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Modern Modesty: The Renegotiation of Female Pious Dress In Modern Pentecostal Assemblies

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In Modern Pentecostal Assemblies

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Anthropology

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May 2012
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ABSTRACT

Hair buns, high necklines, long sleeves, ankle length skirts, and simple yet practical work style shoes have exemplified Pentecostal women's dress throughout the history of the movement. Their bodies fervently protected from impropriety and immorality, through prescribed attire, are the sites upon which the church inscribes its vision of the modest Pentecostal woman. How dress is used within the community to 'set apart' those assembly members whom have achieved the appropriate holiness lifestyle not only makes them upstanding members of the church assembly but also defines them as 'saints' (sanctified ones, holy assembly members) and helps to develop their relationship with God. In this paper I hope to elucidate on the use of female pious dress within the Pentecostal church assembly. I want to explore how appropriate pious dress might bring an assembly member closer to God and even illicit the gifts of the Holy Spirit within these assembly members. I also explore the scriptural reference to pious dress and the basis for its inclusion within the Pentecostal assembly, to get at its roots in hopes of understanding what defines this particular style of dress as 'holy' pious dress and can this type of dress be molded as future styles infiltrate the system.

This thesis is approved for recommendation
to the Graduate Council.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend a special thanks to Dr. JoAnn D'Alisera for her invaluable guidance and resounding support throughout this thesis project. I would also like to thank the Anthropology Department faculty and staff for their assistance, particularly Dr. Kirsten Erickson. A special thank you also goes out to Dr. Linda Coon, Chair of the History Department, for her insights into this thesis project. And thank you to the University of Arkansas Graduate School for their help all along the way.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband for the many hours of advice, patience, and editing that he put into this thesis project. It would not have been possible to make it to this point without his unwavering support and guidance.

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Introduction: Statement of Research Question and Intent

For Pentecostal assemblies, to be seen as "other" is central to their holiness lifestyle. Members of the church follow a litany of formal and informal rules, called 'holiness guidelines', which create sharply drawn lines of separation between them and their surrounding communities. The church rejects drinking, smoking, commercial television and movies, dancing, jewelry, make-up, and perfume in attempts to separate themselves from worldly sin.[i] Amongst this litany of holiness guidelines however, the most visible and definitive upon the lives of assembly members describes the modest way in which they should dress. In Pentecostal communities dress can speak about modesty and holiness, about dedication and closeness to God, and define the Pentecostal assembly to those in the outside world by visually separating the sacred from the profane.

Today, the interpretation of dress within Pentecostal Assemblies and the broader Pentecostal Church organization has barely been touched by researchers, though history after history of the church has been written and re-written. The central theme of this thesis is to fill some portion of that gap by delving into this most paramount of Pentecostal cultural elements; to elucidate upon Pentecostal dress, how it communicates identity and spirituality, and what it means when the profane and the sacred mix as dress styles are redefined in a new era. I will show how varying assemblies utilize dress to 'set-themselves apart' from mainstream society, and to define a holiness identity which can be used to communicate their closeness to God to both members of the assembly and to the outside profane world. Through the use of theoretical contributions, dress theory, and traditional fieldwork techniques I will define not only what appropriate dress is within the community, both nationally and locally, but also what happens when this concept of appropriate dress is infringed upon by the profane idea of 'fashionable

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dress'. The pollution ideology of Mary Douglas will be used to better reveal the divergence and intermingling of the sacred and profane. Finally, I will postulate if fashionable dress, whether beset upon the assembly against their wishes, or embraced within a progressive assembly, negatively impacts the prevalence of elements of the 'holiness lifestyle' that are seen as fundamental to the true Pentecostal experience.

Methodology and Fieldwork Situation

A large element of my preparation for this thesis has been delving into a plethora of historical and anthropological sources regarding the Pentecostal Church, beginning with its founding in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, through the present day. I have also evaluated theoretical ideologies associated with fashion, dress, and material religion in order to shape an appropriate lens through which I might apply a theoretical investigation of Pentecostal dress. I have chosen to utilize the work of Mary Douglas (1966) to help reveal how Pentecostal communities define and maintain boundaries, and Elaine Lawless's many works on Pentecostal communities to shed light upon how they define themselves from within, and to the outside world.

During my research I spent six months among a local Northwest Arkansas assembly, from March 2011- August 2011. This church assembly, Eden Hill Pentecostal, has provided me with invaluable first hand experiences and the resources to fully understand how dress is seen within a specific Pentecostal assembly.[ii] Through visits with assembly members and guests, I was able to learn the intricacies of how dress is expressed and viewed within the Pentecostal assembly space, and within the holiness doctrine embraced by the church.   While visiting the assembly I witnessed stratification of dress within the internal structure of the church, dress

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defined by age and/or social status within the community, and the consequences when profane

dress of the world infiltrated the assembly space. I also witnessed the interpretation of dress

codes bending and swaying as fashionable clothing choices intersected with church sanctioned

clothing doctrine.

I stumbled across the idea of studying Pentecostalism as I was visiting with my

grandmother and great aunt. One weekend at home I had a discussion with them about the

church I grew up in, which they still attended when their health permitted, when out of nowhere

my grandmother said "it's dying!" I came to find out 'it' was dying from lack of new youth

membership given the rapidly aging current assembly members. My great aunt then chimed in

postulating that individuals today do not have the 'purity of heart' to keep the traditions alive.

As I started to think about the church, my youth, and everything I witnessed there, I started to

realize that I really had very little foundational knowledge about the faith in which I was brought

up. I could not answer basic questions about what spurred the speaking of tongues, why we as

women wore dresses to church, more specifically why the wearing of pants caused quite a uproar

at our assembly during my teenage years, and how was my great uncle was able to interpret the

tongues spoken by brother Carthal and other members of the assembly.

I remembered walking into the white-washed cinder-block building every Sunday dressed

to the 'nines,' just as everyone else. The men would wear suit jackets, slacks, and a tie while the

women were always dressed in their 'Sunday best' which typically meant a knee-length skirt or

dress and a conservative blouse. We could do things that I knew other Pentecostals could not,

such as wear make-up, cut our hair, wear pants, shorts, and slacks when not at church, and wear

jewelry. All this seemed very common place. As I got older I noticed that more and more things

within the church atmosphere became more liberal and seemed to be accepted or, at least

tolerated with very little consequence. Eventually, my great uncle Henry retired as pastor. The search was on for a new pastor, and the next months were characterized by revivals, guest preachers, and extra sermons. Once selected, the new pastor started preaching vigorously against the wearing of pants. All of a sudden Patty, an assembly member who had started to wear pants on occasion was up in arms, along with many other members the assembly. The pastor would quote scripture and Patty would defend her choice saying the scripture was outdated. In the end, pants were not allowed and Patty left the assembly defeated. At the time this seemed extreme, but after reflecting upon it I realized that there was something larger going on around dress within Pentecostal circles, something I had always been oblivious to and not questioned. I realized that, after years of being sent to children's church and eventually leaving the church in my late teens, I had missed out on exposure to, and learning the importance of, major doctrinal issues. Realizing this, I knew I wanted to learn more.

While within the four walls of my Assembly of God Church, my family and I were very conservative, while outside this space, we were like anyone else in our community. Knowing how different the experience was within the assembly of my youth I grasped that if I truly wanted to understand the dress styles of current Pentecostal Assemblies I would need to do more than just read a book. I picked a conservative Pentecostal Assembly in the Northwest Arkansas area to visit. The church is associated with the United Pentecostal Church International (UPCI) which is much more conservative organization than the organization of the assembly in which I was raised. They welcomed me into the assembly with open arms, but seemed skeptical about why I was there. As someone who had grown up in a 'watered-down' version of their faith, I knew the language and could fit quite easily into the daily routines. I chose to dress as a Pentecostal when in church in order to make everyone feel more comfortable with my presence;

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although I made no qualms about who I was, my faith (or lack thereof in their perspective), and why I was there. I always felt that most viewed me as suspect, especially the associate pastor; he felt spirits, and I was pretty sure he felt a negative spirit around me. After thinking about the reasoning for this it occurred to me that my experiences and exposure to the church growing up, although helpful in some areas, was a hindrance in others. It seemed as though the associate pastor could sense that through my research I was questioning the very structure of his world, and he was not fully accepting of that pursuit.

The group of Pentecostals at Eden Hill are 'Oneness' or 'Jesus Only' Pentecostals "…so named because they believe God the Father and Jesus the Son are one and the same" (Lawless 1986:ix). Unlike the faith of my youth, which was Trinitarian, they Baptized in the name of Jesus alone and did not believe in the trinity. In their eyes I was not baptized properly as The Assembly of God faith baptized in the trinity, the 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' The rationality for the understanding of a 'Oneness' philosophy is best portrayed by Hollenweger (1969) in which he explains that "[t]he father of the Old Testament and the Holy Spirit of the present time are stated to be no more than alternative forms in which the Christ who appeared in Jesus is manifested…There is only one God, who has revealed himself under three different forms." In the early decades of the 20th century this assertion became quite scandalous, and in the end fragmented the church "The General Council of the Assemblies of God became alarmed by this development and at the meeting in October, 1916, denounced the "Oneness" sects as heretical and established the Assemblies of God as a Trinitarian body" (Lawless 1988:32). This shake-up within the Pentecostal Church system left the church fragmented with the Trinitarians moving one way and the Oneness assemblies moving the other.

I often felt that what the assembly viewed as the inadequacy of my baptism was a detriment for me being accepted within the Eden Hill community, it seemed that for some members to trust me I would need to go to the front of the sanctuary for alter calls, receive the Holy Ghost, and then become baptized in the name of Christ. This is not to say that members where not concerned for my soul, for they believe that only "Oneness" Pentecostals are going to be saved, and I'm certain that more than one of the sermons delivered while I was in attendance were delivered toward directly, regarding my salvation.

On a warm early summer day I went to church as normal only to find that the assembly was going to baptize a girl in her early teens who was the daughter of a missionary and friend of the pastor. They had come in from India and were visiting. After a particularly fiery sermon she silently left her seat and walked through the right stage door. The pastor followed and shortly thereafter she appeared in the baptismal window in a royal blue robe, which looked very much like a graduation gown. Pastor Peters stepped down into the water, and she walked up the steps on the right side and slowly descended into the tub in front of him.[iii] He placed his right hand on her forehead and his left hand on her back and plunged her backward into the water saying, "I baptize you in the name of Jesus Christ." She came up out of the water and walked up the left stairs and out of the baptismal fount throwing both her arms up in jubilation. The music began and assembly members rushed to the alter call, several receiving the Holy Spirit that day.

Eden Hill Pentecostal has about 200 members, with 75-100 showing up on any given Sunday, while approximately 50 of that group attend on a regular basis. There is quite a range in the age of the population from infants to several elderly couples who still attend regularly. Of those who attend on a regular basis, the demographics of the church are mainly Caucasian, with a few Hispanic families, one mixed-ethnicity couple, and one African American family. The

assembly members are predominantly women, only about 15 men attend on a regular basis and nearly all of them are married to one of the female assembly members. As with all Pentecostal assemblies, they proselytize to all in hopes of bringing them to Christ, and they believe that those who find God within their faith are the only individuals truly saved and who make it to Heaven.

