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## The resolution of cognitive dessonance: A study of Catholic Pentecostals

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THE RESOLUTION OF COGNITIVE DISSONANCE:  
A STUDY OF CATHOLIC PENTECOSTALS

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of Sociology  
and the  
Faculty of the Graduate College  
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by  
Monica J. Aita  
August 1976

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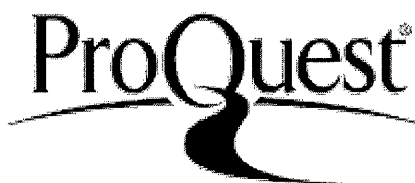


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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

GRADUATE COMMITTEE

Name g. B. Barger Department Sociology

John Nye Sociology  
Ronald Burke Religious Studies

g. B. Barger  
Chairman

4 Sep 76  
Date

3-15-77 9:44

## DEDICATION

To my parents, Harold and Martha Aita, who gave so unselfishly both financial and (more importantly) emotional support that I might achieve this goal.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is normative to express in a section entitled acknowledgements one's gratefulness to the members of one's committee for their help in completing the task of writing a thesis. In keeping with the norms, I will attempt to put into words my appreciation and indebtedness to these people.

To Dr. Ron Burke who helped with the early formation of this work I wish to say thanks. To Dr. John Nye who consistently operated in the capacity of committee member as well as friend, and was there to encourage me when I was ready to throw my work in the trash goes a heartfelt thank you. A special note of thanks goes to my chairman, Dr. George Barger. Without Dr. Barger's "carry on" attitude, it is doubtful that this work would have been seen to completion.

In addition to my committee, I must also extend a thank you to all the people who listened to me ramble on about the Pentecostal movement and my frustrations with statistical tests and are still my friends in spite of my thesis. My fellow graduate students, especially Denise Elliott Kuwitzky, come under this category. I would like to single out Martha Nye who, although she at times experienced some role conflict, was always able to give me the support I needed.

Without the cooperation of Pastor John Walker and the thirty respondents, this study would not have gotten past the proposal stage. I am deeply grateful for their time and assistance.

THE RESOLUTION OF COGNITIVE DISSONANCE:  
A STUDY OF CATHOLIC PENTECOSTALS

Introduction

The following work has both a general and a specific focus. In general, an effort has been made to examine Pentecostalism as a social movement in the United States. Chapter I is devoted to this first concern. The history and development of the Pentecostal movement is discussed in detail to provide a perspective in which to locate the current Pentecostal thrust. Chapter I attempts to answer the question: What is the relationship between Classical Pentecostalism and the Pentecostalism of the 1970's?

The remaining chapters of this work deal specifically with a subset of people in the contemporary Pentecostal movement, Roman Catholic Pentecostals. Although it is only recently that some Catholics have identified themselves with the Pentecostal movement, their affiliation has had an impact on the traditional Catholic church and on Pentecostalism as well. Research was conducted in order to gain some insight into the relationship between Pentecostalism and Catholicism. Chapter II through Chapter V report the research which was conducted to empirically test some hypotheses regarding certain aspects of Catholic involvement within the context of Pentecostalism.

## CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
PENTECOSTALISM IN THE UNITED STATESEarly Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism is a rapidly growing religious movement in our society today. In order to help explain this growth it is necessary to define the parameters of Pentecostalism and then trace the development of Pentecostalism in the United States.

Historically, Pentecost was a Jewish holyday which came fifty days after the Passover ceremony. (Leviticus 23:16 describes this holyday.) Seven weeks after the death of Jesus, on the feast of Pentecost, the disciples of Jesus were all gathered together in a room in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Acts 2: 2-4 describes what happened to the disciples on that day:

Suddenly there was a sound like the roaring of a mighty windstorm in the skies above them and it filled the house where they were meeting. Then, what looked like flames or tongues of fire appeared and settled on their heads. And everyone present was filled with the Holy Spirit and began speaking in languages they didn't know, for the Holy Spirit gave them this ability.  
(Living New Testament)

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<sup>1</sup>The Bible does not state whether the disciples were gathered together to celebrate Pentecost or were together in an upper room hiding from officials.



From that day on, in the Christian church, Pentecost took on a new meaning; the day was now set aside to celebrate the coming of the Holy Spirit's power to followers of Christ. For approximately 1900 years, Pentecost has remained on the Church calendar as a day to commemorate this event.<sup>2</sup>

Around the turn of the twentieth century in the United States, the events of Pentecost mentioned in the New Testament began to take on a new meaning for some Christians. Much religion at this time was characterized by a revival spirit. At their frontier camp meetings, circuit riding preachers strove to put emotion into religion.

The great American churches gradually discontinued the old-time revivalism. But there remained a religious mass-mentality that may well be connected with the advance of the Pentecostal movement.

Revivalism is emotional. The more primitive and emotional the preaching directed towards the mass, the more successful were the results.... This type of Christianity was particularly successful in the southern and western states where the Pentecostal Movement reaped its richest harvest.... This active, emotional revivalist Christianity very much favored the rise and the growth of the Pentecostal Movement.  
(Bloch-Hoell, 1964: 7)

One aspect of this frontier religion was an emphasis on a second experience which followed some time after conversion,

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<sup>2</sup>Catholics, Lutherans and Episcopalians do hold that the confirmation ceremony is in some way a re-enactment of the first Pentecost.

a dateable separate experience called a "second work of grace", "second blessing", or "sanctification". Regardless of the name used, the common factor in these events was some type of encounter with the Holy Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

Charles F. Parham, a Methodist minister in Topeka, Kansas was aware that people who experienced this "second blessing" felt a surge of power in their Christianity. When asked how they knew that they had received the Holy Spirit, they could not come up with a response which satisfied Parham.

In an effort to answer his own questions and improve his ministry, Parham decided to open a Bible school for students who were interested in joining with him to search the scriptures for more information regarding the infilling of the Holy Spirit. Forty students met with Parham and joined him in this quest. Studying the book of the Acts of the Apostles independently, the students arrived at the conclusion that there were common factors in the five descriptions of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit mentioned in the Acts.

The two common factors identified were:

1) in each case, those receiving the Holy Spirit

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<sup>3</sup>Many religious groups during this time believed in a two-stage conversion with sanctification being the second stage. This doctrine is generally connected with the Holiness movement which was quite popular at the turn of the century. John Wesley is often credited with introducing this concept to American Christianity.

"spoke in other tongues as the spirit gave them utterance"; and,

- 2) placing their hands on the head of the one seeking, those who were passing the Holy Spirit on then prayed for them to be filled with the Spirit. (Sherrill, 1964: 38)

With this information, Parham and his students sought the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, with speaking in tongues as the evidence that they had, in fact, received the Baptism. Their search was fruitful for on New Year's Eve in 1900 many members of the group began to speak in tongues, for what was perhaps the first major resurgence of tongues-speaking since the primitive Christian era.<sup>4</sup>

After a few days of sharing as a group their new mode of prayer (the use of tongues as a prayer language), they decided to take their discovery called the "Full Gospel" to people in other churches across the country. By Full Gospel Parham meant "the Gospel should be preached in its entirety, not leaving out tongues, or healing, or any of the other gifts promised through the Holy Spirit." (Sherrill, 1964: 39)

As the students headed east from Topeka to Lawrence, Kansas, Kansas City and Saint Louis, they planned to hold

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<sup>4</sup>There is some mention and suggestion in the literature on the Pentecostal movement that speaking in tongues was an occasional practice in parts of Europe and South America and that some of the Holiness leaders had also spoken in tongues. Most writers in this area, however, do credit Parham's group with the first massive effort to spread the movement across the country and to gain widespread attention in so doing.

prayer meetings in each town and in the beginning had at least minimal success in spreading their message. Having received support in Lawrence, the group moved into Kansas City where the newspapers had previously advertized their arrival in articles that ridiculed the movement, especially the use of tongues. In Kansas City Parham's followers met with extensive mockery and open hostility from clergy and church members, an experience which was to become more frequent as the group's membership grew, and the desire to gain more and more converts became a primary goal of the Topeka group.

In 1905, after leaving Kansas because of lack of acceptance, Parham began another Bible school in Houston, Texas. The Houston class met with much more success than did the group while in Kansas. W.F. Carothers, who was a Holiness Church<sup>5</sup> minister from Houston, adopted Pentecostalism; his congregation followed his lead. Within one year, the number of Pentecostals grew from forty to about one thousand and the number of Pentecostal preachers from one to sixty, most of these sixty were in Texas.

The next significant event for twentieth-century Pentecostalism took place in Los Angeles late in 1906. Two-thirds of the population of Los Angeles were recent immigrants, many

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<sup>5</sup>A church in the Wesleyan tradition which had an emphasis on a "second work of grace" resulting in "sanctification".

of whom had no formal church affiliation. Desiring a sense of belonging, some immigrants were attracted to all that Pentecostalism had to offer.<sup>6</sup>

Pentecostalism adopted the Baptist idea of adult baptism, the Holiness (and Methodist) teaching on sanctification and added a belief in physical healing as well as a strong emphasis on frontier revivalism. Combining these religious practices led to success in Los Angeles, for within five months membership grew to 13,000. A Los Angeles congregation also sponsored missionaries across the United States, Canada, India, Sweden and Norway; owing to the growth of the Pentecostal movement in California, the group was rapidly developing into a world-wide organization.

The California revival, led by W. J. Seymour, lasted for three years. During that time, many of the basic tenets of the first Pentecostals were discounted through a great emphasis on "signs".

At the meetings, appeals for conversion and Spirit baptism, speaking with tongues, testimonies and singing were alternated. When one came through to conversion or Spirit baptism, the rejoicing broke loose with ringing hallelujahs!, praise the Lord!, and the like. They embraced each other, shouted with joy and danced. The sermon and the explanation of the word of God were pushed into the background in favor of the enthusiastic prayer and subsequent feeling of happiness. The meetings were full

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<sup>6</sup>For a complete discussion of the connection between Pentecostalism and immigrants in California, see Bloch-Hoell, 1964: 5-16.

of noise and disorder to such a degree that the police interfered and arrested some of the leaders...(Bloch-Hoell, 1964: 43)

Seymour felt it was of primary importance to preach salvation and saw emphasizing the "signs" as harmful to the real meaning of the Pentecostal movement. He developed a creed or a statement of Articles of Faith hoping to put the Pentecostal movement in the proper perspective. His creed emphasized that God is the giver of gifts with salvation being the most important gift. The shortened version of the statement of faith as it is used today by many Pentecostals is: Jesus Christ is the Savior, the Healer, the Baptizer in the Spirit, and the Soon-coming King.<sup>7</sup>

### Pentecostalism 1906-1950

Seymour's publication of a creed was a significant step in spreading Pentecostalism. Across the United States, people were able to unite under a creed which standardized the meaning of Pentecostal.

The period of 1906 to 1920 was marked by a national spread of Pentecostal churches. (See Table I.) The churches which developed were independent congregations with the "congregational" form of polity. The common denominator in

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<sup>7</sup>In some form this creed is held by all Pentecostals today. The Foursquare Gospel Church and the Assembly of God, which are the largest Pentecostal groups currently, require their members to hold only to these four tenets.

these churches was a belief in the manifestation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit following the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

After fifteen years of growth into loosely organized groups, some members of Pentecostal churches felt it would be beneficial to join with other churches and begin an informal brotherhood. Those favoring the development of a brotherhood saw it as a way to regulate the training of ministers and to finance missionaries, as well as to unify individual efforts to spread the gospel locally.

A call for a general council, signed by representatives of the movement, was published in several Pentecostal papers. This council convened in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in April 1914. The more than 300 delegates attending were greatly aware of the dangers of denominationalism and sectarianism. So they agreed that any organization must be on a simple cooperative basis, free from the bonds which hindered spiritual power in other denominations. From this small beginning emerged the General Council of the Assemblies of God. ("Who We Are and What We Believe, 1975: 6)

Across the nation, other groups followed the action taken in Arkansas and Pentecostalism began changing from a sect to a denomination by 1920. The change to a denomination included development of Sunday Schools, provision for formal membership, starting colleges for ministerial training and the election of officials. (These changes are consistent with Bryon Wilson's (1959) typology of a church's evolution from a sect to a denomination.)

For the next thirty years, the thrust of Pentecostalism was an evangelistic outreach and a rise in membership numbers reflects the success of this thrust. Table I shows the increase in numbers of members and churches from 1920 to 1950<sup>8</sup> for the five largest Pentecostal denominations in the United States.

TABLE I

## GROWTH OF PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATIONS: 1920-1950

<u>Name of Church</u>	<u>Membership</u>		<u>Number of Churches</u>	
	1916	1950	1916	1950
Assemblies of God General Council	6,703	400,047	118	7,170
Church of God in Christ	-----	328,304	---	3,204
Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.)	7,784	138,349	202	2,750
United Pente- costal Church	-----	125,000	---	1,200
Apostolic Over- coming Holy Church of God	-----	75,000	---	300

(source for Table I is Religious Bodies 1936 and the Yearbook of American Churches for 1956.)

<sup>8</sup> Data is not included past 1950 because in that year the number of Pentecostals grew due to the rise of the neo-Pentecostal movement.



Recruitment of new members came from two major sources:

1) reaching the "unchurched": those who held membership in no church or those who had no church they attended regularly. Many of the unchurched were immigrants, newcomers to cities, blacks, uneducated or lower-class people who did not feel comfortable in traditional Protestant churches. (Traditional churches, as the term is used in this paper, are established denominations such as Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran or Episcopal churches.) Pentecostal churches sought out these people for membership which gave rise to the idea that Pentecostals were lower-class people; an idea which prevailed for many years.

