, Lay Leader (board member, deacon, etc) _____

Lay member _____

Attender _____

2. How long have you been attending this congregation?

Years _____ Months _____

3. In an average week, how many worship services and other church events/activities do you personally attend?

One _____ two _____ three _____ four _____ more than four _____

4. Have you ever attended or belonged to another denomination, other than the PAOC?

No Yes _____ (If yes, please indicate which one)

5. Which of the following best describes your current employment situation (check only one)?

In a ministry capacity or para-church organization _____
Employed in a secular (not church/ministry-related) occupation _____
Retired _____
A student _____
At home _____
Unemployed, but seeking employment _____
Other _____

6. What is your age? _____

7. Are you: Female ___ Male _____

8. What is your marital status?

Married _____ Single _____

If single, were you ever married? Yes _____ No _____

Do you have any children living at home with you?

No _____ Yes _____ (Please indicate how many) _____

9. What is your country of birth? _____

10. If you were not born in Canada, what year did you come to this country?

11. Were you a "Pentecostal" (in belief or experience) before you came to Canada?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, what was your religious affiliation? _____

12. A) Do you presently or have you ever "spoken in tongues"? Yes ___ No ___

B) Has God ever spoken to you through dreams or visions? Yes ___ No ___

C) Have you ever experienced a physical healing? Yes ___ No ___

13. What was the first language you learned as a child? _____
 Do you still speak and understand that language? Yes ____ No ____
14. What is your ethnic origin or heritage? _____
16. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
 Primary school ____ Secondary/High School ____
 Vocational/College ____ University ____
17. Do you belong to any community or social organizations not associated with your congregation?
 No ____ Yes ____
 (if yes, please indicate type, e.g. political, service club, recreational, etc)

18. Approximately how far do you live from your place of worship?
 0-5 km ____ 6-15 km ____ 16-25 km ____ more than 25 km ____
19. How do you normally get to your place of worship?
 Drive car ____ passenger in car ____ public transit ____ walk ____ other ____
20. How did you come to attend this congregation? Please indicate only the *main* reason (check only one).
 Family or friend invited me ____
 Transferred from another PAOC congregation ____
 Transferred from another denomination ____
 Advertising/media ____
 Outreach of congregation ____
 Other (please specify) _____

21. What is your total family income? Please estimate as close as possible.

Less than 10,000 _____

10,000 - 19,000 _____

20,000 - 29,000 _____

30,000 - 39,000 _____

40,000 - 49,000 _____

Over 50,000 _____

22. For me the most important aspect of my faith is...

23. For me, the most important characteristic of my congregation is...

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