Beginnings of Pentecostal Ideology

Pentecostal faiths have their origin in the idea that another Pentecost is coming; a millenarian ideology. Harvey Cox (1995:47) postulates that "The first Pentecost happened in Jerusalem somewhere around A.D. 34." On this occasion of Pentecost, "The Spirit's coming was marked with tongues of fire and the creation of a new community that brought together previously divided languages and nations" (ibid:47). This moment however, was marred by the meaningless rituals of life and the sins of the fallen. There would be another Pentecost. "He would pour them down in the torrents of a "latter rain," foreseen by the prophet Joel, which would surpass even the first Pentecost in its potency. There would be a worldwide resurgence of faith, and the healings and miracles that had been so evident in the first years of Christianity would happen again as a prelude to the second coming of Jesus Christ, this time to establish his visible kingdom" (ibid:47). Pentecostals are awaiting this resurgence of faith and miracles that foretell the second coming of Christ.

In 1901, a date recognized by the church community, the gifts of the spirit descended in the miracle of glossolalia. "On January 1, 1901, a young woman named Agnes Ozman was baptized in the Holy Spirit at a small Bible school in Topeka, Kansas" (Synan 2001:1). The gift of glossolalia was seen as a gift from God, a communion with Him, and became a central tenant of the Pentecostal Church. "Beginning with only a handful of people in 1901, the number of

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Pentecostals increased steadily to become the largest family of Protestants in the world by the beginning of the 21st century" (Synan 2001:1). This rapid growth was spurred by charismatic faith and a search for divine communion. This search moved to center stage in Los Angeles in 1906, when a friend of William Joseph Seymour, a self-educated traveling African American preacher, had a vision. "The Apostles, it seemed, had come to him and told him how to reclaim the gift of tongues. Both men prayed, and that night, in the modest house on North Bonnie Brae Avenue, according to Pentecostal sacred history, "the power fell" (Cox 1995:56). People poured into the modest house over the next few weeks. Enough so that the search for a new home was put into motion and a place was soon found. "Acting quickly, Seymour's friends located a vacant two-story, white-washed, wooden frame building at 312 Azusa Street…On April 14, the first service was held" (Cox 1995:56). The charismatic new faith reached out to those who were down-and-out, in need of hope. The building filled to capacity at every service as the power of the Holy Spirit fell upon them.

To these marginalized strata of society, dressing simply and modestly was not something apart from the norm. They were not wealthy, and could not afford the expensive garments preferred by the upper crusts of society with its notions of "fashion." The early church, however, was initially somewhat more open to more secular styles of dress than one might consider the church today, individuals were not turned away or pressured to dress in specific ways when attending the Azusa Street Revivals or any other cross-country revivals of the first decade of the 20th century. More often than not women wore the clothes of the day, whether for work or home. However, as Grant Wacker (2001:124) points out, "By 1910 or 1915 at the latest Pentecostals had largely adopted the "POOR-DRESS-GOSPEL"… Elders particularly worried about superfluous items of adornment, including watches, rings, hat pins, neckties, and brass buttons."

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The adoption of Wesleyan doctrinal elements included a simplicity and moderation of dress that continued to resonate with marginalized peoples who were drawn to the new faith in search of hope.

The ideology of dress within the movement was one more selling point to those looking for faith in a depressed economic situation. This faith condemned the overindulgences of the upper crust of society, and fostered a more modest and work driven way of life that resonated with poorer and lower middle class populations. Today, "the strict fundamentalist taboos and regulations imposed upon Pentecostal believers stem largely from the strong 'holiness' tradition, which was itself an outgrowth of John Wesley's Methodist notions of sanctification" (Lawless 1988:25). This evolution of dress throughout the history of the church is as revealing as it is fascinating, and is a story that will undoubtedly continue to unfold. Understanding the varying forces that influenced the church's current stance on dress will ultimately demonstrate a great deal about how member's lives are impacted by that stance, and will also help predict how the church is likely to change in the future.

Literature Review and Theoretical Perspectives

The study of dress today is a multi-disciplinary field, drawing from history, sociology, economics, and anthropology, to name but a few of the fields that currently focus on some aspects of dress dynamics. Anthropologists have been inspired by the pleas of those who came before to expand on the study of dress and the multi-disciplinary nature of present research. As such the research on dress is expanding from a more structural past, into a more agency driven future. As Karen Hansen (2004:370) puts it "The questions that the new scholarship on clothing is addressing are shaped by the paradigmatic shift from social structure to agency and practice."

We see anthropologists focusing on globalization, the significance of dress, and consumption. Unlike the era of previous theorists, such as Veblen, Blumer, and Simmel, fashion is no longer just a product of the upper crust of Western society, but a construct of society that spans all geographies as the era of global fashion makes itself known. "Contemporary fashions are created rapidly and in great volume from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, redefining both consumption and fashion itself in the process and propelling multidirectional style shifts across the globe (ibid:370). Within the contemporary lexicon we find ethnographic work detailing particular artifacts of clothing, writings on clothing's significance in the broader scheme of society, and descriptions on how important clothing is for telling us about whom we and our societies are.

There are countless ways in which the concept of 'dress' could be defined, but for the purpose of this thesis I will use the term dress as was intended by Eicher, Roach-Higgins, and Johnson (1995:7), "Dress, so defined, includes a long list of possible direct modifications to the body such as coiffed hair, colored skin, pierced ears, and scented breath, as well as an equally long list of garments, jewelry, accessories, and other categories of items added to the body as supplements." This definition envelops all other wordings for how we adorn the body including clothing, ornament, fashion, paint, tattoo, scarification, costume, apparel, etc., which have been present when delineating dress and therefore build an all-inclusive category for discussion. There is distinction made between certain important terms which fall within the category of dress, and some of these are disputed today. As Ross (2008:6) points out "…'dress,' refers to the complete look…," whereas "…'costume' is used sparingly, and to refer to dress which is donned in order to demonstrate, unambiguously, a specific identity" and finally "…'fashion'…refers to those things, material or otherwise, which at any given moment are, according to the *Oxford*

English Dictionary the "conventional usage in dress, mode of life, etc., especially as observed in the upper circles of society." Today, anthropologists are throwing out and reworking the definition of fashion to include not only the upper realms of Western society, but everyone who creates unique fashion stories, making the term fashion a more all-inclusive venue for the study of dress. This new use of the term fashion fits well into the study of Pentecostal modest dress styles as their redefining of mainstream styles within the assembly space creates a new way to look at fashion. Though espousing a desire to maintain existing modesty standards, the church also wants to move somewhat into modern dress styles, creating a unique fashion statement in the process.

These new fashions are negotiated within the Pentecostal Assembly as new dress styles and accessories are sanctioned as modest and appropriate. In the months and years leading up to some new fashion being deemed as 'acceptable,' there is a sense that the worldly fashion trends of the profane are infiltrating the sacred space of the Pentecostal Assembly. What dress says about Pentecostal women is important for the perception of holiness, thus any affront to that perception could be deemed as pollution from the outside world infiltrating the assembly. The assembly space has to be protected from the world, and this is where doctrine and scriptural references become the combatants of pollution from the profane world. The holiness and pollution theories of Mary Douglas (1966) will be used to analyze the change in dress among Pentecostal assemblies, and the rituals put in place to overcome the resulting pollution incurred from the profane world outside. Douglas (1966) discusses the meaning of holiness and how holiness contends with its profane 'other.' As a group of people who utilize a holiness doctrine in the way of dress Douglas' insights can help to understand how holiness dress is affected by forces of change from outside and within the assembly space. Her work also focuses on

boundaries, and the pollution of those boundaries. The boundaries established by the Pentecostal church help to set them apart from the world and in doing so create a microcosm of existence. Dress pollution can infiltrate this microcosm and threaten to change the very nature of holiness dress within the assembly space. Sometimes these changes are accepted and incorporated over time, and sometimes they are outright rejected. This negotiation of dress norms and the consequences of changing dress ideologies' within the assembly system can be analyzed using Douglas' (1966) pollution theory.

To understand Pentecostal dress styles and negotiations we must look at what dress says about church members and how Pentecostal Assemblies use dress in their day to day lives. How we dress says many things about who we are as individuals, groups, and society as a whole. Dress in its many forms becomes a symbol for those around us, a way to demarcate who we are and how we fit within society. According to Firth (1973:15), "[t]he essence of symbolism lies in the recognition of one thing as standing for (re-presenting) another, the relation between them normally being that of concrete to abstract, particular to general." Therefore, symbols allow individuals to communicate ideologies about themselves and how they live. This communicative property allows Pentecostal Assemblies to represent themselves from a distance through their dress styles. Within the assembly dress takes on a ritualistic quality and as Firth (1973:79) postulates, "[i]n a ritual field, performance of a symbolic act allows ideas to be shared and reformulated without use of words, or with minimal verbalization." Ritually styling ones hair before leaving the house or the act of ritually not cutting ones hair among Pentecostal females says something about their inner holiness with little need to verbalize God's importance in their lives. Firth (1973:81) goes on to discuss the ability of symbols to display multilayered meanings, "[c]ondensation, the encapsulation of many forms, or many meanings, in one symbol

by processes of contraction, suppression, and transformation, can also facilitate communication by giving a common reference point for a variety of originally disparate ideas." Within the Pentecostal space modest dress becomes more than a body covering it becomes ones way of communicating inward holiness through outward representation in dress. Dress speaks of assembly member's closeness to God, their sanctification, and saintly status. Dress also speaks to those outside of the assembly, as assembly members proselytize to those outside through their dress choices. Finally, these dress choices also profess to the outside profane world that members are 'set-apart'. Female Pentecostals are "[i]nstructed to avoid "the smallest appearance of immodesty" in their apparel, godly women were to dress in such a way that their very appearance communicated orderliness, humility, and devotion…'[t]heir outward Garb' was to express such inward virtues as meekness, submissiveness, and modesty" (Schmidt 1989:43). The multiplicity of meanings communicated by Pentecostal holiness dress makes dress one of the most important and visible ways in which Pentecostals 'set themselves apart' from mainstream society.

Why exactly do we wear clothing, and what exactly does that clothing mean? Ross (2008:6) answers this question by reverting to a German theory of dress which "…describes the uses of clothing as Schutz, Scham and Schmuck – protection, modesty, and ornament." These are also considered the 19th century theoretical perspectives on dress also discussed by Flugel (1930) and Rubinstein (1995). The first, protection, discusses the necessary use of clothing as protection against environmental conditions, but upon further reading we find that even those who live in harsh climates do not always stay completely covered with clothing, "…observations by Charles Darwin and other travelers to "primitive" societies described people who walked around naked in harsh environments…" (Rubinstein 1995:18). Wearing the proper clothing does

however help forge group cohesion; in extreme environments group cohesion is very important for survival. So under further consideration "whereas clothing may not always be essential for physical survival, appropriate dress does enhance the sharing of ideas and the development of group life. In this sense clothing may improve the chances of survival" (Rubinstein 1995:21). For Pentecostal Assemblies protection of female bodies becomes very important to the patriarchal church heads. Female modest dress serves to forge group cohesion among the female assembly members but also protects their bodies from the profane world. In essence, holiness dress is seen as playing a vital role in maintaining assembly structure and concealing the sexual and spiritual excesses of the female form.