2) drawing from church members of the traditional Protestant churches. (Most recruits in this category were drawn from Baptist or Methodist churches.) If someone from a traditional Protestant church did experience the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, it was necessary for him to affiliate with a Pentecostal church because "those who accepted the Pentecostal spirit, were driven out of the established churches by ridicule, persecution, or excommunication. As a consequence, they were led to congregate together in new churches and denominations, which are usually categorized as Pentecostal." (O'Connor, 1971: 23)

Liston Pope, in his book Millhands and Preachers (1942) studied one Pentecostal group, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) which he calls a "new sect". The Church of God

(Cleveland, Tennessee), was one of the first Pentecostal denominations to be established. Founded in 1914, the church began in the South and had a predominantly black membership. These new sects were established for textile workers whose needs for solidarity were not being met by the traditional churches in the area.

Pope gives the following possible reasons for the rapid growth and success of this group:

- 1) Failure of traditional churches to provide solidarity.  
At least 80 per cent of the numbers of such groups had previously belonged to established churches.
- 2) Attraction of the economically weak sections of the population.  
Pentecostals help these people bear the misery they encounter by promising a better world to come.
- 3) Psychological releases.  
Frenetic religious services represent release from psychological repression, fulfilling a need for self-expression and for identification of one's self with a greater power. Life in a mill village is monotonous and dull, and the worker has little opportunity for choice as to any of the basic factors that control his daily life but the Church of God is a lay movement with the entire membership participating in most of the service. (Pope, 1942: 133-135)

The focus of Pope's analysis was on the Church of God (Cleveland), but his explanations of growth and popularity of one Pentecostal group may be applicable to the other Pentecostal denominations which were flourishing in the 1930's and 1940's.

From the beginning of this religious movement in 1900

to the late 1940's, Pentecostalism had undergone numerous changes including evolution from a sect to a denomination, a membership of forty to approximately 1,464,000 recorded members<sup>9</sup>, institutions of higher education established and missionary activity in many foreign countries. One aspect of Pentecostalism had not changed since its inception; established, mainline churches were not accepting of the Pentecostal movement and its mode of worship. To identify as a Pentecostal a person would find transference from the traditional church to a Pentecostal denomination was the usual practice, a practice encouraged by both the Pentecostals and the traditional churches. This practice was carried out consistently from 1900 to the early 1950's. Beginning in the late 1940's and early '50's, however, a series of events occurred which eventually caused this traditional practice to change, resulting finally in a change in the very structure of Pentecostalism as well.

#### Pentecostalism 1950-1976

One of the leading figures in contemporary Pentecostalism is Demos Shakarian, an immigrant from Armenia to the United States. In 1905 his family came to this country as a result

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<sup>9</sup>Pentecostal churches have never encouraged or stressed church membership. Therefore, the number of adherents to Pentecostalism is probably much greater than statistics would indicate.

of prophetic dreams which Shakarian had as a child.

...an illiterate Russian boy of twelve who lived in Armenia wrote for seven days and nights while under the power of God, drawing pictures, maps, and charts. The message foretold the massacre of the townspeople by the Turks unless they emigrated to America, where they would prosper and be free from religious persecution. (Durasoff, 1972: 145-152)

His family emigrated and escaped the massacre. They settled in California and were among the immigrants who attended the Azusa Street Mission led by W. J. Seymour. Shakarian was raised in a family with a strong Pentecostal orientation but during his young adulthood was only a marginal Pentecostal.

After a number of business reversals he "reconsecrated himself to serve God with greater determination." (Durasoff, 1972: 147) His business began to prosper and Shakarian kept his promise to serve by financing the work of many Pentecostal evangelists, among them was Oral Roberts.

Believing that God had played an important role in his business, Shakarian felt he should share his reasons for success with other Christian businessmen. An initial meeting was held in Los Angeles in 1953. Approximately 200 businessmen listened to Shakarian and agreed that a club for all businessmen who shared this belief system would be a worthwhile venture. This group, which was called the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) assembled monthly for a breakfast prayer meeting.

The function of the FGBMFI was: to involve men in their religion; to encourage Christian business practices; to evangelize the non-Christian businessmen with whom they worked; and, to meet on a regular basis for fellowship.<sup>10</sup> Although the FGBMFI was begun by Pentecostals, it was not long before their evangelism began to take root in men whose background was not Pentecostal. The FGBMFI Board of Directors felt that it would be beneficial to encourage these new converts to remain in their home church (whatever it might be) and attend the FGBMFI meetings for their "spirit-filled" worship services. It was felt that the message of Holy Spirit infilling and resultant expressions of the gifts of the Holy Spirit could be made known to members of traditional denominations by these men. Nothing would be gained if they withdrew to Pentecostal denominations where people were already aware of the Holy Spirit and its works.<sup>11</sup>

The impact of this decision is reflected in the following quotes reported by Durasoff (1972):

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<sup>10</sup> Like traditional Pentecostal groups, the FGBMFI stresses conversion first and Baptism of the Holy Spirit with its manifestations as secondary to acceptance of Jesus Christ.

<sup>11</sup> The complete story of the FGBMFI can be found in The Happiest People on Earth by Demos and Rose Shakarian. FGBMFI activities are reported monthly in Voice magazine, published by the fellowship.

It is sweeping into its wake hundreds of clergymen of many denominations. More significantly, perhaps, it is enlisting the enthusiasm and devotion of hundreds of thousands of laymen---sophisticated, educated, and wise in the ways of big business.

---a Chicago businessman and editor

The greatest Protestant Pentecostal contribution to the charismatic renewal in the Catholic church has come through the agency of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International.

---Kevin Ranaghan

Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship has been bridging the gap between the Pentecostals and the mainliners.

---David J. duPlessis

We readily admit that the rise of Neo-Pentecostalism had no small boost from the FGBMFI.

---Southern Baptist Seminary Faculty  
(Durasoff, 1972: 149-150)

Pentecostalism began to lose its reputation of being a church made up of lower-class, educationally inferior, emotional people. If ministers and members of traditional churches continued in their traditional responses to Pentecostals, the result would be a loss of many church members, men and women who willingly contributed money and service to the church.

Individual denominations often allowed these "spirit-filled" people to remain members in their churches. As the numbers grew, however, churches saw a need to investigate this movement and establish denominational policies for dealing with Pentecostal growth in their bodies. The first group to investigate the movement was the Episcopal church.

In 1958 the Council of Bishops appointed committees to delve into the movement's relationship to the Episcopal church. With the reports in, Bishop James Pike issued a statement in 1963 calling Pentecostalism "heresy in embryo". He strongly discouraged the use of glossolalia (speaking in tongues), the laying on of hands for healing (outside the sacrament of Unction of the Sick), and exorcisms.

The Lutheran Church of America, in 1962, was the next major denomination to explore the Pentecostal movement. Their final report was more positive than that of the Episcopal church but was not wholly favorable. The committee agreed that "speaking in tongues is one of the several gifts of the Holy Spirit described in scripture" but also mentioned the problems and dangers which are associated with the use of this gift. (O'Connor, 1971: 25)

The United Presbyterian Church adopted a position of "openness regarding the Neo-Pentecostal movement within our denomination." They further supported the movement by saying, "...we believe God is constantly seeking to reform and renew his Church, including the United Presbyterian Church. The advent of Neo-Pentecostalism into our denomination may be one aspect of reformation and renewal." (Zaleski, 1969: 26)

Churches were getting accustomed to laymen openly professing their Pentecostal activity but it took a few more

years before clergy from traditional churches did the same. Many clergymen were attending Pentecostal prayer meetings but this activity was generally kept out of their pulpits. Father Dennis Bennett, a leading Episcopal priest in California, admitted from the pulpit his involvement in Pentecostalism; this declaration was the first to gain national attention. On April 3, 1960, Father Bennett announced his involvement at the three church services held that Sunday. At the early service his sermon was received favorably and Bennett says, "their reaction was open and tender." The second service went differently from the first. Bennett's second assistant, at the close of the service, "snatched off his vestments, threw them on the altar, and stalked out of the church crying: 'I can no longer work with this man'." In the third service that Sunday, Bennett resigned and then stated for the third time: "The Holy Spirit did take my lips and tongue and form a new and powerful language of praise and prayer that I myself could not understand." (Bennett, 1971: 51-61)

Impressed with the courage Bennett had shown, many ministers openly admitted their use of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Other ministers explored the movement out of curiosity, only to end up making the same claims about tongues that Dennis Bennett had made in his resignation sermon.

Through the work of Demos Shakarian and Dennis Bennett,



Pentecostalism gained a new focus: to work within the parameters of the established, traditional churches. For the first time in history, the "upper room experience" of Acts 2:4 was a reality for Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and numerous others who had previously accepted the event as a New Testament commemoration on the Church calendar.

The word Pentecostal no longer referred to a denomination but came to stand for a belief system which cut across all denominational lines. A characterization of Neo-Pentecostalism is:

1. Pentecostals believe in miracles. They expect the supernatural most anytime, anywhere.
2. Pentecostals live right. They are dedicated to holy living.
3. Pentecostals pray in unknown languages---they are glossolalics. They worship with the heart as well as the head.
4. Pentecostals seek to share Jesus. They are zealous witnesses.
5. Pentecostals challenge traditional churches. They are disquieting.
6. Pentecostals evoke criticism. They are misunderstood.
7. Pentecostals are Christians, most of whom believe all the historical doctrines of Christianity. What makes them Pentecostal Christians is their earnest desire to recapture the early practices of the first followers of Jesus. They are Spirit-filled Christians who claim it is possible to duplicate the dynamic life of the disciples, to know Jesus as a powerful person in the present, through the enablement of God the Holy Spirit. (Durasoff, 1972: 1-3)

## Catholic Pentecostals

The historical relationship between Roman Catholics and Classical Pentecostals (those affiliated with groups which were established prior to 1950) has been that of mutual avoidance. On rare occasions Catholics had attended Pentecostal services and had become "born again Christians".

Most of these Catholics who responded then prayed on for the baptism in the Spirit, expecting tangible assurance that they truly had received this spiritual baptism by the physical evidence of speaking in tongues. Many subsequently joined local Pentecostal churches. At the same time, these early Spirit-filled Catholics made every attempt to influence other Catholics to try the Pentecostal way of life. To most of these former Catholics it was an either-or decision, for how was it possible to remain Catholic and at the same time be Pentecostal? (Durasoff, 1972: 193)

Pentecostals felt the Catholic church was the epitome of formalism and organization and that any workings of the Holy Spirit had been buried under layer after layer of ritual and structure. The Catholic feeling about Pentecostals was the counter of the previous argument: Pentecostals were religious fanatics ("holy rollers") who operated only on the emotional level.

Donald Gelpi reports a possible reaction of a traditional Catholic when confronted with the idea of Pentecostalism.

Why, anyone who knows anything about the Pentecostal church knows that by their very diversity they manage to embody just about all of the enthusiastic tendencies that the Catholic church over the centuries has judged to be heretical

and divisive. Their fundamentalism makes them intellectually inflexible and dogmatic to the point where they confuse piety and theology. Their revivalistic tendencies smack of a suspiciously religious emotionalism, of neurotic fears and of self-righteous certainty about one's personal salvation. Their piety is so charismatic that it often becomes anti-institutional in principle. And they minimize the importance of sacraments which are central to Catholic life and worship...And this experience of praying in tongues? If you make religion all experience, where is there room left in it for faith? (Gelpi, 1971: 35-36)

This dialogue is fictional but many closely related statements are being made as members of the Catholic church have been drawn into the Neo-Pentecostal movement. The Catholic church was not brought into direct contact with Neo-Pentecostalism until 1967; by this time most other traditional churches had already conducted investigations into Pentecostalism and had publically taken a stand on this issue as it involved their membership. Speculation was made that this large-scale religious movement would be completely ignored by the Catholic church.

Late in 1966, four students from Duquesne University in Pittsburg read the book, The Cross and the Switchblade, by David Wilkerson (1963).<sup>12</sup> They were surprised by the power portrayed in this book and began a search for someone

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<sup>12</sup>This book reports on the work carried out in New York City with drug addicts and their rehabilitation in Teen Challenge Centers. Wilkerson, an Assembly of God minister, moved in among the addicts and experienced widespread success in "curing" addicts and then bringing them into Christianity and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

who could explain the theological meaning behind the book. They began attending a non-denominational charismatic<sup>13</sup> prayer meeting which soon led to their reception of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Before sharing their experience with other Catholics, these men checked the Baptism of the Holy Spirit against scripture and church doctrine. Their conclusions were:

Doctrinally they could see no problem with it. It is definitely scriptural. Further, it was in no way considered a sacrament of the Church, much less a replacement for the sacraments. On the contrary, everyone experienced a greater desire for participation in the sacramental life of the Church than before. 'Baptism in the Spirit' is not something replacing baptism and confirmation. Rather it may be seen as an adult re-affirmation and renewal of these sacraments, an opening of ourselves to all their sacramental graces....Nothing was contradictory to the teaching of the Church; on the other hand, the results of 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' seemed to be greatly desired by all Christians, establishing as they do a closer union with Christ. (Ranaghan, 1969: 20)

Confident that no threat of heresy would follow them, they began to evangelize among other Catholics. In South Bend, Indiana for a weekend, two of the men shared their new-found practice with Dorothy and Kevin Ranaghan. (Kevin Ranaghan is a theology professor at Notre Dame University.) The Ranaghans

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<sup>13</sup>Spirit-filled members of many denominations prefer the term charismatic (from the Greek word charism, which means gift) to Pentecostal. For them, Pentecostal refers to a lower-class, emotional denomination. Charismatic sets them apart from Classical Pentecostals which is an image they prefer.

explored the movement with many friends and with their curiosity aroused, made plans to invite their Duquesne friends back to Notre Dame to lead a weekend retreat. The emphasis of the retreat was on the power of the Holy Spirit available to people today. Participants at the retreat included students, faculty and clergy from Duquesne, Notre Dame, Michigan State, Iowa State and Holy Cross for a total of around 100 people.