The second theory presents modesty as the reason for dress. In Pentecostal assemblies modest dress helps to strengthen the bonds of the society and represent a united front against the outside profane world. Most often modesty is referenced by the Genesis story of Adam and Eve within religious circles, but importantly the concept of what modest 'is' varies according to the individuals involved in any particular society. What is modest in one society might be considered extremely seductive to another society and their social norms, "[s]uggesting that every society develops its own ideas of what is appropriate and that these ideas are associated with social identity and expected behavior…modesty is a learned behavior and not instinctual" (Rubinstein 1995:17). What may seem modest to the world at large, for instance a pair of pants or jeans on a female, would be scandalous within a Pentecostal assembly. The pants or jeans would expose the female figure inviting in lust and derision among the assembly.

Finally, ornament is the last theory on why clothing and dress are necessary. And as far as ornament goes, Ross (2008:6) says that "universals of male and female beauty simply do not exist, nor are there ways to predict what will be seen as enhancing that beauty." What is seen as

ornament in mainstream society is most often deemed as excessive within Pentecostal circles. Yet some assemblies do allow minor pieces of jewelry under auspices of functionality, though it is very important that the beauty of these items not be an issue. It is also important to remember that although dress does accomplish all of the above to some extent, it also does much more than this. And therefore, one cannot simply allude to a set structure of theories, but must look at the context in which dress is socialized within a given society, and take into account the social norms and values of that group and the individuals within it in order to draw an accurate depiction of what dress means to those who wear it.

Dress not only means something to those who wear it but dress also alters the body and says something about the wearer at the same time as it exposes the wearer as belonging or not belonging to a particular environment, group, or subset. According to Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1995:11), "Body supplements act as alterants of the body processes as they serve simultaneously as microphysical environments and as interface between body and the macrophysical environment." Dress is a way to communicate identities about individuals and larger populations and "the list of possible meanings communicated by type of dress is seemingly endless….Ultimately the meanings communicated by the objectively discernible types and properties of dress depend on each person's subjective interpretations of them" (ibid:11). We decide the meanings of our dress in many ways, but one of those ways is through socialization within our society. We each determine the cultural ideologies of situations, and dress relative to those societal standards in such a way as to embrace or to oppose those standards. For Pentecostal assemblies the opposition of worldly dress not only defines them as unique and "other" but also allows them to be closer to God. Although Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1995) place an extreme importance of the vocality of dress within the social situation,

Ross (2008:6) is hesitant about what dress can say about an individual or society as a whole. "It forms language, if a restricted one. There are relatively few things that can be "said" through clothes, but they are very important things." However different in scope the general theories on communication are, the ideology that dress does communicate something about individuals and societies is present in almost every work I've encountered on the topic.

John Flugel (1930) adds to the discussion of the protective functions of clothes, whether from the climate or environment, human enemies, accidents, animals, or magic and spirits. Flugel also addresses the notion of what clothing says about those who wear it, "[i]t is from their clothes that we form a first impression of our fellow –creatures as we meet them…In the case of an individual whom we have not previously met, the clothes he is wearing tell us at once something of his sex, occupation, nationality, and social standing, and thus enable us to make a preliminary adjustment of our behavior towards him, long before the more delicate analysis of feature and of speech can be attempted" (ibid:15). His ideas on dress as a form of communication go further into the works of Joanne B. Eicher (1973, 1995, 1995, & 2000), Jennifer Craik (1994), Robert Ross (2008), and many more authors. It is this 'learning from a distance' inherent to dress that allows the human species to assess individuals before meeting them, but it is also this concept that helps to negotiate the labeling of 'otherness' among groups of individuals and within societies.

Jennifer Craik (1994) discusses the intersection of high fashion and everyday fashion as she also speaks of the communicative properties of dress. According to Craik the term 'fashion' should be re-fashioned, she states "[f]ashion should not be equated with modern European high fashion. Nor are fashion systems confined to a particular economic or cultural set of arrangements….Although it may dominate popular consciousness about fashion, other fashion

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systems co-exist, compete and interact with it…In short, the term fashion should be dissolved and reconstructed" (ibid:xi). Craik relates fashion to language as many other authors do, suggesting that if we remove the structures of high fashion from the general definition of the word, a new world of fashion opens up. "This revised idea of fashion systems entails systematic and changing styles of dress, adornment and conduct; 'grammars' of fashion (bodies of rules and forms) that underpin codes of dress behavior; consensual denotations of power, status and social location; and recognized codes of self-formation through the clothes and bodily adornment" (ibid:xi). The fashion systems which are opened upon this revision are those that involve everyday life, the fashion of the masses. Fashion here is more than what appears upon the runway; it communicates about the individual, it serves functional roles within society, and it serves to break or forge societal boundaries such as those defined by Pentecostal Assemblies through dress.

Robert Ross (2008) discusses the notion that like languages, clothing systems are constantly changing and adapting to their surroundings, they are never static as has been suggested by the 'othering' of cultures in the past. Ross brings the idea of enculturation into his analysis when speaking of the changing of clothing as one grows up in a particular society, "this may lead to a situation of bilingualism, and potentially interesting moments of 'code-switching'…" (ibid:7). As we mature we are taught how to dress, as we grow into adults we might make decisions that counter what we were taught, or which incorporate what we were taught into the larger notions of dress that surround us, creating a multi-vocal dress experience. Within Pentecostal assemblies this multi-vocality of dress is present in the different dress styles among different ages of the assembly population, as the younger populations reinvent fashion

and the older populations embrace simplicity in holiness dress. Through multi-vocality holiness dress within assemblies is negotiated and reinterpreted.

Penny Storm furthers (1987:viii) the discussion of the importance of dress in communication of identity saying the messages sent by dress "cause others to form an idea about us and to hold certain expectations that can influence the course of our relationship with them." She maintains that the language of dress extends out from individuals to whole societies telling us quite a lot about the cultures in which it is found. "Dress is a powerful social force, especially in unstable societies where existing order is frequently challenged. In such societies, dress provides an instantaneous and universal means of recognition of those in power, those in rebellion against that power, and those who have no interest in the conflict" (ibid:ix). This idea is very similar to Ross' (2008:7) notion that claims about dress and ideologies about dress can be "forced upon the wearer of the clothes by some other people, as in the case of those slaves who were not allowed to wear shoes or a hat or, in parts of the Arabian peninsula, a full facial veil….." Penny Storm (1987) returns to dress as a form of stratification within society, while she also describes its use as a tool of communication to help portray that stratification. Within my fieldwork experience at Eden Hill Pentecostal, the stratification of the assembly itself was self-evident as I noted the difference in dress between guests, 'saints' (sanctified ones, holy assembly members), and younger assembly members, and how their respective dress choices corresponded to their perceived and realized roles within the church hierarchy.

Patricia Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab (1993) view clothing as a mediating factor in the American experience, meaning we change our clothing as we move from being an immigrant into being an American, or as we move from the Midwest to the East or West Coast of the country or vice versa and as we embrace religious, political, and social identities. Cunningham

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and Voso Lab (ibid:1-2) look to reveal through these essays "the politics, or power of dress, especially in its function as a symbol of American ideals…examin[ing] changes in clothing behavior through a variety of experiences: meeting physical and social challenges and risks in a vast and unfamiliar land, dealing with conflict and concession, taking on new identities, and accommodating lives to new roles and altered social positions." Here the communication function of dress is used as a tool for assimilation into society, or to stand out from society therefore forming a new societal context.

Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne B. Eicher, and Kim K. P. Johnson (1995) have collected a group of readings illustrating the relationships between dress and identities. They contend that "…individuals acquire identities through social interaction in various social, physical, and biological settings. So conceptualized, identities are communicated by dress as it announces social positions of wearer to both wearer and observers within a particular interaction situation" (ibid:12). Over time these identities are internalized by the individual and society, and multiple identities might be present. The use of dress for Eicher, Roach-Higgins, and Johnson (1995) is an extremely subjective and personal choice, one that structures the identity of the wearer not only for themselves but for all others with whom they come into contact. Dress helps one acknowledge self and form identities which the rest of the world perceive. "We learn to depend upon dress to declare our identity to ourselves and others, to pave the way for interaction with others, and to maintain positive feelings of personal identity" (ibid:99). For Pentecostals, removing themselves from the world through dress becomes a negotiation due to their evangelical doctrine which instructs them to reach out into the world to save the souls of worldly individuals. This brings worldly forms of dress into the assembly, usually in the form of what is deemed fashionable at the moment. These fashionable items of clothing may be reinterpreted as

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appropriate with the right tweaks here and there, the assembly learning to accept them as appropriate forms of dress over time.

Ruth Rubinstein (1995) discusses clothing as it represents connectedness to certain groups or is used to distinguish one from those groups. Dress can also signify power and distinguish those in power from those who are not. Rubinstein (ibid:8) discusses the importance of attire as clothing signs which "make visible the structure and organization of interactions within specific social context…Exercising authority, wielding power, differentiating the sexes, and arousing sexual interest are all facilitated by the employment of categories of clothing signs." Rubinstein (ibid:11) goes on to discuss clothing "speech" defined as "an individual's manipulation of the language of clothing to produce specific utterances characterized by personal intonation and style. Clothing speech can occur through conscious or unconscious actions as we choose clothing to wear for the day. "The choice might express a personal vision, mirror and emotional state, be idiosyncratic; yet it has no real social significance" (ibid:12). Public speak occurs when large numbers of individuals collectively decide to dress alike. "Such dress may serve as a public announcement that the group has declined to accept the ideas or values of mainstream culture; their clothes indicate heresy. Moreover, such clothing may convey a message about a particular social condition, or a political or economic event. As such, the styles are a form of societal discourse" (ibid:12). Rubinstein brings our attention to a vocabulary of dress with each ideology correlating to how dress can be used to speak to society, ourselves, or create discourse in general. For Arthur (1999) as well, dress is a form of communication. And not only does dress define the social unit, it also segregates or marginalizes that unit, makes the unit 'other'. "Unique dress attached to specific cultural groups, then can function to insulate

group members from outsiders, while bonding members to each other" (ibid:3-4). Dress here forms boundaries, just as it does within Pentecostal Assembly spaces.

It is important to understand historical reference to religious clothing in discussions on Pentecostal clothing choices. Though many assemblies today have thrown off the auspices of frugality for more middle class lifestyles including clothing choices, the church's foundation was one of frugality. To live a holy and pious life was to live a life of minimalism, even where clothing and dress choices were concerned. An early reference to clothing restrictions in a religious context can be found in Timothy Fry's (1981) translated and edited volume written by St. Benedict (c. 480-526) as a guide to monastic living. Chapter 55 entitled "The Clothing and Footwear of the Brothers" discusses the allotment and type of clothing which should be obtained for the monks of an abbey. Frugality is present here, "Monks must not complain about the color or coarseness of all these articles, but use what is available in the vicinity at a reasonable cost" (ibid:76). The addition of anything not necessary to daily function was seen as extravagance and therefore punishable by the abbot. St. Benedict himself had given up the world and its wicked ways for a life of seclusion, "Benedict as a young man let his native Nursia in Umbria to attend school in Rome, but became disgusted with the paganism he saw and renounced the world to live in solitude in a cave at Subiaco, some thirty miles east of Rome" (ibid:9-10). We can compare this seclusion and the seclusion of many other Saints in late antiquity and the early middle ages to the seclusion sought after by Pentecostal assemblies of a century ago. However, their evangelism leads our Pentecostals back into the world to spread the word of Christ, and in doing so exposing Pentecostals to the world. This exposure makes identity markers and symbols such as dress even more important to maintaining the boundaries of their physical separation from the world.

Understanding the history of Pentecostalism in the United States can help one to understand were dress ideology developed and how that ideology plays into the ideas of dress in today's assemblies. Randall J. Stephens (2008) provides a historical account of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements in the American South. His coverage of Pentecostalism is detail oriented with accounts of the individuals who took part in the developing of Pentecostalism today and the events that shaped the Pentecostal movement and its ideology. This is truly a people's history of the movement in the American South. Grant Wacker (2001) provides a cultural history of the birth of the Pentecostal movement around 1900 – 1925. Wacker provides a detailed placement of women in the early church. This placement of women directly mirrors the foundational doctrines which restricted the power and tamed the sexuality of women within modern assemblies today. Wacker delves into the scriptural references which are developed in an attempt to establish boundaries within Pentecostal communities as well which can be shown as an early representation of today's boundaries between the church and the outside world. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (2006) provides a snapshot of one of the foundational moments in Pentecostal history at Azusa Street. Robeck discusses Pentecostalism's humble beginnings at the Azusa Street Mission through the birth of Global Pentecostalism as missionaries left Azusa Street and carried the message of Pentecostalism around the world. His discussion of class distinction here is somewhat important to our understanding of the rejection of the world and worldly things that infiltrates the church today.

Two of the most referenced authors on Pentecostal history are Walter J. Hollenweger (1972) and Harvey Vinson Synan. Hollenweger (1972) provides a detailed history of the development of the Pentecostal Church not only in the United States but also in Brazil, South Africa, and Europe. After providing historical reference, he moves on to discuss the beliefs and

practices of the church, discussing every aspect of doctrine and belief present in church theology

and its translation from biblical and social reference including a brief description on dress

ideology.   The text is criticized only in its objectivity since Hollenweger grew up in the

movement and was a preacher for 10 years however, this seems to provide a frankness and deep

understanding of the movement that helps the reader to experience a very real picture of

Pentecostal ideology and charismatic faith. Vinson Synan (1971a, 1971b, and 2001) has written

numerous books on the Pentecostal faith, and he also grew up within the movement. Synan

(2001) reviews the growth of the Pentecostal and Holiness movements between 1901 and 2001.

The chapter on women and their agency and power within assemblies is particularly helpful

when trying to recognize the importance of female dress within church as a whole. The text also

breaks down the denominational differences represented by the many different sects of

Pentecostalism present today. Synan (1971a) discusses the historical beginnings of the church,

including doctrine, denominationalism and theology of the church in the twentieth century.

Finally, Synan (1971b) expands his coverage to discuss the whole of the Holiness-Pentecostal

movement within the United States. This source provides a detailed history of the movement

and the factionalism that developed as the church experienced growing pains within the

twentieth century.

Harvey Cox (1995) discusses the history of and the renegotiation of Pentecostalism in the

21st century. Cox couples his historical data with his own fieldwork experiences among

Pentecostal assemblies. He pays particularly attention to changes in the church as priorities shift.

Edith L. Blumhofer (1993) writes about American Culture and the face of Pentecostalism,

particularly The Assemblies of God. She focuses on female placement within Pentecostal

assemblies, which is pertinent for my current research. Nichole Rodriguez Toulis (1997)

discusses ethnicity and gender among Jamaican Pentecostals in England in her work. Her work

expresses the concepts of boundaries and gender and how they play out in both the context of

being Jamaican and living in England and being Pentecostal. Her section on Pentecostal gender

negotiations is of particular interest here.

Elaine J. Lawless (1983a, 1983b, 1986, 1987, 1988a-d, 1991, and 1993) has written

numerous texts on her fieldwork experiences while working among Pentecostal assemblies.

Lawless (1996) analyses the sermons she has collected and heard in an effort to determine if over

time these women preachers have changed their sermons to reflect feminist ideologies. Lawless

(1993) focuses on a small Midwest geographical area wherein she collected life stories of women

in ordained ministry from many different denominations. Whereas in the previous work she

collected stories from women in different denominations in (1988b) Lawless looks at Pentecostal

women Preachers in Central Missouri. She seeks to understand how female preachers negotiate

their power and authority within a male dominated church system and how the female identity is

molded to fit the role prescribed by the church assembly. To help readers to gain a broad

understanding Lawless includes life histories and sermons from the women she works with.

Lawless (1988a) studies the particular religious practices of "Jesus Only" Pentecostals. The

assembly in which I spent much of my own research time was also a "Jesus Only" assembly and

so her insights here are of particular importance to my understanding of doctrine and religious

ideology. Lastly, in her work on hairstyles within Pentecostal assemblies Lawless (1986)

addressed one of the most prominent forms of dress within Pentecostal societies, the growth and

preparation of women's hair. This article was essential to my understanding of how hair is seen

within Pentecostal assemblies in relation to power, symbology, and scriptural reference.

With the work on religious items of dress being scattered, one finds the work of

Pentecostal traditions of dress equally scattered in an anthropological sense. Although there are

many primary sources available on camp meetings, diaries of founding figures, and records of

the founding of churches and assemblies, these sources are lacking on information relating the

daily lives and functions of dress within assemblies and among their members. Although many

historical references and texts are available, very few discuss any dress related topic within

Pentecostal society, except for a rare brief mention via discussions on church holiness, and

within these fleeting instances dress is bogged down in a long list of prohibitions. The

significance of what dress means for the Pentecostal assembly becomes lost in doctrinal speech.

It is my hope that this thesis will fill a brief portion of this gap.

To Be Set Apart: The Negotiation of Holiness Dress Within A Northwest Arkansas

Assembly

As I sank into the plush red sofa with my feet resting on a molted cow hide rug, I found

myself sitting across from a 'desk' of sorts: an old weathered grey wooden barn door, lying flat

across a pair of white-washed wooden sawhorses, seemingly floating in front of a white lattice-

backed leather chair. I admit I was quite surprised by the modern eclectic style of the office of

an associate pastor within a self-proclaimed conservative Pentecostal community. My vision

moved around the room and then back to the desk as if I were drawn to its unusual presence

within the otherwise modern space. Leviticus 19:2 suddenly came to mind, "Speak to all the

assembly of the children of Israel, and say to them: 'You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God

am holy'" (Leviticus 19:2).[iv] Holiness in essence means to be "set apart from the world" as God,

himself, was set apart from the world. To be truly 'Holy', one has to follow the footsteps of God

and welcome Him into ones heart by adhering to holiness doctrine both inside and outside the

body. The old weathered door was not pretty, extravagant, expensive, or showy, but it was set apart, seemingly marginal within the modern space of the office.

To be separate or marginal from the larger population is a central theme in Pentecostal tradition. There are many ways of achieving a separate identity, and Pentecostals have developed strict codes for the purpose of making themselves 'other.' "The Pentecostal code of morality forbids smoking, drinking, dancing, swearing, watching commercial films, wearing jewelry, perfume, or cologne, dressing provocatively, and have[ing] pre- or extramarital sex" (Brodwin 2003:88). All of these rules can cause a separation from mainstream society, but I believe the most impactful upon their daily lives are the rules surrounding the manner in which they dress. "Pentecostals demand that people "in the world" go through a moral change, not incrementally but, rather, absolutely and inwardly, from sinfulness to redemption" (Brodwin 2003:89). One way this change is outwardly represented is by how one may dress within the community. It is important to think of dress as a work in progress which deviates in the very church assemblies which apply strict codes of modesty. From within assemblies, the specific aspects and requirements of dress are negotiated and renegotiated continually, as permissive or strict ideologies shift and sway through the community, the church as a whole, and the outside world.

At Eden Hill Pentecostal Church, the notion of being 'set apart' infiltrates every aspect of Pentecostal life. Even how they present themselves to the world through dress must be seen as 'other'. "Jesus said that we are in the world but not of the world (John 17:14-16); therefore, we are not to love the world, neither the things in the world, for the world appeals to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life (I John 2:15-16)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011d:1). From within the assembly specific aspects and requirements of dress are negotiated and

renegotiated continually, these dress requirements can transform the body of the church and how

it is perceived by visitors and assembly members alike. This is all based on the dress of

individual bodies, and to what extent dress-style is enforced. As the body changes with age, the

style of dress also fluctuates within the population, such as the transition to more conservative

dress as women get older and/or become saints within the community.[v] This change in the

outward appearance of the body fluctuates as well within the sanctuary space itself. As Arthur

(1999:3) points out, "[s]ymbols such as dress, help delineate the social unit and visually define

its boundaries because they give non-verbal information about the individual." These boundaries

are present within the sanctuary among those who have greater stature within the assembly; those

who are held to an assumed higher standard of dress within the community.

Within the Pentecostal community, dress varies significantly even as it is an important

physical distinction through which members seek to distinguish themselves from the outside

world. Some communities require pantyhose, hair buns, and prohibit essential "vanity" items

such as wedding bands and make-up. Others accept variations on these themes, allowing things

which are deemed functional: wedding bands, watches, hair barrettes, and head bands. The

United Pentecostal Church International sanctions the use of functional jewelry and accessories

and a few modern clothing styles are also condoned. At Eden Hill Pentecostal dresses are

encouraged to be below the knees, shirt sleeves to run past the elbow (although as long as there

are sleeves one can get by), and necklines to be modest. Hair must be curled or fashioned in

some way to look 'nice', skin-colored mineral make-up is acceptable, but 'enhancement' make-

up is not, wedding rings are acceptable along with functional jewelry such as watches. The

overall idea is to dress in a respectable and modest manner that reflects your holiness not only to

those around you but to God himself. We are urged, "…present your bodies a living sacrifice,

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holy, acceptable unto God…and don't be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God" (Romans 12:1-2). Sister Sarah, an informant within the assembly, explained that when you come to church you were 'Dressing up for God.' The way she spoke of the moment of entering the church it seemed as if this were a date with the most important person in one's life. I contend that dress is part of the courting ritual of church members, a part of their holiness that enables them to reach a purity of heart. Once this moment is reached they can commune with God himself, worshipping him and basking in this presence. This concept flows nicely into the ideology that the church is present as the 'bride of Christ' and each member therefore must be present, willing, and most importantly prepared both externally and internally to receive Christ's presence fully; Christ's presence is often represented in the gifts of the Holy Spirit.[vi]

One Sunday morning a guest, dressed all in black, sat timidly behind me watching as the alter call service began. She had introduced herself to me earlier as Donna and was the mother of one of the youth members of the church. She was here because her daughter wanted her to come and experience Christ. Her clothing was typical of a guest who was unfamiliar to the assembly, black V-neck T-shirt and black pants, a few pieces of jewelry here and there, and make-up. Throughout the service she sang meekly and danced in place with other members of the assembly, obviously nervous and a bit out of place. Just as things started to wrap up after the fiery sermon presented by Pastor Peters over refraining from the evils of the world, the alter call was made. The music started softly at first over the last few lines of the sermon being uttered as assembly members started to make their way up to the front of the sanctuary space. Donna leaned forward and asked if I was going to go up, I shook my head no and said "not today" politely. She frowned for a second and seemed unsure of herself; I said that she should go up

and pray if she wanted to, assuring her she would be welcomed. At that, she made the decision and started walking slowly to the front.