All who sought it received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. At the end of the weekend, many newly spirit-filled Catholics returned to their college campuses to share their findings with others. By summer 1967, Catholic parishes around the country (filled with students who had received the Holy Spirit at school) began to establish prayer groups and instructional sessions for their parishoners.

Whatever the Catholic church lacked in length of time in the Pentecostal movement has been made up for by its rapid growth as well as the early approval by the Catholic hierarchy. The number of Catholic Pentecostals in the United States is estimated to be close to 75,000 members, a growth which has taken place in less than ten years. (Harrison, 1974: 50) Two years after the "Holy Spirit retreat", the National Conference of Bishops endorsed the movement by stating: "It is the conclusion of the Committee on Doctrine that the movement should at this point not be

inhibited but allowed to develop."<sup>14</sup>

In trying to determine why the Catholic church has been so strongly affected by Pentecostalism, the literature supports two general reasons. First, Pope John XXIII, during Vatican II, encouraged Catholics to associate more with their non-Catholic neighbors and to tear down the walls of misunderstanding which had previously kept them apart. An often-quoted statement in Pentecostal literature was made by John XXIII at Vatican II when he asked of God to "renew your wonders in our time, as though for a new Pentecost." (Gelpi, 1971: 46) Catholic Pentecostals look to Vatican II as providing fertile soil for such a movement to grow.

The second, but less frequently given, reason for the growth is also related to the events which stemmed from Vatican II. Post-Vatican II Catholicism minimized emphasis on ritual, mysticism and structure; these things were considered basic to the Catholic church for hundreds of years. "To a number of the faithful it seemed that many of the laws which helped to establish a Catholic's righteousness had been discarded and little or nothing provided to fill the spiritual vacuum." (Durasoff, 1972: 192) Solidarity was lacking within church members and a state of anomie began to exist. Harrison (1974) says that the movement may be a

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<sup>14</sup>Appendix A is the full statement made by the Council of Bishops regarding Catholic involvement in the Pentecostal movement.

reaction against the anomic feelings people were experiencing. "Catholic Pentecostals appear to reaffirm the value of piety and loyalty to the Church." (Harrison, 1974: 52)<sup>15</sup>

Many of the traditional Catholic doctrines are at odds with traditional Pentecostal doctrines but efforts have been made by leadership of the Catholic movement to reconcile these differences; or, in many cases, to legitimize to the Classical Pentecostals why the Catholics keep the doctrine. From its beginning, Pentecostalism stressed a two-stage salvation: first one was converted to Christianity and then at a later time was baptized in the Holy Spirit. (Hollenwenger, 1972: 25) Catholic theology holds that infant baptism gives one the title of Christian and a separate "conversion experience" is not necessary. Because Catholics believe they are already Christians, "the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, as we are using the term, is simply the radical re-affirmation of Christian initiation with expectant faith for the manifest workings of the Holy Spirit in our lives." (Ranaghan, 1969: 214)

The Catholic church has a sacramentalist orientation; sacraments transmit grace to the recipient. The validity of sacraments has been a major source of contention between

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<sup>15</sup>A third explanation of the rise of Catholic Pentecostalism is also given. Members of the group believe that this is the time chosen by the Holy Spirit to reveal himself. This explanation is theological rather than sociological, of course.

Pentecostals and Catholics for years but Catholic Pentecostals have not given up the practice of receiving the sacraments. In general, Catholic Pentecostals seem to gain a new understanding and appreciation for each of the sacraments after their Holy Spirit experience. An in-depth examination of five of the seven sacraments held by the Catholic church (baptism, confirmation, communion, confession and the sacrament of the sick) help to give an understanding of their meaning to Catholic Pentecostals.

Baptism. As was previously noted, Catholics believe that baptism makes one an heir to heaven. "We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins" is part of the Nicene Creed which is recited at every Mass. Pentecostals urge a person to be baptized after he has been converted; even if he has been previously baptized as an infant. Father O'Connor well represents the Catholic church's attitude toward a second baptism.

This sacrament is, by its very nature, unrepeatable; for although a man who has separated himself from Christ by sin needs to be resuscitated, he can be 'born' only once in the spiritual life, just as he can be born only once in his natural life. This has been recognized in the Church since the earliest days. Sinners have been restored to grace through repentance and confession, but never through rebaptism. The Catholic who practices rebaptism is separating himself from his Church in a very grave manner. If he does it because he does not believe in the efficacy of the sacrament he received, he is doing grave injury to the sacrament and is implicitly heretical. (O'Connor, 1971: 245)



Communion. The eucharist is one practice followed by both Catholics and Pentecostals. Catholics, however, believe in transubstantiation while Pentecostals see communion as a commemorative act. Most of the personal testimonies reported in Ranaghan's book mention a "new level of meaning in the sacraments, especially the Eucharist."

(Ranaghan, 1969: 70). Ecumenism does not include intercommunion at the present time. "It is in the Eucharist that we cannot be united. By having intercommunion we would be inviting criticism from people who don't understand. I think we would be jeopardizing the movement." (Wead, 1974: 109)<sup>16</sup>

Confirmation. The sacrament of confirmation emphasizes the Holy Spirit as an agent to more effective Christian living. Children memorize the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit in preparation for the sacrament; but, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues does not follow from reception of the sacrament. Many Catholic Pentecostals say "they wish they could receive Confirmation all over again, now that they had so much more appreciation of the work of the Holy Spirit. It had meant little or nothing to them when they were young and received confirmation." (O'Connor, 1971: 167)

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<sup>16</sup>It is the Catholic church which feels that intercommunion would be harmful to their involvement in Pentecostalism.

Confession. Both Pentecostals and Catholics stress in their theologies a need for frequent confession. Pentecostals believe that one is able to obtain forgiveness for sins directly from God if he asks with a real sense of sorrow. Catholics also believe that God forgives sins but through his earthly agent, the priest. Catholic Pentecostals do seem to have increased awareness of sin and in an era of infrequent confession by most Catholics, are reported to attend confession more frequently than before their Holy Spirit experience. (Both O'Connor (1971) and the Rana-gans (1969) cite examples which would support this idea.)

Sacrament of the Sick. Divine healing is one of the four basic beliefs in Pentecostal theology. The sacrament of the sick developed from the same scripture as did the Pentecostal practice, and both are administered in basically the same fashion. "Is anyone sick? He should call for the elders of the church and they should pray over him and pour a little oil upon him, calling on the Lord to heal him. And their prayer, if offered in faith, will heal him." (James 5: 14-15, Living New Testament) A technical difference in the sacrament is that Catholics call the priest while Pentecostals gather the elders of the church to pray for the sick.

Differences between Pentecostals and Catholics reach further than disagreement over the sacraments. Catholic

Pentecostals, almost universally, hold high regard for Mary. Not infrequently, a whole prayer meeting will be focused on Mary.

Prayer, discussion, and reflection centered on Mary as the type of all Christians, overshadowed and empowered by the Spirit of God, bringing Christ to the world. We were confounded and joyful to discover that the next day was one of the greatest Marian feast days in the liturgical calendar. (Ranaghan, 1969: 178)

Authority in Pentecostal churches is usually loosely structured. Any major decisions are made by a board of elders but, in general, personal autonomy is the rule. The Catholic Pentecostals still must contend with priests, bishops, and the Pope as authority figures. In a few dioceses, the bishops have forbidden tongues and other related practices which Catholic Pentecostals were using. The Catholics obeyed and ceased using these manifestations at their Pentecostal meetings until the bishops retracted their statements. Catholic Pentecostals also recognized the formal church authority when they held their International Conference in Rome during the summer of 1975. Father John Bertolucci made positive statements about the Pope's role in Catholic Pentecostalism.

Finally, into the midst of that atmosphere came the Pope whose talks, exhortations and activities reveal him to be a man of prayer committed to the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all its fullness. I am sure that he sensed the love and affection that went forth from the assembly. He is our Pastor and Leader.

The charismatic renewal has heightened our awareness of the need to love and pray for pastors and religious leaders. The fruit of that intense teaching in charismatic circles was born that day as voices were raised in praise of the Lord and in warm greeting to a very special elder and brother. (Bertolucci, 1975: 43)

### Related Sociological Literature

Sociological literature on Pentecostalism is almost non-existent. The major social scientific studies on Pentecostals have been carried out by psychologists interested in analyses regarding the mental health or illness of participants. "The proponents of the psychological-therapeutic explanations felt that glossolalia provides emotional release from neurosis and anxiety and redirects potentially pathological tendencies into socially acceptable channels." (Brecher, et al., 1976: 4)

Until recently, any sociological research conducted on Pentecostalism was based on the church-sect typology, with Pentecostalism used to represent the sect end of the continuum. Liston Pope calls Pentecostals a "new sect". Bryon Wilson attempts to trace Pentecostalism through the sect into the denominational stage, and W. Stewart Salisbury discussed Pentecostalism as it related to economic deprivation, a characteristic of a sect.

Hine moves Pentecostalism out of a church-sect theoretical orientation because "these churches are gaining

considerably large segments of their membership from groups which are not 'socially disorganized'." (Hine, 1969: 216) (Social disorganization is also a characteristic of a sect.) She feels that functional theories may be useful in understanding Pentecostalism. A summary of her research includes: less frequent use of tongues among second generation Pentecostals; "liberal" church converts use tongues more frequently than those with a "fundamentalist" background; Pentecostal converts have learned to organize their entire lives around the church for social as well as religious reasons.

Since 1974 the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion has published two articles on Catholic Pentecostals. Harrison (1974) conducted research to determine the source of recruits to Catholic Pentecostalism. He found that recruits were likely to be: those with a prior disposition favorable to Catholicism; people who seek religion and religious communities as a solution to their loneliness; people with few other extra-work activities; and people with personal ties to participants in the movement.

Bord and Faulkner (1975) used Catholic Pentecostals to represent a "highly involved religious group" in their research on the relationship between religion and secular attitudes. Their findings generally supported their hypothesis that the degree of religiosity does influence attitudes

on key issues. Especially relevant to the focus of this paper are the results that Catholic Pentecostals have quite traditionally conservative attitudes toward church doctrines, such as abortion, birth control and church authority. But also traditionally Catholic is their attitude toward social policy and reform movements. Like the official Roman Catholic social encyclicals of the past century, Catholic Pentecostals are most liberal in these areas.

Catholic Pentecostalism is grounded in Classical Pentecostalism but has adapted the movement to fit with the teachings of the Catholic church. From the above analyses, it appears that becoming a Pentecostal may strengthen one's ties and beliefs in the Catholic church. Some Catholics are, however, joining non-denominational fellowships or Classical Pentecostal churches and dropping their ties with the Catholic church. Father O'Connor (1971) says that after he addresses a group, people will come to him and say, "I used to be Catholic, too." This group of former Catholics is greatly overshadowed by the large number of Catholics who strengthen their affiliation with the Catholic church after becoming spirit-filled (so overshadowed that they are scarcely mentioned in the literature).

The study which follows attempts to explore both groups of Catholics: those described in this chapter as well as those who have chosen to break their ties with the Catholic church in favor of Classical Pentecostalism.

## CHAPTER II

SPECIFICATION OF THE STUDY  
AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Chapter I reviewed the relationship between Classical Pentecostalism and Catholic Pentecostalism. The relationship between the two groups is strong in some ways and weak in others. This chapter will further discuss Catholic Pentecostals and in so doing, the purpose of this study will be detailed.

Much of the literature previously reviewed argued that a Catholic, after receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, becomes a "better" Catholic. Catholics who had previously been marginal in terms of religious involvement are reported to attend Mass and confession more frequently, pray more often, involve themselves with parish and social concerns, and to be more dogmatic regarding matters related to the Catholic faith (e.g., the authority of the Pope, devotion to Mary and regard for saints) after their Holy Spirit experience. Religion, as they practice it within the Catholic church, is more intense and moves into all parts of their lives: family, work and social groups.

Concurrently, however, many Classical Pentecostal denominations are finding former Catholics among their new members.

These Pentecostal churches report greatly increasing membership in recent years. No longer was their major focus the "unchurched", but they have begun to appeal to the "churched" who are dissatisfied with their present traditional denomination. The Catholic church is now being included as one of these.

Although both groups (former Catholic-Classical Pentecostals and Catholic Pentecostals) share a Catholic background and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the similarities often stop at this point. The difference in denominational affiliation brings about differing orientations in style of worship, importance of sacraments, belief systems and value commitments.

Style of worship. Catholics, generally, hold services which are constrained, with minimal participation expected by the congregation. Frequently, a Catholic uses the time spent at Mass saying a rosary or novena. Music for the service may be provided by a choir or a Mass might be conducted with no music. If the congregation is asked to participate in the singing, a few people may sing but the participation in this part of the service is usually limited.

Classical Pentecostal services expect maximum participation from the congregation in all parts of a service. Singing is animated with people clapping their hands or raising them while singing. During the community prayer or



sermon, members are encouraged to show support or approval by spontaneously saying "amen", "yes, Lord", or "alleluia".

Importance of Sacraments. Catholics may participate in the sacraments of communion and confession as frequently as desired while Classical Pentecostals may hold a communion service one time a month or less frequently. Classical Pentecostals stress confessing sins directly to God, while Catholics feel that the priest can and does act as an intermediary between man and God. (Other sacramental differences were previously discussed in Chapter I, above.)

Belief System. The belief system of Classical Pentecostals is based on a fairly rigid interpretation of the Bible, with which Catholics have traditionally been unfamiliar. Catholic beliefs were transmitted by the clergy and/or nuns, who conducted religious education classes. The Baltimore Catechism (a book of Catholic doctrines and practices) has been used by Catholics as an authority on belief; the use of this book is comparable to the use of the Bible by Classical Pentecostals. Classical Pentecostals feel that many of the Catholic practices and beliefs (infant baptism, calling a priest "Father", praying to saints, and "Maryolatry") run counter to Biblical principles.

Value Commitments. One value which seems to be shared by both Catholic and Pentecostal denominations is an anti-abortion position. Still, values of the two groups are at

times in opposition. Glock and Stark, in Religion and Society in Tension (1965), discuss some of these value differences: Catholics do not feel that tithing (giving ten per cent of one's income to the church) is necessary while Pentecostals encourage members to tithe; Catholics do not feel that drinking will prevent salvation while Pentecostals feel that it may; taking the name of the Lord in vain is not considered sinful by most Catholics but is considered a sin by most Pentecostals; and prayer is less important to Catholics than it is to Pentecostals. (Glock and Stark, 1965: 104-113)

Although these are only some of the differences between the two groups (Pentecostals and Catholics), the examples given show that the basic orientations of the denominations are at variance with one another, sometimes to a great degree or in an area which may be considered central to the beliefs or practices of one of the groups.

At this point, let us introduce Mary Smith (invented by the writer for purposes of illustration). Mary has a Catholic background and has just received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. She, like most new Pentecostals, desires to have Pentecostals as a reference group. Two options are available to Mary: she may attend the Catholic church for Mass and then some other time during the week attend a Catholic Pentecostal prayer group; or she can disaffiliate

with the Catholic church and attend (possibly even join) a Classical Pentecostal church. (As a third option, Mary could attend Mass and a Classical Pentecostal church at the same time but this option is unlikely; the reason will be explained in a later section of this chapter.)

The purpose of this study is to interview people like Mary Smith who have a Catholic background and are now "spirit-filled". Mary's decision to remain in or to leave the Catholic church may be made for theological reasons. She may feel the Catholic church is the "true church", or that the bread and wine do, in fact, become the body and blood of Jesus when consecrated by the priest; and for reasons like these will not leave the Catholic church. On the other hand, she may feel that Catholics have moved away from the real meaning of Christianity while Classical Pentecostals are closer to what "Christian" means; and so chooses Pentecostalism. These theological reasons for choosing one denomination over another may be important and the key factors for an individual making a decision, but they are not included in this study because they are theological and not sociological.

Social factors are examined, though, to determine whether they make a difference in the decision of which group one will seek out for a reference group. A number of variables have been isolated which may, when analyzed, show that some

social factors contribute to the choosing of one denomination over another.

In order to examine these variables an assumption has been made. The assumption is that people will feel it is necessary to choose either Classical Pentecostalism or Catholic Pentecostalism. The following discussion of theoretical considerations shows that this assumption can be made, since it has both empirical support and strong theoretical justification.

#### Theoretical Considerations

In choosing a theory to guide this research, two considerations were important: 1) the theory must have a social psychological orientation. An individual's response to the belief system of a group is the focus of the study; and 2) the theory must be one which attempts to show a relationship between attitudes and behavior.

Attitude is defined as "regularities of an individual's feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act toward some aspect of his environment." (Secord and Backman, 1964: 97) Many social psychological theories of attitude have been developed regarding the first two components of this definition, the feeling/emotional and thought/cognitive parts of attitude. Among these are reinforcement theory, assimilation-contrast theory, adaptation-level theory and inoculation

theory.<sup>17</sup> While these theories may be useful in analyzing attitudinal change, they do not consider the third component of attitude, the conative or behavioral.

Theories which do take into account this third aspect of attitude are called by Brown in Social Psychology (1965) "consistency theories". Consistency theories make the assumption that the "human mind, it seems, has a strong need for consistency, and attitudes are generally changed to eliminate some inconsistency." (Brown, 1965: 549) Theories which come under the heading of consistency theories are:

1. Congruity models, e.g. that of Osgood and Tannenbaum (1956) which says in effect "that when certain kinds of information are fed into the human psychological apparatus, certain perfectly determined changes of attitude will result." (Brown, 1965: 550) Osgood and Tannenbaum developed a scale with numerical values ranging from -3 to +3. They believed that any given person and/or any given attitude will fall somewhere between a -3 and +3 when ranked by an individual.

Attitudes are congruent when a person's rank and that of an object or attitude are the same. If a state of disequilibrium exists: a person is ranked -1 while an attitude is

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<sup>17</sup> These theories and others are discussed at length in Theories of Attitude Change (1967) by Insko and Attitude Change (1969) by Kiesler, et al. Because they have been rejected for use in this study, they are not discussed in the body of this paper.

ranked +2; change must occur in the attitude to restore balance. Behavioral change may be responsible for a change in attitude but in this model, behavior plays a secondary role to attitude.

2. Balance models developed, among others, by Heider (1958), Newcomb (1953) and Rosenberg and Abelson (1958), which share with congruity models the belief that individuals will change conflicting attitudes in the direction of consistency. The distinction between congruity and balance models is that the latter do not predict exactly what change in attitude will occur, but says that one of many alternatives is available to reduce imbalance. The balance model is more general in its approach to difference in attitudes; it uses no numerical values, but only + and - signs to show where an inconsistency exists. Again, this model, while showing that behavioral changes may contribute to consistency in attitudes, treats the behavioral change only indirectly.

3. Dissonance theory, as developed by Festinger (1957), is the least rigid of all the consistency theories. While assuming (like the two models mentioned above) that individuals desire consistency in attitudes, this theory stresses that a person, when faced with conflicting attitudes, may seek out any number of "creative" solutions to any problem which must be resolved.

Consider the man who believes both of these positions: Smoking cigarettes is dangerous to life; I smoke cigarettes. He might reduce dissonance by giving up smoking and so relinquishing belief in the second of the two propositions, or he might somehow believe that smoking is not truly dangerous. In addition, however, Festinger (1957) suggests that he might control his flow of information, seeking out reports of reassuring research and avoiding the lung cancer statistics. He might also seek out other smokers who would give him social support. (Brown, 1965: 586)

Unlike the balance and congruity model, Festinger's dissonance theory places behavior as a key element in resolving dissonance. It is for this reason that the theory of cognitive dissonance was chosen to guide this research.

To summarize, the assumptions made by all consistency theories are: (Osgood, 1960: 341-356)

1. Modification of cognitive structures, i.e., attitude change results from the psychological stress produced by cognitive inconsistency.
2. The interaction of cognitive elements depends upon their being brought into some kind of confrontation with one another.
3. The magnitude of stress toward attitude change increases with the degree of cognitive inconsistency.
4. The dynamics of cognitive interaction under stress operate to reduce total cognitive inconsistency.

### Theory of Cognitive Dissonance

Before explaining in detail the theory of cognitive dissonance, an important caveat must be noted. This study was not designed to test empirically cognitive dissonance theory. Rather, this study was designed to test any variables which would enter into a decision to reduce dissonance in one of two ways: becoming a "better" Catholic; or, joining a Pentecostal church after receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Dissonance theory is complex and has been empirically tested on many occasions. However, only those aspects of dissonance theory which are relevant to this study will be discussed in this section. (For a comprehensive discussion of the theory of cognitive dissonance, see A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance by Leon Festinger (1957).)

In general terms, the theory is first explained by defining the terms consonance and dissonance.

Dissonance and consonance are relations among cognitions---that is, among opinions, beliefs, knowledge of the environment, and knowledge of one's own actions and feelings. Two options, or beliefs, or items of knowledge are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together---that is, if they are inconsistent, or if, considering the particular two items, one does not follow from the other. (Festinger, 1956: 26)

As in all consistency theories, dissonance is presumed to be an uncomfortable state for an individual, one to be resolved in order to achieve a psychological balance. Building on



this, cognitive dissonance theory has at its core two main propositions: (Festinger, 1957: 9)

1. The existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try and to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance.

2. When dissonance is present, in addition to trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance.

(For this reason, Mary Smith would be unlikely to attend the Catholic church and a Classical Pentecostal church concurrently.)

Dissonance comes about between cognitions when the two cognitions are both relevant to an individual but for some reason, the two do not fit together. Festinger explains this by saying, "Two elements are in a dissonant relation if, considering these two alone the obverse of one element would follow from the other...x and y are dissonant if not-x follows from y. (Festinger, 1957: 13)

For the newly "spirit-filled" Catholic, dissonance (to some degree) may be expected because the person is exposed to new, and possibly unfamiliar knowledge or cognitions.

New events may happen or new information may become known to a person, creating at least a momentary dissonance with existing knowledge, opinion, or cognition concerning behavior. Since a person does not have complete and perfect control over the information that reaches him and

over events that can happen in his environment, such dissonance may easily arise. (Festinger, 1957: 4)

A Catholic, such as Mary Smith, having received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, can face dissonance if anything taught her after the reception of the Holy Spirit runs counter to traditional Catholic theology. Perhaps simply the idea of reading the Bible can create dissonance. (This assumes that Mary is an active, practicing Catholic at the time of reception.) Or, if Mary does not favor the Catholic church and is attending a Pentecostal church, having communion less frequently than does the Catholic church might be enough to bring about dissonance.

The degree of dissonance varies depending on how important the two differing cognitive elements are to the individual in a given situation. Reading the Bible may cause more dissonance to a person than infrequent communion does to the same person. Festinger's theory allows for differing degrees of dissonance.

1. If two elements are dissonant with one another, the magnitude of dissonance will be a function of the importance of the element.

2. Assuming that all the elements relevant to the one in question are equally important, the total amount of dissonance between this element and the remainder of the person's cognition will depend on the portion of relevant

elements that are dissonant with the one in question.

(Kiesler, Collins and Miller, 1969: 195)

"Degree of dissonance" is not important to this study because the focus is not on testing a theory. What is important, however, is the way in which an individual, when presented with a new cognition (specifically his having the Baptism of the Holy Spirit) responds to reduce dissonance, whatever degree of dissonance is present.

Three responses to a dissonant situation are possible: adding new cognitive elements; changing one's environment; or, changing one's behavior. If a person adds new cognitive elements (to either dissonance producing element) dissonance is alleviated but does not disappear. Mary Smith may begin to find fault with other aspects of the Catholic church not related to Pentecostalism. As a consequence, she may feel more comfortable attending a Classical Pentecostal church. She may deal with the other dissonant element and consider Classical Pentecostals to be emotional "holymen" who have no sense of the sacredness of ritual, thus making it more comfortable for her to stay in the Catholic church. In either case, the dissonant situation is still present but has been covered over by cognitive elements which move the individual closer to consonance.

A change in environmental cognitions can be either physical or psychological. The psychological change is

related to adding new cognitions. Here, the individual "talks himself into" choosing one option over the other and then seeks justification for his decision. He may, when talking with other Catholics, mention how friendly the people are at a Classical Pentecostal church. He has made his move to reduce dissonance and now must seek "proof" that his decision was the right one. Changing the physical environment simply means moving from one place (Saint Agnes Catholic Church) to another place (Omaha Foursquare Church). A physical change may precede a psychological environmental change. Once the actual move takes place, it must be justified.

A behavioral change is very effective in resolution of dissonance. An individual has changed his behavior to fit in with his other cognitions and the end result is harmony. Behavior can be changed (attending confession more frequently), denied (refusing to speak in tongues if the bishops so rule) or distorted (attending a Catholic Pentecostal prayer group in lieu of weekly Mass attendance).

Although isolated for the purpose of analysis, there is a great deal of overlap between these dissonance resolution options. A person may deny his behavior and at the same time look for new cognitive elements which agree with his behavioral change. Or, he may simply change environment and cease the resolution process. An individual may find it

necessary to add new cognitive elements because a change in environment or behavior would be too threatening or painful and would create added dissonance. In order to predict which method of reduction an individual will choose, fear of change, resistance to change and the addition of new cognitive dissonance must be considered.

The aspect of cognitive dissonance theory most applicable to this study is that of the decision-making situation. Four factors must be considered in decision-making dissonance:

1. The more important the decision the greater the dissonance.
2. The less attractive the chosen alternative the greater the dissonance.
3. The more attractive the unchosen alternative the greater the dissonance.
4. The greater the similarity between alternatives the less the dissonance. (Festinger, 1964: 37-43)

Two alternatives are possible to a "spirit-filled" Catholic and one must be chosen over the other. The dissonance occurs after the initial choice has been made. Having chosen one alternative and rejected the other, the individual is now committed to a course of action while the initial conflict in choosing an alternative has disappeared.