While she walked forward a man fell, what assembly members call being 'slain by the spirit,' on the other side of the sanctuary. She walked straight for the commotion as a large number of female saints had gathered around this man, while several of the larger men in the church held on to him. He was bright red and convulsing, sweating profusely all over his three piece suit, and he was uttering sentences we could not understand. This went on for many minutes; saints laying hands upon him and praying, both for him and with him, until he came to and was gently sat in a chair. Donna had made her way to the large group just as the man came to, and the saints turned their attention to her; one by one laying their hands on her forehead, arms, and body. Pastor Peters walked over and thrust his hand on her forehead, sending her backward slightly, and she was slain by the spirit. She had more control than the man, who had lost the ability to stand, but was crying and mumbling something inaudible as her up-turned face turned red and became streaked with tears. And although there were people there to catch her, she stood under her own power as the saints prayed around her. After a few minutes of prayer she regained her composure, and sat for a moment to regain her strength before returning to her chair.

After that Sunday I saw Donna on several more occasions. She was wearing a dress now, less jewelry, and her make-up was essentially all removed. In her conversion experience she was slain by the spirit, but to partake in further gifts of holiness life one must 'give oneself over' to a holiness lifestyle, giving up the things of the world for the gifts he provides. Donna had started to give up the things from her past life in an effort to show that holiness lived within her, and one of the first things she gave up was certain aspects of dress from her worldly existence.

Dressing for God becomes almost a rite of passage, what Van Gennep (1960) might view as part of an initiation process into the assembly for new members as they take the steps to become a saint within the church community. "Once believers go through the experience of "receiving the Holy Ghost" and speak in tongues, they become group members and the benefits are multifold" (Lawless 1988a:47). The first step after this conversion for many is embracing modest dress. Dress helps to delineate you as one of the fold, separating one from worldliness. Although separation does involve giving up other worldly objects, dress delineates one within the crowd. Dress becomes a portrayal of your inward holiness, and therefore represents your faith in God as a whole. As new members embrace holiness and search for God within their hearts they hope to further their sanctification by incurring future gifts of the spirit.

From an individual's first visit they are told stories of other conversions and testimonies of what God has done for other members. These testimonies lead new members to the 'right' path, and encourage a change not only in their outward appearance but from within. "Their own stories about Pentecostal behavior are not told as sensationalized accounts of bizarre behavior, but rather are carefully constructed, nearly formulaic personal experience stories reiterated to contrast an outsider's view and an insider's view" (Lawless 1988a:65). At Eden Hill Pentecostal these testimonies are tightly controlled by the pastor, he chooses the individuals and tells their stories as they stand in front of the assembly. On one particular occasion the life stories learned were of a drug-dealing past, infertility, abuse, a World War II veteran finding God on the battlefield in Germany, and many more. These testimonies, along with sermons, often mention how dress can be an obstacle in the path to God. One particular testimony revolved around a woman who did not respect herself, and through coming to church and accepting God she had reinvented her life, which included changing how she dressed. Often this constant persistence on

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new individuals to have conversion experiences and to change their worldly behavior gives

Pentecostalism a less than positive aura. According to Lawless (1988a:41), "[p]Pentecostal dress,

rejection of the world and persistent proselytizing all contribute to a "holier than thou" attitude

that is difficult for outsiders to accept, but is generally cultivated with pride within the ranks of

Pentecostals." Although assemblies are aware of this stigma placed upon them from the outside,

they embrace who they are and work to share their experiences of Christ with others. One of the

ways they combat the world and proselytize is through dressing modestly in the world, bringing

attention to their faith through their long hair, long skirts, and modest apparel while at the same

time drawing attention to the inappropriate dress and behaviors in the world around them by their

very presence within the space.

To Be Set Apart: Liminality and the Marginalization of Pentecostal Assemblies

Upon beginning this study I had focused on women's dress as observed by others, and so

I felt I had a well-defined idea of what dress styles to expect upon entering a Pentecostal

community. I expected something similar to what Lawless (1988a:36) experienced in her

research, "[p]Pentecostal women always wear[ing]dresses, and the dresses they wear are usually

of somber colors, fall well below the knees, and have long sleeves and high necklines…[they]

wear no jewelry or make-up and, because they are not allowed to cut their hair, it either falls

down their backs or is piled high on their heads in a 1950ish "beehive" hairstyle or pulled back

in a severe bun." I somehow had a woman dressed in a prairie style dress, hair in a bun, with

stockings on, and simple work related shoes running around in my head. Upon my arrival at

Eden Hill Pentecostal I was blown away by the appearance of almost every women in the

assembly, none of these women looked like what I had envisioned. They were wearing

fashionable, yet modest clothing. I saw some of the newest trends such as glittery headbands,

the bright floral patterns and colors of spring, knee high boots, stiletto heels, and hair that was all over the place.

I came to find out that today the rules of modest dress are preached in assembly after assembly, but the dynamic of dress within assemblies has changed. As the Pentecostal faith continues its rapid growth, individuals join the church who able to afford and willing to wear more stylish clothing and worldly belongings. And just as the church had to relent to technology such as the computer, while still considered somewhat dangerous, the assemblies had to incorporate new methods of modest dress in the process of their growth. As I peruse local Pentecostal church websites today, many make it clear to come as you are, to be comfortable in your appearance. Anyone is welcome to attend services and experience the Pentecostal community, though after being among the community for several visits there seems to be the expectation of conforming to the holiness standards of the Church, in dress as in other elements of personal comportment. "Holiness is not a means of earning salvation but a result of salvation. As such, it comes by grace through faith. Holiness cannot be manufactured by words of the flesh but must come as we submit to the leadership and control of the Holy Spirit" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1). This must be a choice made within one's heart, and it takes commitment of one's whole heart to follow God and emulate holiness completely. "We must strive after holiness and receive the progressive work of sanctification" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1). One way assembly members can represent their decision to strive after holiness is through the choice of modest dress.

Sister Sarah explained that this style of dress was a lifestyle choice, and one that should not be made lightly.[vii] She described those within the community as 'set-apart', being marginalized. "It is hard to be separate," she said. Discussing the hardships of giving up

worldly belongings and giving oneself fully to Christ in dress and spirit, she alluded to the separation of Christ himself, "He was separate", and to honor and accept him we must also be separate. By accepting a dress that separates them, they are recreating the separation experienced by Christ within their own lives and therefore they can truly welcome Him into their lives. "Proper forms of dress reified the virtues and dispositions that were considered essential for a pious woman. Instructed to avoid 'the smallest appearance of immodesty' in their apparel, godly women were to dress in such a way that their very appearance communicated orderliness, humility, and devotion" (Schmidt 1989:43). Modesty of dress allows for the sanctification of the soul, the purifying of one's external life from the sins of the rejected world occurs only within the marginalized space of the "set apart" body and the wider area of the marginalized church community.

As Victor Turner (1974:97) points out, "I would argue that it is in liminality that communities emerge, if not as a spontaneous expression of sociability, at least in a cultural normative form – stressing equality and comradeship as norms…" The sanctuary can be divided into many different areas including the sitting area, the stage, and the area in between, the liminal space, where the saints and worldly visitors try to commune with the Holy Spirit. The liminal moment when one is in the area in front of the stage in worldly dress, reaching for God elicits a sense of communitas with the modestly dressed person standing next to you. As Turner (ibid:128) states, "[c]ommunitas breaks in through the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority." Although, the area in front of the stage can be seen as liminal in the sense of conversion the seating area can also have its own moments of liminality. These moments of ultimate communitas between assembly members, guests, and the Holy Spirit can only occur within the bounded structure of the

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assembly space. Here "[c]onverts construct bounded enclaves, tangibly marked off from the rest

of society by dress, group activities, forms of consumption and display, and other daily or ritual

behaviors" (Brodwin 2003:89). The creation of liminality is present in the ideal state of holiness

sought after by members of the assembly. As Brodwin (2003) implies, the seeking of holiness

can manifest itself in multiple ways as assemblies set themselves apart in various ways from

general populations within societies. I believe that dress is a primary way that individuals within

the assembly set themselves apart from mainstream society, and that it is dress that becomes an

influential marker of holiness tradition within the assemblies, and facilitates the communitas

experienced within the liminal space in front of the stage.

Pentecostal assemblies reject the world around them creating themselves an 'other,' a

group 'set-apart' unto God. "In general, their conscious withdrawal from the world, their

vehement rejection of it, and their refusal to participate in it established an effective boundary

between "them" and "us" (Lawless 1988a:35). As they create boundaries dress becomes a

primary way of defining those boundaries to the outside world whether through modesty or

through the choice of not cutting ones hair. Lawless (1988a:37) analyzes how "…dress

embodies an entire complex of notions about holiness and displays what a Pentecostal man or

woman represents to the rest of the world and to fellow Pentecostals."   The boundary

represented by dress performs multiple functions in that it says to the outside world "I am

Pentecostal", and to the assembly it can say a range of things including that "I am sanctified," "I

am a modest God-fearing woman," and "I have given up the world for God." Through their

dress Pentecostal women are making a statement to the outside world as well, outside the

assembly "dress also serves as a comment on the immoral attitudes and styles of the rest of the

community" (Lawless 1988a:37). They are attempting to draw attention to the fashion choices of

the world at large in hopes that their dress choices might illicit a change in the current fashion trends. "Denying the fashions that focus on the female body, and electing, instead, to make a comment for the Lord is seen as the most admirable sacrifice" (Lawless 1988a:38). In making their sacrifice assembly members mark the boundaries of their existence, "[i]n fact, by creating a group image that is so clearly the antithesis of modern America, they are also establishing a mechanism for the defense of the group" (Lawless 1988a:38). Forming boundaries can be seen as a way of keeping the unwanted world out. But as Douglas (1966:143) points out "…all margins are dangerous. If they are pulled this way or that the shape of fundamental experience is altered." The margins of dress ideology within the Pentecostal assembly are a very dangerous place in which worldly dress and modest dress perform a dance of acceptance and rejection.

Holiness Doctrine, Scriptural References, and Dress within a Northwest Arkansas Assembly

As David K. Bernard (2008:1) postulates, " Most Christian movements have initially placed great emphasis on a lifestyle that is separate from the world, teaching that believers should manifest holiness in attitudes, conduct, speech, amusements and dress…Today, however, 'Oneness' Pentecostals, or Apostolics, are one of the few groups to maintain the importance of holiness in adornment, dress, and amusements." In Bernard's (ibid:1) understanding, these holiness notions have been pushed aside by other Christian organizations as being outdated or out of touch with modern societal needs and wants. He points out to readers that the church is very straight forward in its accepting written Biblical text as the word of God, in the past as well as in the present and future. Therefore Biblical text must be followed as a source of objective and moral truths set out by God himself, and believers must understand that "it is God's will for us to embrace the message and experience of the first-century apostolic church as recorded in the New testament" (ibid:1). In his essay Bernard is stating quite clearly that we do not have the

right to bring our own beliefs, ideas, and understandings into Biblical interpretation, but rather

we must take in Biblical teachings in the context of which they were taught, and then bring those

teachings into today's context. The main point that Bernard is making is "that we must

diligently seek contextual, situational meaning of Scripture and let it speak to us. Instead of

bending the message of the Bible to our preconceptions, we must allow it to inform and mold our

thinking" (ibid:2). Although Bernard goes on to suggest that not every textual reference is

relevant to our current society, he does suggest, as doctrine dictates, that one should approach

each verse as if it is relevant to current concerns, and then contextualize the situation in order to

get to the very depth of what the verse is saying, and then finally apply the most basic principles

to the world around us.