Over forty research efforts have been conducted empirically to test the above propositions as they relate to

decision making. For example, one of the earliest tests of dissonance in decision making will be reviewed. Brehm (1956) conducted a laboratory experiment where subjects were asked to rate a series of objects. Dissonance was created by offering subjects two objects which were equally attractive. In other cases, subjects were asked to choose objects dissimilar in attractiveness. Those subjects who experienced dissonance by having to choose one attractive object over another attractive object would exaggerate the beauty of the chosen object while degrading the unchosen object. Those not placed in a dissonant decision situation did not exaggerate nor denigrate either object. Generally, the factors regarding decision-making dissonance were supported by this (and subsequent) empirical test. (Explorations in Cognitive Dissonance by Brehm and Cohen (1962) gives many other empirical tests conducted on the decision-making dissonance situation.)

Some possible limitations on the applicability of the theory of cognitive dissonance must be noted. Even though one of the most positive features of cognitive dissonance theory is the vast amount of data provided through studies guided by this theory, it is in the area of methodology that the strongest criticisms of the theory are leveled. Most tests conducted to measure dissonance have been laboratory experiments which, in the particular situation, showed a high

degree of dissonance to be present. When moving from the laboratory to a natural setting, the degree of dissonance is difficult to measure. This argument is also used in trying to determine the relative importance of cognitions. The "importance" of a given cognitive element determines greatly whether or not dissonance exists, but Festinger and other dissonance theorists have not yet developed any way to measure the "importance" of a given cognitive element.

Cognitive dissonance theory has been criticized for being too vague conceptually; this vagueness makes it possible to explain everything through cognitive dissonance theory. If this is the case, the usefulness of the theory is questionable because it lacks definite parameters. This criticism stems from the belief that cognitive dissonance theory cannot or has not been disproven. (Kiesler, et al., 1969: 36) Festinger feels that rather than attack the theory for vagueness, the clarity of what is meant by dissonance should be examined.

Dissonance is not anything which exists by itself. It is a characterization of a relationship between cognitive elements. Thus, determining whether or not dissonance exists, should take the form of first specifying the cognitive elements, or clusters, which are under consideration and then examining whether, considering one alone, the obverse of the other follows. If it seems plausible to assert that the relation is dissonant, it is usually also helpful to specify on what grounds---logical, experimental, cultural or otherwise---the 'follows from' holds in that

instance. It is also clearly necessary to be able to specify what specific changes in cognition, or what new cognitive elements, would reduce the magnitude of the dissonance thus determined. (Festinger, 1957: 279)

Lack of conceptual clarity with regard to other parts of the theory is also criticized. That one cognition implies the obverse of another cognition is necessary for dissonance, according to Festinger. The term obverse, according to Brehm and Cohen (1962), is too limiting for maximum utility of the theory. They suggest instead that substituting "in the direction of being obverse" for the word obverse would make the theory applicable in more situations. (Brehm and Cohen, 1962: 6)<sup>18</sup>

A cognitive element (the central term of the theory) also lacks an adequate definition. Rather than specify examples of cognitive elements in the definition, Festinger defines them as "knowledge, belief, and opinions about one's feelings, self, behavior, and environment." (Festinger, 1956: 26) These "definitions" of a cognitive element are as vague as the term being defined which limits replication of research as well as certainty of results when studied.

Although these, and other, criticisms have been made regarding cognitive dissonance theory (perhaps with justification), the theory does fit with the only qualifications

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<sup>18</sup>This argument put forth by Brehm and Cohen contradicts the earlier statement that cognitive dissonance theory is already to all-encompassing.



made at the beginning of this theoretical discussion. Cognitive dissonance theory is social psychological in nature and places equal importance on attitude and behavior of an individual. Without testing for the presence of dissonance, it is possible to assume its presence in situations requiring decision-making. As Festinger says, "attempts to reduce dissonance represent the observable manifestations that dissonance exists." (Festinger, 1956: 26) So, it can be accepted prima facie that Catholics, who receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and who either change their behavior by becoming "better" Catholics or joining a Classical Pentecostal church, experience some dissonance. The key question which this study is attempting to answer is: What social factors, if any, would predispose a Catholic who receives the Baptism of the Holy Spirit to resolve dissonance by remaining in the Catholic church and attending a Catholic Pentecostal prayer group? Conversely, what social factors would predispose a "spirit-filled" Catholic to join a Classical Pentecostal church? In an effort to answer these questions, the following hypotheses have been developed.

### Hypotheses

1. If a respondent has little or no exposure to other religions prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit, then he will remain a Catholic after the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that if a person has consistently practiced his religion in the Catholic church, then he will continue to practice in that denomination after becoming "spirit-filled". In addition, the person with a Catholic background who perhaps was not attending church at all is also considered likely to stay in the Catholic church. After the religious experience of the Holy Spirit, he will return to what is known and familiar to him, the Catholic church.

Exposure to other religions can be gained through books, conversations with other people or by attending other denominations. It was decided to operationalize "exposure" in two ways: church attendance at a denomination other than Catholic, and consideration given to converting to another religion. (Conversations with other people, television crusades, books, and other literature come under this second category.)

Operational form of hypothesis one: If a respondent has attended a given denomination other than Catholic less than two times or has not considered converting to another denomination prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit, then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>In all hypotheses, "remain a Catholic" is operationalized as one who is a member of the Catholic church and is a communicant of same.

2. If a respondent is influenced in important ways by his family then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

This hypothesis is asking if an individual's values are influenced by the values of his family of orientation. If the family of orientation strongly values beliefs of and membership in the Catholic church, this value and others may be held by the child. Consistency in values will be measured by a scale of values of family and individual with a number assigned to each alternative answer. Possible scores range from 0, perfect consistency to 56, no consistency. (The scale will be discussed in Chapter Three.)

Operational form of hypothesis two: If a respondent receives a score of 0 to 19 (one-third of possible consistency) on the family value scale then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

3. If a Catholic person introduced the respondent to the Pentecostal movement, then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

The person who introduced the movement to the respondent can, in this case, be either a Catholic Pentecostal or a former Catholic-Classical Pentecostal. Regardless of present affiliation, if the person has a Catholic background, the respondent (it is hypothesized) will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Operational form of hypothesis three: If the person who first talked to the respondent about Pentecostalism has a Catholic background, then the respondent will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

4. If non-related significant others are Catholic Pentecostals then the respondent will remain Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

This hypothesis is testing the influence of peer group on the respondent. Non-related significant others are determined by asking a respondent to name five of his closest friends by initial. (For the purpose of this hypothesis, friends and non-related significant others are synonymous.)

Operational form of hypothesis four: If two or more of the five friends named by the respondent are Catholic Pentecostals, then the respondent will remain Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

5. If a respondent's concept of sin is traditionally Catholic, then he will remain Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

This hypothesis was developed to deal specifically with the "moral implications" of leaving the Catholic church. If a person holds Catholic concepts of sin, especially missing Mass or confession, he would not be likely to enter a "sinful" situation by not attending Mass and going instead to a Classical Pentecostal church.

From a list of possible sins, it was necessary to determine which sins are considered traditionally Catholic. In making this determination, a panel of judges was employed. The judges were men and women over the age of forty who had been raised in the Catholic church and are currently active participants in Catholic church activities. Only those items which all ten judges considered to be sins were included as traditionally Catholic sins.

Operational form of hypothesis five: If a respondent positively identifies items considered to be sins by a panel of Catholic judges, then the respondent will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

6. If a respondent was raised in a small community then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Social integration, an absence of anomie and fear of gossip and ridicule are assumed to be found in greater degrees in a small community. If this is so, a respondent would be likely to remain in the Catholic church. (All respondents presently live in a large midwestern city so the size of current residence would not be a variable in this hypothesis.)

Operational form of hypothesis six: If a respondent was raised in a community of less than 12,000 people, then he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit. (12,000 was chosen because this size is a designation of small community by the Census Bureau.)

7. If a respondent attended parochial (Catholic) schools for a large part of his educational career, he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Attendance at parochial schools can be at any level of education; grade school, high school or college.

Operational form of hypothesis seven: If a respondent attended parochial schools for six years or more, he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

#### Relationship Between Hypotheses and Cognitive Dissonance Theory

All of the hypotheses listed present a decision-making situation which has the potential of arousing dissonance. The seven hypotheses can be grouped into two broad categories: 1) those which deal with an individual's integration into and familiarity with the Catholic church; and 2) those which deal with the individual respondent in interaction with other people.

The hypotheses which are included in the first category are those with the variables of: exposure to other religions; concept of sin; who introduced the respondent to the Pentecostal movement; and, parochial school attendance. In each of these hypotheses, dissonance can be produced by creating a conflict between the tenets of Pentecostalism and those of Catholicism. If the individual is unfamiliar with the tenets of the Catholic church (by not attending parochial schools for

many years), was previously dissatisfied with the Catholic church (exposure to other religions), did not hold to the beliefs of the Catholic church (concept of sin), or was exposed to the movement by someone who was not sympathetic to the Catholic church, then it is likely he will resolve any conflict created by new cognitions in favor of Pentecostalism.

People who choose this option of leaving the Catholic church are resolving dissonance by changing their environment, both physical and psychological. As they transfer membership to a Pentecostal church, they can say, "I do not feel the Catholic church ever meant very much to me, anyway."

Dissonance theory also asserts that a person will "actively avoid situations and information which would increase dissonance." (Festinger, 1957: 9) If a person is familiar with the beliefs of the Catholic church and comfortable with membership in the Catholic church, he is likely to avoid any contact with Pentecostal denominations but, rather, place himself deep within the Catholic church. Dissonance, in this case, is resolved by adding a new cognitive element: Pentecostalism can be, and is, practiced within the parameters of the Catholic church.

The remaining three hypotheses are also related to decision-making dissonance. In these cases, however, dissonance

(or absence of dissonance) is affected, not by religious doctrine, but by the respondent's interaction with other people; family, friends or members of his community.

Through primary socialization, a person is taught knowledge and beliefs about his environment. If these cognitions, including religion, remain consistent in a person's life, resolution of dissonance will be in the direction of these cognitions. Hence, if an individual's family values include Catholicism, the individual will also value this knowledge about his environment. If one is a member of the Smith family and being a Classical Pentecostal does not follow from Smith family membership, dissonance exists and must be resolved. Classical Pentecostalism may outweigh family membership; dissonance would then be resolved by becoming a Classical Pentecostal.

In choosing between family and denomination, consideration is given to Festinger's statement that "x and y are dissonant if not-x follows from y." (Festinger, 1957: 13) Likewise, if belonging to a social group of significant others or social acceptance in a small community do not follow from holding Pentecostal beliefs, dissonance is present. If rejection by significant others or members of one's community will be the result of joining a Classical Pentecostal church, it is unlikely that decision-making dissonance will



be resolved by joining such a church. On the other hand, if remaining in the Catholic church brings greater consistency between the cognitions of religion and "what people think of me", dissonance will be resolved in the direction of this consistency.

CHAPTER III  
METHODOLOGY  
AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter will discuss the study design and techniques used to test the hypotheses listed in Chapter II.

Study Design

The design of a research project tries to simulate, as closely as possible, the classical experimental design. In the classical experimental design, subjects are randomly assigned to either an experimental or control group. After this assignment has been made, both groups are given a "test" appropriate to the study. The experimental group is then presented with a test variable while the control group is not presented with the test variable. Both groups are then "re-tested" to see if the test variable does make a difference between the scores of the experimental and control groups.

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DIAGRAM I.

CLASSICAL EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Experimental Group	Test given ( $T_1$ )	test variable presented	Test given ( $T_2$ )	Difference $T_1 - T_2$
Control Group	Test given ( $T_1$ )	no test variable presented	Test given ( $T_2$ )	Difference $T_1 - T_2$

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The classical experimental design is the "ideal" design for research and can be effectively used in laboratory experiments. In doing research in natural settings, however, it is often necessary to modify the classical experimental design.<sup>20</sup>

One such modification of the classical experimental design was used in the present study, the ex post facto design. The ex post facto design deals only with an experimental group after the presentation of a test variable. (The outlined cell in Diagram II is the cell used in the ex post facto design.)

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DIAGRAM II.

EX POST FACTO DESIGN

Experimental Group		test variable presented	Test given ( $T_2$ )
Control Group			

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To reconstruct the "before test variable" cell, the researcher must seek out documents or ask the respondent to recall

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<sup>20</sup> Variations of the classical experimental design are possible through the use of statistical tests which will be discussed at a later point in this paper.

pertinent biographical information which is then used to develop the "before" cell.

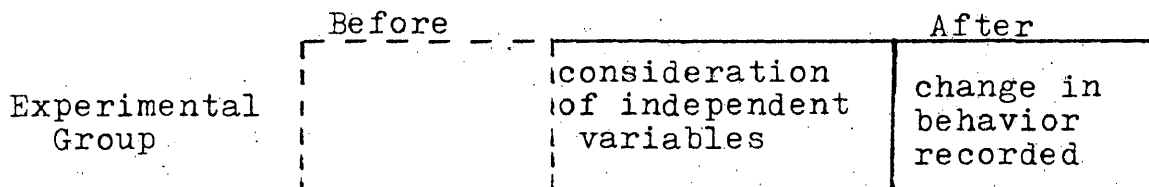
In this study, the event or test variables for the experimental group are the independent variables (e.g., size of community, parochial school attendance, family values and concept of sin) in each of the hypotheses. The common factors for the experimental group in the "before" cell are Christian baptism and subsequent membership in the Catholic church. As a regular procedure in respondent selection, all respondents were asked prior to their participation in this study if they had been members of the Catholic church; only those who answered "yes" were included in the study.

The study design for this research project is given in Diagram III.

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DIAGRAM III.

STUDY DESIGN



Respondents were asked to recall biographical information to see, on the basis of this data, if the behavioral change

resulting from the Baptism of the Holy Spirit was due to variables (cognitions) introduced to the individual prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit. In one area (that of family values) respondents were asked to recall attitudinal information rather than biographical information. The accuracy of the recall of the attitudes is not important because the respondent's perception was being tested, not the actual family value.

#### Sampling Procedure

The nature of this study made it necessary to draw two samples from the population of Catholics who have received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. One sample was made up of people who identify themselves as Catholic Pentecostals; the other sample was composed of former Catholics who are now members of a Classical Pentecostal church. In order to probe the question of why persons with a Catholic background resolve dissonance differently, a comparison was made between these two samples.

The first sample was originally to be drawn from a large (200 or more people) Catholic Pentecostal group which meets weekly for fellowship, prayer, and Bible study. This author was told indirectly to "forget about studying this particular group". It was reported that the leader of this group, a Roman Catholic priest, did not approve of sociologists studying

his prayer group and would recommend to the Board of Directors that they deny this author permission to obtain a list of members. Because of this complication, an alternative method for obtaining the sample was used. The sample was obtained by using the "snowballing technique". Through friends who knew Catholic Pentecostals and respondents who knew other Catholic Pentecostals, a sample of fifteen Catholic Pentecostals was received.

Obtaining the sample of former Catholic Classical Pentecostals was much easier than obtaining the first sample. The pastor of the largest Classical Pentecostal church in the area was contacted; the church has approximately fifty former Catholics who have transferred their membership from the Catholic church to this Classical Pentecostal church. A list of such people was given to this author and those who agreed to respond were included in the sample.

With both sets of people, random sampling was not used because it was not possible to obtain a complete enumeration of the population. The type of sample used necessitates many cautions which will be detailed further in this chapter.

As finally completed, the respondent group for this study consisted of fifteen Catholic Pentecostals and fifteen former Catholic Classical Pentecostals. Although a larger sample would have been desirable, it was decided that thirty respondents was adequate for an exploratory study such as this.

### Data Collection

An interview schedule was developed by the author to test each of the independent variables in the hypotheses. Most items in the schedule were written originally for this study with two exceptions: a list of sins and statements of family values were borrowed from existing scales with modifications made for use in this study. (See Appendix B.)

A. H. Ewell (1954) developed an inventory of values scale consisting of 108 items with possible responses ranging from "always right" to "always wrong." Instead of using a Likert-type scale for the items, a simple "yes" or "no" response was sought. Twenty items which came under the category of possible sins were selected from the 108 items included by Ewell for inclusion in the interview schedule. For the purpose of this study, it was not necessary to use more than twenty potential "sins" in order to determine a respondent's concept of sin. The items chosen were either positively (missing Mass on Sunday) or negatively (smoking cigarettes or cigars) related to the concept of sin held by the Catholic church.

The traditional family ideology scale developed by Levinson and Huffman (1955) was utilized in a similar manner.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>These scales, in their entirety, can be found in Robinson and Shaver (1973).

The complete scale is divided into four areas: parent-child relationships; husband and wife roles and relationships; concepts of masculinity and femininity; and general family values and aims. Forty six-point Likert-type items are contained in the complete scale. To shorten the scale for the interview schedule, fourteen statements of family values were selected from the original forty with some items from each of the four categories being included. Respondents were asked to first answer how they felt their family of orientation would answer the statement: possible responses were "strongly agree", "agree", "undecided", "disagree", and "strongly disagree". At a later point in the interview, the respondent was asked to answer the same statements from his own perspective.

The difference between family's response and individual's response was obtained for each of the fourteen items. These fourteen scores were totaled to arrive at one numerical value used to determine family-self value consistency. For example, one of the fourteen items is, "petting is something a nice girl wouldn't do". If the respondent answers "strongly agree" for family and "disagree" for self, a numerical value of 3 (the difference between "strongly agree" and "disagree") was assigned.

The interview schedule was pre-tested to determine clarity of questions and length of interviews. The test respondents



had no difficulty in understanding the questions; as a result no changes were made in the wording of the interview schedule. Each pre-test interview lasted between twenty and thirty minutes.

Respondents in the sample were telephoned and an interview time was arranged. All interviews took place in the respondent's home.<sup>22</sup> The respondents were told that the interview would take approximately twenty-five minutes (based on the pre-test interviews), however, the average length of an interview was one hour and ten minutes. For the most part, the respondents were eager to talk informally about Pentecostalism after the formal interview.

The decision to use an interview schedule (as opposed to a questionnaire) was made for two reasons. First, the size of sample made it necessary to have almost one hundred per cent participation. If mailed questionnaires were used, the pool of possible respondents would have had to be much larger than the list of available names to guarantee a return of fifteen respondents from each of the two categories tested. Secondly, some questions were asked in such a way that probing for a response was necessary. Many items required explanation by the interviewer and it was believed that self-administered

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<sup>22</sup>While conducting the interviews, two interviews were scheduled for locations other than the respondent's home. In both cases, the respondent did not keep the appointment.

questionnaires might have caused inaccuracy in answering the questions.

### Coding

Although most questions lent themselves to a "yes-no" or "agree-disagree" codification, some open-ended questions had to be coded into categories broader than "yes" or "no". Those items which required more detailed codification than "yes-no" responses or simple numerical tabulations will be discussed in detail.

The first question which was asked was a word association, "what comes to mind when you hear the word charismatic?" This question was asked for two reasons: first, it was used to "set the stage" for the interview which followed. The second reason for asking this question was to see whether those people interviewed reflect the characteristics of neo-Pentecostals named by Durasoff (1972) in Chapter I of this thesis. Because the number of people interviewed was small, it was necessary to combine Durasoff's characteristics into broader categories of: manifestations of the Holy Spirit (which include Durasoff's categories of miracles, holy living, and glossolalia); relationship with Jesus (witnessing and knowing Jesus); and interaction with a denomination (challenge to traditional churches and evoking criticism). This modification of Durasoff's characteristics

did not, in any way, alter the nature of his classificatory scheme.

Questions six and seven of the interview schedule deal with exposure to other religions. The number of times a person attended a church other than Catholic, prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit, was tabulated (excluding in the tabulation weddings and/or funerals). In these cases, the Catholic person was assumed to be attending the church for reasons external to curiosity about a different denomination. (The Catholic church has had strong norms against attending a non-Catholic church except in cases of weddings and funerals.)

Question ten asks the respondents to answer whether or not they consider some items to be sinful. Prior to reading the list of possible sins, respondents were asked to define, in their own words, sin. This item was included only to give respondents a reference point in deciding whether they considered an item sinful and was not coded nor was it utilized in the analysis of data.

In determining church affiliation, questions twelve through fourteen were used. Respondents were first asked their present church affiliation. Consideration was given to those people who are affiliated with the Catholic church but who attend a Pentecostal church. If respondents attend more

than one church, they were asked which was most important to them spiritually. In a case where a respondent answered church affiliation as Catholic but considered a Pentecostal church to be most important spiritually, he was considered to fit the category of a former Catholic Classical Pentecostal.

The final question which required special codification was question twenty-one. This question was asked to measure involvement in religious activities other than attendance at church services. Responses were categorized into: prayer groups or Bible studies; church related activities (e.g., choir, Sunday school teacher or voluntary activities which are sponsored by the church) and, other activities such as special workshops or retreats.

### Statistical Tests

Statistical tests are used in data analysis for one of two reasons: 1) estimation of population parameters; and, 2) testing of hypotheses. (Siegel, 1956: 1) All statistical tests used in this study are concerned with the latter reason, that of testing hypotheses. In determining what statistical tests are appropriate to a given study, one must first specify any limitation on analysis which is unique to the data under study.

The first limitation for the present study, using only nonparametric statistical tests, is in part a result of the

way in which the sample was drawn. While parametric statistics "say something about various characteristics of the population studied on the basis of known facts about a sample drawn from that population", nonparametric statistics make it possible to say something about the sample without "making assumptions of a normal population". (Blalock, 1960: 89 and 187) In order to determine the parameters of a normal population it is necessary to begin a study by drawing a random sample of the population which was not done in this study. Therefore, all statistical tests used are nonparametric.

In the present study, the advantages of nonparametric statistical tests (e.g., a small sample, nominal level data analysis and samples which are independent) as well as the lack of mathematical assumptions about the population made it both convenient and necessary to use such statistical tests. Nonparametric statistical tests are, however, less powerful than parametric statistical tests. Power is defined as the ability of a statistical test to eliminate a false hypothesis and, therefore, avoid a Type II error.<sup>23</sup>

A second limitation on the analysis of this data is that all variables are at the nominal level. In all hypotheses,

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<sup>23</sup>See Siegel (1956) pp. 30-34 for a full discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of nonparametric statistics.

the variables meet the assumptions of nominal level measurement (the variables are classified into mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories) but do not meet the assumptions of ordinal levels of measurement.

Because all the data are treated at the nominal level, it is possible to utilize simple descriptive statistics such as percentages, averages or frequency and certain nonparametric statistical tests. When working with data on the nominal level, it is important to note that nominal level data provide the least powerful (or weakest) measurement available.

The final limitation taken into consideration in determining what statistical tests to employ in analyzing data is that of the nature of the sample. This study uses two independent samples drawn from a population.

Although the merits of using two related samples in a research design are great, to do so is frequently impractical...When the use of two related samples is impractical or inappropriate, one may use two independent samples. In this design the two samples may be obtained by either of two methods: (a) they may each be drawn at random from two populations, or (b) they may arise from the assignment at random of two treatments to the members of some sample whose origins are arbitrary. (Siegel, 1956: 95)

In summary, the choice of statistical tests appropriate to this study is limited to nonparametric statistics for two independent samples with data which are nominal in nature.

Data for each of the seven hypotheses was placed into bivariate or contingency tables which summarize the numerical frequency for each of the independent variables in relation to the dependent variable of "remain a Catholic". It was decided not to use percentages for each response as the N (30) was quite small and the use of percentages could be misleading. Where it was useful to the analysis of data, mean scores for some responses were used. Two statistical tests, chi-square ( $X^2$ ) and phi ( $\phi$ ) were utilized for each of the bivariate tables.

When two nominal level variables have been cross-classified it is possible to use chi-square as a test of independence for categorical variables. Chi-square tests whether or not it is possible to reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) at a predetermined level of significance. The level of significance for chi-square tests in this study has been set at .05; the probability of making a Type I error is 5 out of 100. (Type I error is to reject the  $H_0$  when it is true.) Yate's correction for continuity was not applied to the standard chi-square formula because the expected frequency for a cell of any table employing chi-square was five or more. Once a chi-square was derived from the bivariate tables, a chi-square distribution table was consulted to determine the level of rejection for one-tailed tests (used

when a hypothesis specifies the direction of relationship for the variables) with one degree of freedom.

In some of the bivariate tables, the expected frequency in a cell was less than five, a limitation on the use of a chi-square test. In these cases, the Fischer exact probability test was substituted for the chi-square test. The Fischer exact probability test, like the chi-square test, is used to determine at what level of significance (.05 in in this study) the null hypothesis can be rejected. The Fischer exact test does not require that an expected frequency in any cell is five or greater which makes this test especially useful in tables with a small N or with small expected frequencies.

Although the N (30) in this study is relatively small as are the frequencies in some cells, these numbers are too large to make the Fischer test practically useful. Rather than figure the factorial (!) computation, it was decided to use a Table of Critical Values of D in the Fischer Test which was developed by Finney (1948). This table makes it possible to determine the level of significance for a contingency table without performing the mathematical operations called for in the standard Fischer exact probability test formula. To use this table, the following directions are given:



1. Determine the values of A+B and C+D in the data.
2. Find the observed value of A+B in Table I under the heading 'Totals in Right Margin.'
3. In that section of the table, locate the observed value of C+D under the same heading.
4. For the observed value of C+D, several possible values for B are listed in the table. Find the observed value of B among these possibilities.
5. Now observe your value of D. If the observed value of D is equal to or less than the value given in the table under significance level, then the observed data are significant at that level. (Siegel, 1956: 99)

A second statistical test, phi, which can be used with data which are nominal for two independent samples was performed on the data. Phi is a nominal level coefficient which is used to determine degree of association. Where chi-square is a test of level of significance, phi shows how strong (if any) the relationship is between the two variables. The range of possible scores for phi falls somewhere between -1 and +1. The extreme scores of +1, -1, and 0 are seldom reached but phi falls somewhere between -1 and +1.

Once phi coefficient has been obtained, the significance of phi can be determined by using a chi-square distribution table for one degree of freedom. The formula used to determine the significance of phi and phi's relationship to chi-square is:

$$X^2 = N\phi^2.$$

If chi-square is significant at the .05 level, phi will also be significant at this level. In this study, the level of significance of phi is also computed.

Phi coefficient is also used here to interpret the "proportional error in reduction" notion.

What does a phi coefficient of  $-.38$  mean? One way of interpreting phi is in terms of the proportional reduction in error notion. In other words, if we square phi, that is,  $\phi^2 = .38^2 = .14$ , we can say that so much of the error, in this case a meager 14 percent has been accounted for. (Leonard, 1976: 289)

Numerical mean, chi-square, and phi-based statistical tests have been used to analyze the data in this study. The results of these tests as well as a summary of the demographic characteristics of the thirty respondents follow.

### Analysis of Data

In this section, data received for each of the seven hypotheses will be analyzed according to the criteria established above. Before elaborating on the results of the statistical analyses, descriptive data, such as demographic variables will be discussed.

Description of the sample. The sample included thirty respondents, 19 females and 11 males. Additional social characteristics include:

Age.