Bernard (2008) is trying to illicit a modern understanding of biblical scripture in the area

of holiness practices for Pentecostal assemblies. For Pentecostal assemblies, holiness is not

simply something one can do it is something one must also feel. "Holiness involves both the

inner and the outer man…includes attitudes, thoughts, and spiritual stewardship on the one hand

and actions, appearance, and physical stewardship on the other" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1).

If one has holiness within, then that holiness will be displayed outwardly by fulfilling holiness

principles in daily life. For example, if one has a modest spirit within, then modesty in dress will

naturally follow, but if one has a lustful spirit within, then modest dress does little but conceal

the lustful heart and does not bring one closer to God, deceiving oneself and those around you.

So to conceive of true holiness one must be pure of heart and not simply project outward

holiness.

Often assembly members discussed individuals coming to the assembly, who were, after

many attempts, unable to receive the blessing of the Holy Spirit. In these instances saints would

refer to some aspect of holiness the new member was not following, reflecting that they had not embraced holiness inside, but may have simply embraced an outward appearance of holiness as a way of fitting into the assembly. The solution in the eyes of assembly members was always that they must give themselves over completely to God through all aspects of holiness, both inside and out. Although holiness is often referred to as a set of items designed to live a holy lifestyle and obtain a purity of heart, "Holiness or sanctification is not a means of earning salvation but a result of salvation…Holiness cannot be manufactured by words of the flesh but must come as we submit to the leadership and control of the Holy Spirit" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1). After sanctification by the death of Christ, when one is baptized in his name, and after we have received the Holy Spirit, usually manifest in the speaking of tongues one must still strive to live a holiness lifestyle and to display inward holiness through outward representations of holiness. "We must strive after holiness and receive the progressive work of sanctification. We are already sanctified, but we are also called to be saints (sanctified holy ones) (I Corinthians 1:2)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1). Saints often receive the blessing of the Holy Ghost through the presence of glossolalia (speaking in other tongues), the ability to translate tongues, healing capabilities, abilities to sense spirits, and many other gifts of the spirit after their sanctification and initial Holy Ghost experience. However, this is all predicated upon their living a holiness lifestyle and developing inner holiness: this inner holiness marks the person as a true saint within the community. The feeling is that if one has achieved inner holiness, outward holiness will follow; one would want to express their inward holiness through physical, outward, means.

Church doctrine states "A Christian is "to keep himself unspotted from the world" (James 1: 27)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011d:1). To remain unspotted can be interpreted to remain without sin, yet as all men and women are born into sin, the more appropriate meaning here is to

have obtained a state of grace like that of God through the acts of holiness. The church instructs, "As a people who have been delivered from darkness, we are to walk as children of light and "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them (Ephesians 5:11)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011d:1). As for their separation from the world and therefore a separation from the darkness in the world alluded to, they are to be set apart, "[t]he precepts and ceremonies alike are focused on the idea of the holiness of God which men must create in their own lives" (Douglas 1966:64). This means that they are to create themselves holy like God by forfeiting worldly ideas and the things of the world. "Since the "whole world lieth in wickedness" (I John 5:19) and we are no longer to live "according to the course of this world" (Ephesians 2:2)," this becomes the impetus of moving toward a holiness lifestyle, including holiness dress (UPCI Position Papers 2011d:1).

In the New Testament, holiness was equivalent to being born again in the guise of Christ himself through many gifts, one of which was the speaking in tongues. "The birth of the Spirit makes a person a new creature. His old life is exterminated, obliterated, and buried; the power of sin in the flesh is destroyed" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:1). Holiness is not only reflected inwardly but is also a reflection of the whole Christian through outward works. "Thus in the New Testament man's holiness is God's character inborn into his nature by the infilling presence of the Spirit of God" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:1). The Pentecostal community relies on God's instructions to the Israelites, "The Principle of separation unto God was almost a continuous experience for the Israelites: in their working, dressing, eating, fellowship, they were not to mix with the heathen or to indulge in the customs of heathenistic nations. This command from God was for the purpose of holiness: "For thou art an holy people unto the LORD they God" (Deuteronomy 7:6)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:2). These commandments were, according to

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the UPCI, a way of reminding the Israelites of their separateness or differentness from other people.

The most prominent area of outward holiness is found in the idea of modesty. Modesty does not simply refer to dress, but also pertains to speaking and manners.[viii] "The bible teaches us, "Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand" (Philippians 4:5)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:2). UPCI Pentecostal doctrine stresses the words of Paul throughout its discussion of dress, modesty, and holiness, "[i]n the first century A.D., the Apostle Paul explained that the body is merely an 'earthly vessel' to be infused by the Holy Spirit… [as he and other writers insisted] Sexual desire, the consumption of food, and the longing for sensuous garments must be curtailed, not only to maintain personal spirituality, but to protect the Christian community as a whole" (Rubinstein 1995:32). In Pentecostal tradition today, this protection of the church community is seen through the marginality of their dress and within the doctrine of rules that helps one to establish holiness within the community. The Apostle Peter says, " ye wives be in subjection to you own husbands…Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting of the hair, and of wearing of Gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price" I Peter 3:1-4 (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3). As the apostle Peter indicates, one of the important ideologies of dress is the importance of power. Women have been seen to have a sense of spiritual and sexual power over that of men. One prominent theme within Pentecostal churches is the taming of female sexual and spiritual power by the wearing of modest clothing and projection of modest speech and mannerisms. The true power of the feminine can only be released in the church service, in a

spiritual sense, when they commune with God through the presence of the Holy Spirit, or in their homes out of sight.

<center>To Clothe Oneself in Holiness</center>

For those who accept literal translation of the Bible, it has been long upheld that the "primal and fundamental reason for wearing clothes was modesty…Adam and Eve, having eaten of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, "knew that they were naked" and made themselves "aprons of leaves"" (Rubinstein 1995:16). As Saint Augustine would later describe it "…prior to the fall, nakedness was the natural state and neither sexual organs nor bodily functions were shameful. When Adam and Eve disobeyed God in the Garden of Eden, man became unable to control his lust, and lust became independent of man's will. All mankind became afflicted with the insubordination of the flesh" (Rubinstein 1995:17). However, historian James Laver questions the instinctual nature of the modesty theory upheld by religious traditions. He suggested that modesty was a learned behavior and not an instinctual behavior. "Moreover, Laver observed that the term 'modesty' applies differently to each gender" (Rubinstein 1995: 18). And as we see today, modesty is also applied differentially across the boundaries of societies and cultures.

In Pentecostal assemblies what is modest for one sex is not considered appropriate for the other, and the articles of clothing deemed modest are all defined as such by biblical scripture. Douglas (1966:65) points out that "the idea of holiness was given an external, physical expression in the wholeness of the body seen as a perfect container" and it is the clothing choices made by assembly members, particularly females, which complete the body as a perfect container. These clothing choices are learned by members of the assemblies through scriptural

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reference, saint guidance, and trial and error. In one of the assemblies I visited, church saints led

a weekly class lasting several months which covered scriptural references, interpretations, and

the moral implications of dress with young female members of the assembly. These practices

reveal the very significant fear the church maintains concerning the implications of dress

arousing improper thoughts among assembly members, both the observer and the wearer. Dress

guidelines are structured for UPCI assemblies as follows:

> "To implement the purpose behind modesty of dress, the body should
> basically be covered, except for those parts which we must use openly for normal
> living. This suggests that clothes should cover the torso and upper limbs.
> Reasonable guidelines, then, would-be women's dresses over the knee and sleeves
> to the elbow. In addition, we should avoid low necklines, sleeveless dresses or
> shirts, very tight clothes, very thin clothes, and slacks on women because they
> immodestly reveal the feminine contours of upper leg, thigh, and hip. Likewise,
> swimming in mixed company is immodest. Since the primary effect of make-up
> is to highlight sex appeal, we reject make-up as immodest" (UPCI Position Papers
> 2011b: 2).

With this long list of prohibitions, assembly members are forced to negotiate current trends

and modesty notions which often create interesting ways of displaying their holiness through

dress, while maintaining the cultural relevance and correctness of their dress.

According to Roach-Higgins, Eicher and Johnson (1995:11), "Body supplements act as

alterants of the body processes as they serve simultaneously as microphysical environments and

as interface between body and the macrophysical environment." Clothing as an alterant can

modify the body, but it can also protect the body from the outside environment. Dress is also a

way to communicate identities about individuals and larger populations. "The list of possible

meanings communicated by type of dress is seemingly endless. Dress may, for example, make a

statement about age, gender, social class, school affiliation, or religion. Ultimately the meanings

communicated by the objectively discernible types and properties of dress depend on each

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person's subjective interpretations of them" (ibid:11). We decide the meanings of our dress in many ways, one of which is through our socialization within society. We each determine the cultural ideologies of situations, and dress relative to societal standards in such a way as to embrace or to oppose those standards. Dress within the Pentecostal assembly communicates holiness ideology and demonstrates the ideal of living like Christ within a modern setting. Therefore, dress separates those individuals from the world at large and creates an 'other' of the society.

The church pulls most of its dress doctrine from New Testament statements on women's dress, found in the epistles of Peter and Paul. One example is the notion of lust. The Church states "Inward holiness will produce outward holiness, but the outward appearance of holiness is worthless without inward holiness" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1). The idea that one can dress modestly and yet still have a lustful and inappropriate heart penetrates the ideology of dress. Every variance in dress style can bring on mixed emotions and anxiety within the community. One ideology of dress within the community is based on biblical reference to the lustful nature of women. "The basic reason for modesty of dress is to subdue the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. The exposed body tends to arouse improper thoughts in both the wearer and the onlooker" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:2). The threat is not only that the male members of the assembly will have lustful thoughts, but that the act of dressing lustfully itself produces lustful thoughts within the wearer, and these thoughts are in direct opposition to inward holiness. The church also realizes that even the most modest of clothing choices can be reinterpreted through actions to be seen as lustful. "Conduct, gestures, gait, body language, and speech must be modest…we must never use dress to promote immodest conduct, and no degree of external modesty can cover-up an immodest, lustful spirit" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:2). The use of

dress itself becomes subject to holiness beliefs. When assembly members do modify their clothing in an effort to embrace what is fashionable they have to pay careful attention to how they put these clothing styles together and what these fashionable items say about them.

Scriptural references on female dress cover a wide range of topics, the first of which is the costly nature of clothing, and the costly array of ornamentation. In this instance scriptural reference comes from I Timothy among others, which says "…women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but [with] (that which becometh women professing godliness), with good works (I Timothy 2:8-10)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c:1). Paul also "admonished women to dress according to certain standards and listed them in this order: modesty, inexpensive and non-ornamental attire, and clothing that becomes godliness" for him "to be modest means to be decent and respectful" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c:1). Modest apparel therefore should cover the female figure and still be considered inexpensive and unadorned. Although we do see this in Pentecostal assemblies, adornment seems to be negotiable if it is deemed functional.