Range: 16 years to 68 years

Mean: 32.4 years

Mode: 21 years.

Marital Status.

Single: 11 respondents

Married: 16 respondents

Divorced: 2 respondents

Widowed: 1 respondent.

Education Level.

Range: 10 years to 18 years (completion of a Master's Degree)

Mean: 14.6 years (completion of two and one half years of college)

Mode: Bimodal distribution clustering at 12 years (high school) and 16 years (college degree).

The inflated mean for education is due in part to the fact that some of the respondents were Catholic religious, either nuns or priests. Of the five people who completed a Master's Degree, four of these were Catholic religious who are in positions which require advanced education.

As was determined by the sample selection, 15 respondents are Catholics who are currently involved in Catholic Pentecostal activities. The other 15 respondents are former Catholics who are currently affiliated with a large Classical

Pentecostal church. All respondents had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit sometime within the past six years. Length of time in the Pentecostal movement ranges from four months to six years with the mean length of time being 26 months. The modal length of time a respondent has been involved in Pentecostalism is one year.

When asked a word association for the word "charismatic"<sup>24</sup> the results were:

1. Twenty-five respondents answered with a word which fit into the category of Holy Spirit. Most frequently mentioned was the term Holy Spirit (16 times), but also included in this category were the responses of: power; miracles; gifts of the Spirit; fire; and, friendliness. None of the respondents associated the word charismatic with speaking in tongues or glossolalia. This finding is especially interesting in light of the fact that tongues-speaking is the issue most often brought out in any criticism of Pentecostals.

2. Three respondents associated the word charismatic with Jesus; mentioning either their relationship with or love for Jesus.

3. Two respondents (both of whom are former Catholic Classical Pentecostals) answered "Catholic" to this question.

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<sup>24</sup> During the interview, it was explained to each respondent that the words charismatic and Pentecostal were used synonymously in this study.

It is possible that these respondents saw their involvement in the Pentecostal movement as being different from a person's involvement in the charismatic movement.

The above results show that the respondents for this study do, in fact, reflect the characteristics of neo-Pentecostals set forth by Durasoff (1972).

To measure religious involvement outside of weekly church attendance, respondents were asked first whether or not they participated in any religiously oriented activities. Of the thirty respondents, only seven did not participate in at least one activity. For the 23 who answered affirmatively, the results are:

Bible study/prayer group: 23 respondents

Church choir: 6 respondents

Sunday School teacher: 8 respondents

Other activities (retreats, seminars, or conventions): 16 respondents.

The range of activities for these 23 respondents is from one activity to six activities with the mean being 2.7 activities. These results show that a large majority (76%) of the respondents are at least moderately active in religious involvements outside of regular weekly church attendance.

Based on the demographic data obtained, the "typical" (or mean) respondent's characteristics in this study are: the respondent is a 32 year old female who has completed two

years of college. She has been involved in the Pentecostal movement for two years and attends either a Bible study or prayer group on a weekly basis. (These characteristics are for the respondents in this study and do not necessarily reflect those of participants in Pentecostalism in general.)

Having summarized the demographic variables, the remainder of this chapter will describe in detail data obtained which are relevant to the hypotheses under study. Each of the hypotheses was tested to determine what social factors might make a difference in the way a newly-spirit filled person resolves dissonance created by being a member of the Catholic church. The results of the hypotheses-testing are reported below.

Exposure to other religions. The first hypothesis states: if a respondent has little or no exposure to a religion other than the Catholic religion prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit, he will remain a Catholic after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit. The variable being examined is whether or not exposure to a religion other than Catholic will make a difference in the direction of dissonance resolution.

For former Catholic Classical Pentecostals (abbreviated in the tables as F.C.C.P.) who had attended a church other than the Catholic church prior to their Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the mean number of visits to other churches is 20

visits. When consideration is given to all former Catholic Classical Pentecostals, (including those who had never attended another church) the mean drops from 20 to 15 visits with the range in visits going from 0 to 50 times.

The mean for Catholic Pentecostals (abbreviated in the following tables as C.P.) who had attended another denomination prior to their Holy Spirit experience is 8.6 times. When all Catholic Pentecostals are included, the mean is 1.7 times with a range of visits from 0 to 12. When all members of the sample are compared, the difference in means for the two groups is 13.3 visits.

As was stated previously, the Catholic church has a strong norm for its members against attending any church other than their own denomination. For this reason, it was decided to dichotomize exposure into those who had attended a denomination other than Catholic two times or less and those who had attended more than two times. Although two times may seem infrequent, the mean amount of exposure for Catholics who are still members of that church is only 1.7 times.

Table II gives the frequency for those in each category. (Table II here.) The chi-square value for this table was found to be significant at the .05 level. The value for

TABLE II  
EXPOSURE TO OTHER RELIGIONS

	Two times or less	More than two times
F.C.C.P.	5	10
C.P.	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>
Totals	17	13 (N=30)
$\chi^2=6.64$	p is greater than .05	

phi was  $.47^{25}$  which shows a slight correlation between the variables of exposure to other religions and present church affiliation. The  $\phi^2$  for this table is .22; that is, 22% of the prediction error has been reduced.

Using the mean as well as the results of the chi-square test, an interpretation can be made that exposure to other religions is a variable which does, to some degree of statistical significance, affect resolution of dissonance. A Catholic who has not been exposed to another religion is more likely to resolve dissonance by remaining in the Catholic church than respondents who have been exposed to other religions.

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<sup>25</sup>The actual value for phi in this table was  $-.47$  but with nominal level data "the sign of the coefficient does not make sense." (Leonard, 1976: 275) With nominal data, inference must be drawn from data in each table as to what direction the relationship takes.



Family values. The scores derived from tabulation of the family values scale range from 7 (almost complete agreement) to 26 (very little agreement). The mean score for former Catholic Classical Pentecostals is 17.2 and for Catholic Pentecostals is 15.4. Using the mean as a measure of difference shows only a 1.8 point difference in the mean scores of the two groups. The frequency table for family values is given below.

TABLE III  
FAMILY VALUES

	Nineteen and below	Above nineteen
F.C.C.P.	10	5
C.P.	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
Totals	23	7 (N=30)

The expected frequencies in cells B and D of Table III were less than five; hence, the Fischer test was substituted for chi-square. Consistent with the slight difference between the mean score, the Fischer test was not significant at the .05 level. The strength of relationship between the variables ( $\phi$ ) is .23, another indicator of a very slight relationship. The  $\phi^2$  accounts for .05 (5%) of the error in prediction.

The results of these statistical tests make it possible to conclude that family-self value consistency is not a factor used in the resolution of cognitive dissonance. Perhaps the reason for these results is that the family value scale (due to the adaptations made on the instrument for this study) did not adequately measure difference or consistency in family-self values. Another possible explanation, however, is that the scale used did measure the relationship between family-self values but for the respondents in this study, there is neither extreme consistency nor extreme difference in the two sets of values. Further exploration in this area would be necessary in order to determine which of the two explanations is more accurate.

Exposed by whom? It was hypothesized that the religious background of the person who exposed the respondent to the Pentecostal movement may be a factor which entered into a decision-making dissonance situation. Table IV shows that this was not the case; there is virtually no difference between the number of former Catholic Classical Pentecostals who were exposed to the movement by a person of Catholic background and the number of Catholic Pentecostals exposed by a person with a Catholic background. (Table IV here.)

The Fischer test, again used because of the low expected frequencies in cells B and D, was not significant at the .05

TABLE IV  
EXPOSED TO PENTECOSTALISM BY WHOM?

	By a person with a Catholic back- ground	By a person with a non-Catholic background
F.C.C.P.	11	4
C.P.	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>
Totals	23	7 (N=30)

level. A phi of .07 shows a weak relationship between the variables. The  $\phi^2$  of .004 accounts for very little prediction error. The data in Table IV support the null hypothesis that exposure to Pentecostalism by a person with a Catholic background is not a factor used in dissonance reduction in favor of the Catholic church.

Significant others. Another hypothesis not supported by the data is that the number of significant others who are Catholic Pentecostals will make a difference in the direction in which dissonance is resolved. Respondents were asked to name five of their friends by initial and then, which of those named were Pentecostals with a Catholic background. The breakdown of the number of friends who fit into this category for the respondents is:

Former Catholic Classical Pentecostals:

0 friends= 3 respondents

- 1 friend=7 respondents
- 2 friends=5 respondents.

Catholic Pentecostals:

- 0 friends=2 respondents
- 1 friend=3 respondents
- 2 friends=0 respondents
- 3 friends=6 respondents
- 4 friends=4 respondents.

The bivariate table was divided into those who had less than two friends and those who had two or more friends who are Pentecostals with a Catholic background. The results of this distribution are represented in Table V.

TABLE V  
 PENTECOSTAL SIGNIFICANT OTHERS WITH  
 A CATHOLIC BACKGROUND

	Less than two friends	More than two friends
F.C.C.P.	10	5
C.P.	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
Totals	15	15 (N=30)
$\chi^2=3.32$ p is less than .05		

The chi-square was not significant at the .05 level. A phi value of .33 indicates very little strength of relationship between the variables. The  $\phi^2$  accounts for only 10% of

of the prediction error. Although this hypothesis is not supported by the analysis of the data, only five of the thirty respondents have no friends who are Pentecostals with a Catholic background. While there is not a statistically significant relationship between the variables, the finding that respondents in both categories do have close friends who are Pentecostals with a Catholic background is, in itself, interesting.

A problem with the interpretation of this data is that no time frame is specified. It is not possible to determine from the data obtained whether the friends who are Pentecostals became friends of the respondent before or after the respondent's Baptism of the Holy Spirit. If those named were friends before the respondent's Holy Spirit experience, the hypothesis is not supported. If the respondent had, on the other hand, developed friendships with these people since the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the hypothesis may have been supported by specifying a time frame. If this study were repeated, it would be beneficial, in the case of this hypothesis, to attempt to determine the causal relationship between Baptism of the Holy Spirit and choice of friends.

Concept of sin. A panel of judges made up of "traditional" Catholics was employed to determine what sins, of those included in the interview schedule, are considered to be traditionally Catholic. For the twenty sins listed, each

judge was asked whether or not the Catholic church considered the item to be a sin. Only those items which all judges agreed were sins were included as traditionally Catholic sins. Of the twenty items listed, those which are classified as "traditionally Catholic" are:

1. Getting a divorce.
2. Using birth control methods other than rhythm.
3. Missing Mass on Sunday.
4. Gossiping.
5. Exaggerating damages in settling an insurance claim.
6. Lying to a policeman.
7. Missing Mass on holydays.
8. Having a mistress.
9. Not going to confession regularly.

The summary score for each respondent falls somewhere between the possible scores of 9 (answering yes, or 1, to each of the nine items) and 18 (answering no, or 2, to each of the nine items). For Catholic Pentecostals, the scores range from 10 to 16 with a mean score of 11.9. The modal score is 10; seven respondents had this score. Former Catholic Classical Pentecostals have a modal score of 13; 12 respondents had this score. The mean score for former Catholic Classical Pentecostals is 13 with the range in scores from 12 to 14.

For Table VI, the scores were dichotomized into those who had a score of 9-12 (traditionally Catholic concept of sin) and those who scored 13-18 (do not hold a traditionally Catholic concept of sin).

TABLE VI  
CONCEPT OF SIN

	Score of 9-12	Score of 13-18
F.C.C.P.	1	14
C.P.	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
Totals	10	20 (N=30)
$\chi^2=9.6$ p is greater than .05		

The chi-square table shows that the chi-square is significant at the .05 level. Phi gives the strength of relationship between the variables at .61; interpreted to be a strong relationship. The  $\phi^2$  accounts for 37% (a significant amount) of the prediction error. The statistical tests used support the rejection of the null hypothesis for hypothesis five.

Size of community. The size of community in which a respondent was raised is, again, a variable which, according to the statistical analysis, is not a factor in resolution of cognitive dissonance. Although respondents were asked the

size of the community in which they were raised, the size was collapsed into categories of under 12,000 people (a small town) and over 12,000 people (a city) according to Census Bureau designations.

TABLE VII  
SIZE OF COMMUNITY

	Under 12,000	Over 12,000
F.C.C.P.	4	11
C.P.	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
Totals	10	20 (N=30)
$\chi^2=0.6$ p is less than .05		

The chi-square was not significant at the .05 level. The phi for this variable is .14, indicating very weak relationship between the variables. The amount of prediction error accounted for is only 1%.

Parochial school attendance. The final hypothesis deals with the length of time a respondent attended parochial schools. Those respondents who are Catholic Pentecostals attended parochial schools from 0 to 16 years, with 16 years (equivalent to a college degree) the mode for this group. The mean attendance in years is 10.3.

In contrast, former Catholic Classical Pentecostals



attended parochial schools from 0 to 16 years, but the mode for this group is 0 years. The mean for former Catholic Classical Pentecostals is 5.9 years. Catholic Pentecostals, based on the average number of years, attended parochial schools for almost twice as many years as did those who have left the Catholic church.

The frequency distribution for the two groups is given in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII  
PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	Six years or less	More than six years
F.C.C.P.	9	6
C.P.	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>
Totals	12	18 (N=30)
$\chi^2=5.0$ p is greater than .05		

Chi-square was significant at the .05 for the variable of parochial school attendance. The strength of the relationship, a phi value of .40, shows the relationship to be moderately strong. 16% of the prediction error is accounted for.

A quote used by priests to encourage parochial school attendance is, "give me your child for five years, and I will

return to you a Catholic for life." The results of the statistical tests for the variable of parochial school attendance lend this quote credence.

### Summary of Data Analysis

Of the seven hypotheses set forth in Chapter II of this study, three were found to be statistically significant. The variables which were found to affect the resolution of cognitive dissonance are:

1. exposure to other religions;
2. concept of sin; and,
3. attendance at a parochial school.

When a Catholic receives the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the argument has been put forth that dissonance develops and must be resolved. If a respondent has attended a denomination other than Catholic two times or more prior to his Baptism of the Holy Spirit, holds a traditionally Catholic concept of sin, and has attended Catholic parochial schools for at least six years, he is then likely to resolve dissonance in favor of the Catholic church. The results of this study show that of the variables tested, three may be used to "predict" in what direction a Catholic will resolve the dissonance which he faces when he receives the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

These variables are all related to the more general notion of integration into and familiarity with the Catholic church. It can be concluded from this study that social factors dealing with interaction with other people are not as salient to a decision-making dissonance situation as are socio-religious factors dealing with the respondent in interaction with the Catholic church and the effectiveness of socialization into the beliefs held by the Catholic church.

## CHAPTER IV

## CONCLUSIONS

The completion of an exploratory study on Catholic Pentecostals and their response to a dissonance-producing situation has, in itself, yielded an interesting finding, and, at the same time has brought about some ideas for future research as well as raising some questions about Pentecostalism. The finding of this study (that a person is more likely to resolve dissonance in favor of the Catholic church if he feels integrated into and familiar with the Catholic church) although worthy of note, has only limited applicability due to the way this study was designed.

Because the sample was not random, it is not possible to generalize these findings any further than to the thirty people interviewed. It is also not possible to predict, on the basis of this study, how a Catholic will resolve dissonance after his Baptism of the Holy Spirit. To be able to generalize and predict, further research is, of course, necessary.

The theoretical framework for this study was cognitive dissonance as developed by Leon Festinger (1956). In the theoretical section of Chapter II, it was noted that, for this study, cognitive dissonance was assumed to be present. The behavioral change resulting from "conversion" to Pentecostalism would be an area in which one could test, in a

natural setting, the presence or absence of cognitive dissonance. It would be possible, in addition, to use Catholic Pentecostals as a group in which to measure the degree of dissonance present in making a decision.

During the course of this study, the author repeatedly visited both a Catholic Pentecostal prayer group and a Classical Pentecostal church. To conduct a study of the two groups using participant observation as the research method, it is believed, would give many insights into the different orientations and perspectives of the groups. Many differences can be noted but one which stands out has to do with the reception of the Holy Spirit. Catholic Pentecostals hold "Life in the Spirit" seminars which last for seven weeks. Any person interested in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is required to attend this seminar once a week. At the conclusion of the seminar, each member of the class is then prayed for to receive the Holy Spirit; a rite which is reminiscent of confirmation classes and finally, reception of the sacrament of confirmation. Classical Pentecostals feel that the Holy Spirit cannot be regulated; any time a person feels he desires the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, he may receive it. Many of the other differences observed, such as the style of worship, have been previously reported.

The Catholic church is only one of several denominations

(Lutheran, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist) to have members entering into the neo-Pentecostal movement. A modification of this study would be to branch out into other denominations to see what factors, if any, dispose a person to remain a member of his denomination of orientation as opposed to transferring his membership to a Classical Pentecostal church. Likewise, the former Catholic Classical Pentecostal respondents in this study are all members of the same Classical Pentecostal church. In any further study, members of other Classical Pentecostal denominations could be selected to be interviewed. One might find that attraction to a different Pentecostal denomination other than the one used in this study would bring forth different results.

One of the many questions raised in the process of doing this study is why there is such an upsurge of Pentecostalism today. Historically, many possible explanations for the growth and development of Pentecostalism have been given; some of these possible reasons are discussed in Chapter I of this thesis. None of the explanations given to date (e.g., a sense of belonging, attraction by immigrants, emotional and psychological release, and boredom with the traditional churches) seem to do justice to explaining the growth of this movement. They are, at best, partial explanations which fit a particular group at a given time.

This author believes an effort should be made on the part of sociologists of religion to find a more inclusive and conclusive reason for the growth of Pentecostalism; especially a reason which would help to justify the immense growth of the movement in the past ten years.

During the interviews for this study, many respondents wanted to give theological, rather than social reasons for their decision to remain in or leave the Catholic church. Using the theoretical framework of the present study, it would be possible for a sociologist to focus the study on the theological cognitions of an individual and the part they play in dissonance resolution. For example, some respondents felt that the priest was given authority by God to forgive sins and that breaking from the Catholic church would deprive them of this outlet; hence, they remained in the Catholic church for a theological, and not a social, reason.

The distinction between theological cognitions and an individual's theology is not a clear distinction. Perhaps a sociologist of religion would be unable to determine an empirical referrent when dealing with theological cognitions. If this is the case, a study of this nature would be best conducted by a theologian or philosopher who, unlike a sociologist, can deal with the abstract "realities" set forth by the respondents.

In informal conversations with the respondents after the interview, this author was faced with this type of situation. In discussing the growth of Pentecostalism with members of the movement, the reasons often given were theological. One of the more frequently given reasons for the growth of the movement in such large numbers today was that "God is currently pouring out his Spirit on people all over the world in preparation for the trials which are to come before the end of the world." (One of the basic tenets of Pentecostalism is that Jesus is the soon-coming king.) Although this explanation was interesting, as a sociologist, this author was ill-prepared to deal with it.

Another question which has been raised as a result of this study is what direction the Catholic Pentecostal movement will take in the near future. During the writing of this thesis, the Catholic Pentecostal movement has been gaining publicity in both religious publications and secular publications as well. Until very recently, the Catholic Pentecostal movement has fit in with the traditional Catholic church in terms of beliefs and practices. Although some clergy did not approve of the movement, most of the hierarchy in the Catholic church tolerated or even supported the movement. Recently, however, the church is becoming more polarized in their attitude toward Pentecostalism.



Within the past three months, the two top leaders of the Catholic Pentecostal movement in the United States moved to Belgium to work with the only Catholic cardinal who has openly supported Pentecostalism. This move on the part of the national leaders leaves the movement in the United States without spokesmen or leadership, at least for the present time.

As the Catholic Pentecostal movement has become more widespread and visible to more members of the Catholic church, more division, it is predicted, will come between those Catholics who are "spirit-filled" and those who are not. By one set of people, the Pentecostal movement is seen as a necessary and good addition to Catholicism; to the other set, the movement is seen as being divisive and harmful to an already shaky foundation of the church.

What the result of the current disagreement will be is not known at this time. This author believes, however, that sociologists of religion as well as sociologists interested in the areas of social movements and social change would benefit from further explorations into the phenomenon of Pentecostalism in the United States today.

## APPENDIX A

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN THE  
CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.  
(REPORT OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS)

Beginning in 1967, the so-called Pentecostal movement has spread among our Catholic faithful. It has attracted especially college students. This report will restrict itself to the phenomenon among Catholics. It does not intend to treat classic Pentecostalism as it appears in certain Protestant ecclesial communities.

In the Catholic church the reaction to this movement seems to be one of caution and somewhat unhappy. Judgements are often based on superficial knowledge. It seems to be too soon to draw definitive conclusions regarding the phenomenon and more scholarly research is needed. For one reason or another the understanding of this movement is colored by emotionalism. For this there is some historical justification and we live with a suspicion of unusual religious experience. We are also face to face with socially somewhat unacceptable norms of religious behavior. It should be kept in mind that this phenomenon is not a movement in the full sense of the word. It has no national structure and each individual prayer meeting may differ from another.

Many would prefer to speak of it as a charismatic

renewal. In calling it a Pentecostal movement we must be careful to disassociate it from classic Pentecostalism as it appears in Protestant denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, the United Pentecostal Church, and others. The Pentecostal movement in the Catholic church is not the acceptance of the ideology or practices of any denomination, but likes to consider itself a renewal in the spirit of the first Pentecost. It would be an error to suppose that the emotional, demonstrative style of prayer characteristic of the Protestant denominations has been adopted by Catholic Pentecostals. The Catholic prayer groups tend to be quiet and somewhat reserved. It is true that in some cases it has attracted emotionally unstable people. Those who come with such a disposition usually do not continue. Participants in these prayer meetings can also exclude them. In this they are not always successful.

It must be admitted that theologically the movement has legitimate reasons for existence. It has a strong biblical basis. It would be difficult to inhibit the work of the Spirit which manifested itself so abundantly in the early Church. The participants in the Catholic Pentecostal movement claim that they receive certain charismatic gifts. Admittedly, there have been abuses, but the cure is not a denial of their existence but their proper use. We still need further research on the matter of charismatic gifts.

Certainly, the recent Vatican Council presumes that the Spirit is active continuously in the Church.

Perhaps our most prudent way to judge the validity of the claims of the Pentecostal Movement is to observe the effects on those who participate in the prayer meetings. There are many indications that this participation leads to a better understanding of the role the Christian plays in the Church. Many have experienced progress in their spiritual life. They are attracted to the reading of the scriptures and a deeper understanding of their faith. They seem to grow in their attachment to certain established devotional patterns such as devotion to the real presence and the rosary.

It is the conclusion of the Committee on Doctrine that the movement should at this point not be inhibited but allowed to develop. Certain cautions, however, must be expressed. Proper supervision can be effectively exercised only if the bishops keep in mind their pastoral responsibility to oversee and guide this movement in the Church. We must be on guard that they avoid the mistakes of classic Pentecostalism. It must be recognized that in our culture there is a tendency to substitute religious experience for religious doctrine. In practice we recommend that bishops involve prudent priests to be associated with this movement. Such involvement and guidance would be welcomed by Catholic Pentecostals.

## APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction. My name is Monica Aita, and as I told you on the telephone, I am currently interviewing Pentecostals with a Catholic background for my Master's thesis in sociology. I want to assure you again that this interview will be confidential and your name will not be used at any time. Now, before we begin, do you have any questions for me?

First, I would like to ask you a few questions about your exposure to and involvement in the Pentecostal movement.

1. When I say the word charismatic (Pentecostal) to you, what do you think of?
2. When, roughly, did you first hear of Catholics being involved in the charismatic movement?
3. How did you initially find out about the charismatic movement? (If from a person, ask question 3a. If not a person, go to question 4.)
- 3a. Does the person you learned about the charismatic movement from have a Catholic background? YES NO
4. You initially found out about the charismatic movement through \_\_\_\_\_. Please think back, though, to the first person you talked to about the charismatic movement. Does he/she have a Catholic background.  
YES NO
5. Roughly when did you have your first charismatic experience? \_\_\_\_\_

- 6a. Before that time, had you attended any church service other than Catholic? YES NO (If no, skip to question seven. If yes, ask question 6b.)
- 6b. Please name the denomination of the services attended. (Then ask for each denomination named, the number of times and reason for attending.)

Denomination	How often	Reason for going

- 7a. Before \_\_\_\_\_ (time mentioned in #5) did you consider converting to any other religions?  
YES NO (If no, go on to question 8.)
- 7b. What religions did you consider converting to? What steps did you take to convert to each religion named?

Question 8.

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the family you grew up in. I will read you a statement about beliefs some families have and ask you to tell me if the statement agrees or disagrees with the values your family had. Let me remind you that I am referring to the family you were raised in. (Hand respondent card with "strongly agree", "agree", "undecided", "disagree", and "strongly disagree" responses.)

- a. It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- b. It is important to teach the child as early as possible the manners and morals of his society.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- c. A marriage should not be made unless the couple plans to have children.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- d. The saying "mother knows best" has more than a grain of truth.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- e. A teen-ager should be allowed to decide most things for himself.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- f. The family is a sacred institution, divinely ordained.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- g. Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems as well as in their family.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- h. A well-raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- i. Petting is something a nice girl wouldn't do.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD
- j. Spare the rod and spoil the child is a true statement.  
family: SA A U D SD  
self: SA A U D SD

- k. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.
- |         |    |   |   |   |    |
|---------|----|---|---|---|----|
| family: | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| self:   | SA | A | U | D | SD |
- l. If children are told too much about sex, they are likely to go too far in experimenting with it.
- |         |    |   |   |   |    |
|---------|----|---|---|---|----|
| family: | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| self:   | SA | A | U | D | SD |
- m. In making family decisions, parents ought to take the opinions of children into account.
- |         |    |   |   |   |    |
|---------|----|---|---|---|----|
| family: | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| self:   | SA | A | U | D | SD |
- n. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.
- |         |    |   |   |   |    |
|---------|----|---|---|---|----|
| family: | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| self:   | SA | A | U | D | SD |

9. Please name your five closest friends by initial.

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

e. \_\_\_\_\_

9b. Of those you mentioned, which ones are charismatic?  
(Circle these)

9c. Now, of those who are charismatic, which ones have a Catholic background? (Star these)

Question 10.

Again, I would like to read you a list of things and this time have you tell me if you consider the following things to





14b. If yes, which church do you consider most important to you:

spiritually? \_\_\_\_\_

socially? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Return to question 8 and ask values for self at this time.

16. AGE \_\_\_\_\_

17. SEX: Male Female

18. What is the last year of school you completed? \_\_\_\_\_

19. During your educational career, how many years did you attend Catholic parochial schools? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Marital Status: \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_ Divorced  
\_\_\_\_\_ Widowed

21. Do you currently attend any religious oriented activities (such as prayer groups) beside your weekly church service?  
YES NO (if yes, please list)

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

e. \_\_\_\_\_

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