There is a slant here towards being "fashionable women" as well where dress is concerned. The church does not want to be seen as backward or out of touch with current trends. When speaking of female dress they postulate "She is not so old-fashioned as to look like a monstrosity, but she is deliberately methodical in choosing clothing that will dignify her womanhood without provoking the stares of the opposite sex" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c:1). As Rubinstein (1995:105) points out, this doctrine of dress can have several unexpected consequences such as "the woman's body [becoming] like a chalkboard upon which she can write or erase sexual intentions… [also] because body parts that have been covered can be uncovered, all parts of the female body have been sexualized…" and finally that dress

considered deviant or lustful becomes by definition those things within the community. When one restricts the female body or its' dress everything that falls out of those restrictions becomes scandalous. These consequences are negotiated within the church as they try earnestly to welcome new trends, while attempting to avoid immodesty that might threaten holiness.

The restriction of clothing for female assembly members can also be seen as a restriction of not only lust, but of female sexuality in general. These women are to present themselves as "Holy women of old concentrated on adorning their spiritual life by developing the character of the heart" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c: 2). The patriarchal head of the assembly and of the church itself are so concerned about the image of the female body, and what that image says about femininity and sexuality, that they simply restrain sexuality and restrict femininity through the use of scriptural references.

When referring to clothing the distinction between female and male garments are of particular interest. "The woman shall not wear that which pertainth unto a man neither shall a man put on a woman's garments: for all that do so are abominations unto the LORD thy God (Deuteronomy 22:5)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c: 2). It is critical to note here that the word abomination is of particular importance to the Pentecostal community. When challenged over the ideology of women wearing pants, it is this word that reinforces scriptural references and brings them into the 21st century dress code for members of the church. "The word 'abomination' used by God in this verse indicates that this rule will not change through all generations" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3). Therefore the wearing of pants will always be wrong for women, and because it is an abomination, it spans throughout time and space, moving from the Old Testament to the New Testament. Pants are an oft-debated item of clothing precisely because they display the feminine form, though this verse is about any dress style that

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mimics that of the masculine. Bernard (2008:5) states that "The teaching is moral, so the principle still applies. We can discern its moral character because blurring this distinction is "an abomination to the Lord your God" and a violation of the separation that He established in in creation."

One way of negotiating modest dress and remaining fashionable could be seen as I sat and watched a choir singer weep on stage as she belted out the chorus to a song which she hoped would rouse the Holy Spirit to enter the assembly. She is wearing a white capped sleeve women's button up dress shirt which clings closely to her body and a white tulle skirt sprayed with silver glitter that ends about 3 inches above her knee. Normally this would be out of the question for any member of the assembly, particularly for one who is on stage presenting holiness to the crowded sanctuary. She circumvents a potential scandal by wearing a black cardigan button-up sweater over her white dress shirt, unbuttoned with sleeves extending just slightly below her elbows. Additionally, under her white glittery tulle skirt she wears a simple black pencil skirt extending well-below her knees. In this way she has negotiated between the modern and the modest by layering her clothing creating a fashion forward and yet modest holy appearance.

Sacred Hairstyles, Accessories, Jewelry, and Make-up

In attending weekly services at Eden Hill Pentecostal, I generally try to intermingle and sit about halfway down the left side aisle, but today I chose the row of chairs lining the back wall of the sanctuary, as I want to more quietly observe a particular aspect of dress: female assembly member's hairstyle choices. As I scan the room, I take note of the diversity of hairstyles throughout the assembly. These range from long straight hair that has been straightened with an

iron, curly hair (either permed or curled with an iron), intricate knots woven together in a pattern on the back of the head, piling of long hair on top of the head, French twists, and the traditional bun, neat and demure sitting just above the nape of the neck.

According to C.K. Hallpike (1969: 259) hair has multiple ritual attributes. "For example, it can be thought of as associated with the soul, through the head, as having inherent vitality because it grows; it may figure in the general category of bodily mutilations; and its physical characteristics make it very appropriate, like dress, for expressing changes or differences in ritual or social status." Within Pentecostal communities hair is a highly contentious issue, and in many cases hair can be seen as more representative of the society itself than clothing. "Hair, in general, has had a history of being associated with notions of power (usually destructive), with strength, with sexual potency, and with spirituality" (Lawless 1986:35). The spirituality of hair is definitely present within the Pentecostal community, the act of 'fixing' ones hair becomes a ritualistic event that must be performed before every visit to the church, and for some members before even leaving the house for any reason. "Both the hair and its manipulation clearly distinguish between them and all the rest of the people in public places; for them the hair marks them as members of a select group, as they see themselves as God's Chosen" (Lawless 1986:38). Sister Sarah stressed that hair doesn't always have to be up, but yet you have to do something to it. So the very act of 'fixing' the hair becomes a holy act unto God.

I always wear my hair down, and although that was acceptable as long as I curled it, straightened it, or otherwise 'fixed' my hair to look nice, I am married and a little older so it would be expected by assembly members that I would at some point start to wear my hair up. As I stood in front of the mirror one morning I decided on a traditional bun, mainly because I don't often wear my hair up in anything but a simple ponytail and had no idea where to begin with

constructing an elaborate design. After about 45 minutes of wrangling my long hair into place with hairspray and probably 100 or more pins I left the house with what I considered an okay bun mounted to the back of my head. As I noted afterwards, the actual process of 'fixing' my hair became an experience within itself, I found myself not only wanting to please the assembly members who would expect me to wear my hair up, but I was also consumed by the notion that this represents my spirituality, and on more than one occasion I thought to myself, "would God think this is enough?" So as I twisted my hair and added pin after pin until it was all up in a slicked back bun, I started to wonder what this said about my spirituality, it seemed almost like a meditation with God himself as the focus. I wondered if all women have this experience when styling their hair, and promptly asked Sister Sarah as soon as I entered the church. She laughed and said that our spirituality manifests in many different ways but that 'fixing' ones hair to look nice for church was an act of communing with God for some women.

Upon taking my seat amongst the assembly members I again scanned the room for hairstyle choices. I noticed a stratification of hairstyles as I took note of who wore their hair which way.   Lawless (1986:35) points out that in her assembly the younger girls are allowed to wear their hair down until they marry, and in my assembly that also is the case. Girls who don't wear wedding bands or who I knew to be unmarried often wore their hair down. They would perm, curl, or straighten the hair so that it looked well-done for church, but rarely would they pull it back in anything more than a headband or hair clips on the side. Married women in their 20s through what I estimate as mid 40s would typically wear their hair up, but often times in intricate designs or bumped up in the front. Sister Sarah, in her 20s and married, would wear her hair low on the back of her head often knotted in a very fashionable way; it always reminded me of a serpent coiled up on the back of her head. Marriage status does not seem to strictly define

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these groups however, as not all of the younger women are unmarried, and some married women do not wear their hair up. There were a few middle aged women who did choose to wear their hair down, and although I never saw them treated differently for their choice by assembly members, they were never seen on stage or as representatives within the sanctuary space. The older members of the assembly (starting in the 50s and up) however always wore their hair up. Usually their style was the one I had ironically chosen to try, a simple bun on the back of their head. I did observe that these women would on occasion tease the top to give the style a little lift, but this was somewhat rare. I often have heard this referred to as having hair reaching 'halfway to Jesus' and it seemed that the pastor's wife was quite adamant about having hair which lived up to this description. The front of her hair was teased several inches high and forced in place by copious volumes of hairspray, while in the back she had orchestrated a simple folding of her hair at the base of her neck.

I gathered that all of these different hair choices can reflect upon the women's sexuality. According to Charles Berg (1951) the unrestrained growth of hair is a representation of unrestrained sexuality, and the cutting or wearing of short hair is seen as the restraining of sexuality, or in the case of ascetic monks who shave their heads, the creation of asexuality. Taking this into account, the long unrestrained hair of younger church goers represents their unrestrained sexuality and the idea that young girls don't yet have the restraint to follow the full holiness doctrine. Therefore the girls don't restrain their hair until later in their lives when they can fully embrace holiness within themselves, and therefore outside of themselves. In theory this would be about the time that they choose to marry, yet as Eden Hill Pentecostal's assembly shows, not all married women wear their hair up, and in this case their unrestrained sexuality also can represent their lack of restraint to holiness doctrine.

Long hair can also represent unrestrained spiritual power within assemblies. Lawless says that "… long hair can serve to point to the female proclivity for spiritual power by suggesting unrestrained potency, while at the same time the cultural configurations serve to harness that power" (Lawless 1986:39). Female assembly members dominate the assembly at Eden Hill Pentecostal as they tend to do at other Pentecostal venues. Females are often more vocal in services and commune with the Holy Ghost more frequently than men, and yet at the same time are more restrained by the bureaucratic functions of the patriarchal domination of the church. As Lawless (ibid:40) states, "…the recognition of female spiritual power has led to fear, awe, and not a little frustration on the part of the male leaders of the church and has aided in the creation of a complex construction of symbolic forms and ritual procedures which insure both the expression and subordination of female spiritual powers." Hair displays both power and restraint within the community. As a symbol of power and/or sexuality, as seen above, the hair is left uncut and grown long, yet as a symbol of restraint on both fronts the hair is bound up in women who have truly accepted the holiness lifestyle and become saints within the assembly. Ritual procedures may "include the binding of the hair as well as carefully restricted slots in the religious service for female expressive behaviors and an insistence that authority and control must remain in the hands of male members" (ibid:40). The restraining of hair subdues this power and sexuality and keeps it modestly and humbly within the woman herself; only to be let out in front of the stage in the blessing of the Holy Spirit in a different form, worship, or in the guise of sexuality in the home where her husband alone may see her full glory.

As with other dress-related ideologies of the church the beliefs on hair for the Pentecostal community comes from biblical reference. As the UPCI states "her hair style is again predicated upon the world of God, ethic teaches her to let her hair grow uncut: 'Is it comely that a woman

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pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering' (I Corinthians 11:13-15)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:4). The apostle Paul lays out extensive regulations on hair that function as a social strategy. "While long hair can be seen as a semiotic sign denoting religious affiliation, and a personal symbol for women's spiritual power, long hair can also be seen as a symbol for women's subjection to men within the Pentecostal community" (Lawless 1986:7). The submission of women to men is seen throughout the Old and New Testament, and in Paul's account a woman's growing of long hair while the man's hair is short is an important distinction of the sexes. Paul, in this same section, outlines the distinction that woman was created of the man and the man created of God. " It is significant that Paul has clearly outlined hair symbology to serve as a sign of dominance and submission…As a social strategy, long hair on Pentecostal women clearly dictates that women are placed on earth for enjoyment and domination by men" (Lawless 1986:45). This domination by men is further seen within the binding of hair as a form of restraint, restraining the sexual power and spiritual power perceived to be associated with growing hair long.

In the Old Testament, Hallpike (1969) refers to the Nazirites who undergo specific ritual fast of sorts where they choose not to drink wine, not trimming their hair, and no contact with dead bodies, at the end of the separation both men and women would have their hair shaven at the temple, burning the hair with an offering (Numbers 6:1-18).[ix] Here it seems that the growing of hair long is a form of separation to God. Hallpike (1969) states the growing of long hair equals a separation from society to God. This separation is very much seen within Pentecostal circles today with the exception that they never cut their hair but continue to allow it to grow long. "Both the long hair and its manipulation clearly distinguish between them and all the rest

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of the people in public places; for them the hair marks them as members of a select group, as they see themselves as God's Chosen" (Lawless 1986:38). As Lawless (1986) and Sister Sarah confirmed, Pentecostals know they are different, and part of their holiness lifestyle choice is to embrace this difference, even in the eyes of those who would perceive this difference as outdated and backwards. Part of their evangelization process is to embrace their difference and project its virtues to the world in hopes of bringing new members into the fold. "Although aware of the stereotypes and negative perceptions often caused by this demarcation, Pentecostals prefer to believe people see and read the sign of the hair as evidence of the joy of their religion and their renunciation of the world" (Lawless 1986:38). Although, Pentecostal assemblies strive to make themselves separate from mainstream society this separation often elicits a negative perception of the church by outsiders. Assembly members choose to make the most of their experience and downplay the negativity they receive as they realize they are the 'chosen ones.'

Ornamentation within the hair is also of importance to assembly members. In I Timothy 2:8-10 elaborate hairstyles are discussed, "in like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with propriety and moderation, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or costly clothing, but, which is proper for women professing godliness, with good works" In the New King James Version of the Bible we see the term 'braided' used, in other translations we see the word 'broided' used. 'Broided' is translated as the platting of the hair or 'braiding' as commonly referred to today. This verse is cited quite regularly in the doctrinal papers of justification of holiness in hair, and yet women braid their hair regularly. The reason why this particular verse section is not followed to any great degree remains elusive. Yet a hypothesis could be developed from the translation of the verse itself. In the days of Paul when one said they were 'broiding' their hair, they often meant that they were braiding gold and pearls into the hair in an

embellishing fashion, and not exactly 'fixing' or braiding their hair. This would be considered excessive adornment and inappropriate to Pentecostal communities, violating their modesty of dress provisions. The apostle Peter also admonished women to not fuss with their hair and outward beauty but let it be inner beauty which projects outward to show the true spirit of the wife (I Peter 3:1-4). Here again we find a strong tie to the idea of women's submission to men, in that wives are to be under guidance and control of their husbands, and therefore their husbands should control their wives outward appearance as well in order to be seen as god-fearing individuals. As Lawless (1986:46) points out, "in this close-knit folk community, the dressing of the hair becomes a socio-cultural directive for male dominance and female submission; social control is attained and power deflected by symbolically cutting the hair; that is by binding it." This male-dominance is still present in today's Pentecostal assemblies, although more ornamentation is allowed it must be deemed functional to stay within guidelines of dress and therefore anything not functional must be policed by the male heads of the church as unnecessary adornment.

On Easter Sunday I came to church in a bright floral patterned dress. The room was alive with bright colors of yellows, pinks, greens, oranges, and peaches. Everywhere one looked there was a flower print or other flower adornment presenting itself to ones senses. I observed a saint around 60 years of age who was always very conservatively dressed, walk in wearing a soft-ball sized lime green magnolia blossom complete with lime green glitter on top of her head, held in place by a matching head band. Is this the type of ornament that Paul was advising against when he spoke of the braiding of gold and pearls? We must take into account, within the Eden Hill assembly, that this is in addition to the flowered barrettes and flower, peacock feather, and butterfly headbands all with ornate touches in glitter, pearls, and jeweled stones that are so

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popular among the youth and some 20-something women in the assembly. It seems that among acceptable accessories, functionality as a constraint for the hair has become more important than an embellishment. Within the assembly if something is deemed functional it can be merged with current doctrine to form a new fashion trend. What was shocking about the headband was the person who had chosen to wear it. This woman is saint in the community who often wore her hair in a simple bun and no accessories at all, however on this day she had added a very bright, shiny, and attention getting headband to her normally modest bun. This particular saint did have a propensity for wearing bright colors, usually jackets with bright or rich prints on them, and the lime green shear pullover she chose that day was no exception, but her hair was always exceedingly modest. She made a show of herself walking around and saying 'God Bless You' to everyone she encountered as she toured the room. The flowered headband was deemed functional, since it served the purpose of restraining the hair and therefore also restraining sexuality and spiritual power, and thus fell within the guidelines of holiness practices regarding hair. This same logic can be applied to any barrette, headband, hair pin, or other utensil used to restrain hair among women assembly members, no matter how ostentatious and ornamental the utensil is perceived to be.

For Pentecostal women the connection with God becomes redefined through the ritual of fixing the hair or by the adding of barrettes or headbands to further restrain the already held hair. "From the Pentecostal woman's point of view, spirituality is a positive aspect of her religious commitment; for her, long hair represents the important communication she has with both God and Jesus" (Lawless 1986:43). The ritual of fixing the hair allows for a meditation with God, a moment of deep concentration on one's holiness. Female assembly members are often concerned about what their hair says about them and how their hair is perceived by those within

the assembly itself. They spend a tremendous amount of time taking care of their hair and maintaining its appearance within and outside of the sanctuary and this time of devotion to God through the processing of hair is something that they hope to display outwardly as a sign of inward holiness. Sister Sarah spoke on several occasions about the perception of hair and how women deal with unsatisfactory hair growth. It is common she explained for women to be self-conscious about their hair and how it is presented to the public both within and outside of the assembly. She spoke of a particular instance when a woman in her 20s felt that the assembly saints might think she was cutting her hair, when in fact her hair had naturally stopped growing once it had reached shoulder-length, despite her best efforts to promote additional growth. Sister Sarah seemed very understanding about this subject, explaining to me that often individuals can't make their hair grow extremely long, that at some point it just becomes weak and breaks off and that the assembly saints take that into consideration. This however, does not seem to alleviate all the tension caused by hair growth that doesn't progress as an assembly member feels it should. Sister Sarah also discussed the importance of taking care of one's hair, the styling of the hair is important if only to make sure the ends of the hair look presentable and not stringy or that the scalp does not look oily or flaky. The appearance is of the utmost importance because these women are displaying their inner sanctification through the outward symbol of their hair. As discussed the restraint of hair can also offer a sense of control over female sexuality and spiritual power which is overseen by saints within the assembly and by women themselves restraining their own sexuality for holiness doctrine.

Another critical element of common female adornment that the Church must formally address is that of cosmetics and make-up. Broadly speaking, the Pentecostal church prohibits make-up, and there are several references presented in church doctrine that document and

support this prohibition. The church sees make-up as deceiving, creating a synthetic appearance.

They reference Queen Jezebel most frequently, "These practices of using make-up are not new,

for Queen Jezebel, whose very image speaks of rebellion and opposition to all that is Godly and

Christ-like, used facial paint and other make-up in her vanity to attract the attention of men"

(UPCI Position Papers 2011a: 3). Make-up is also condemned by many prophets of the biblical

age. "The Prophet Jeremiah condemned the actions of Israel by describing the nation as a lewd

woman: 'And when thou art spoiled, what wilt thou do? Though thou clothest thyself with

crimson, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold, though thou rentest thy face with

paintings, in vain shalt thou make thyself fair; thy lovers will despise thee, they will seek thy

life' (Jeremiah 4:30)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3). In some branches of today's church,

Eden Hill Pentecostal included, the use of make-up is sometimes sanctioned as long as it is

considered 'skin colored' and used for non-enhancement purposes. Base, tinted lotions and

mineral powders are deemed acceptable in some local assemblies as long as one is not using

them to enhance beauty. The younger girls do seem to take this a step farther by using blush and

tinted lip glosses which add just a hint of color, and appear to receive no overt retaliation from

the church assembly. The notion here is that wearing make-up draws lustful glances and creates a

synthetic appearance. Lust does not just come from outside the church but the idea of lustful

thoughts could even infiltrate the assembly space. "Today's Western society reveals a desire for

a synthetic appearance; dye for the hair, paint for the face, mascara and liner for the eyes, and

other forms of make-up create artificiality rather than reality" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3).

This artificiality conflicts with the idea of escaping worldliness and displaying a true inner

beauty that reflects sanctification. Make-up is seen almost as a disguising of inner beauty and

therefore would be a form of hiding sanctification and holiness.

Jewelry is another extravagance that takes away from the display of inner sanctification and holiness of assembly members. But in the same way that exceptions are made for some cosmetics, they are made for functional jewelry such as watches, headbands, barrettes, and wedding bands. "The scriptures teach us that the wearing of ornamental jewelry and expensive showy clothing is not in harmony with the Christian lifestyle. "Paul wrote, 'in like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefaceness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array' (I Timothy 2:9). Peter's writings agree: 'whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel' (I Peter 3:3)" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3). These verses all express distaste for anything that is simply for adornment. Within Eden Hill Pentecostal, women and men are allowed to wear wedding bands and watches, but nothing extra such as earrings or extra rings. These pieces of jewelry have to be functional; they have to serve a purpose. Sister Sarah discussed the importance of her wedding band to her on one occasion saying that she "couldn't wait to get it, I wanted something to show that I was married and off the market." She said that some assemblies don't allow wedding bands, and she was aware they were somewhat frivolous, but that to her and in their assembly they served a valid function of showing a commitment to their husbands and vice versa. Although the visual elements of holiness ideologies address clothing, hair, and accessories as an important visual marker to identify individuals in the church, they also serve to present a member's identities as both believers of Christ and as one with Christ from the impact they make and the information they communicate to the outside world.

Holiness Versus Non-Holiness in Sacred Space

For those pursuing holiness of dress within the assembly space, the sanctuary becomes a contested area, an area of possible infection from the outside world. Visitors are welcome to

come as they are, in their worldly dress and with their worldly hearts. As I scan the room I notice the definite change in dress throughout the space. The youth sit all together in the first three rows on the left side. The young ladies among the youth seem to push the envelope with what is acceptable, wearing embellished or metallic sandals or heels, and dresses that skim right above their knees making their appearance slightly questionable but yet not overtly threatening as evidenced by the subtle guidance they receive from the saints within the community.

As churches within the system try to negotiate new trends and reconcile these new trends in light of old doctrine, stratification within assemblies develops. Within Eden Hill Pentecostal I have observed change in dress over time, as social influences from within and without take hold. As the body changes with age, the style of dress also fluctuates within the assembly population, such as the transition to more conservative dress as women grow older, marry, move up in the church hierarchy, and/or become saints within the community. This change in the outward appearance of the body fluctuates as well within the sanctuary space itself. Bourdieu (1989:23) suggests that, "The power to impose upon other minds a vision, old or new, of social divisions depends on the social authority acquired in previous struggles. Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition." This social capital is held within the sanctuary among those who have more visibility within the assembly, and are held to a higher standard of dress and action within the community. Social capital would also apply to the saints within the community who, after their conversion experience, have completely embraced holiness attire and have become full functioning members of the assembly.

Within the sanctuary space at Eden Hill Pentecostal there is a marked distinction in dress as one grows in age. Younger women might be inclined to wear short sleeves and shorter

dresses, skip the panty hose, and wear their hair in a loose but styled fashion; whereas the elder women in the community tend to wear sleeves below the elbow or dress jackets, panty hose, and their hair either tightly curled to their head or up in a neat bun. The saints within the community have a higher standing within the church which is envisaged within the intricacies of their style of dress. Their countenance also seems to be of a higher standard as they thrust themselves forward to welcome newcomers, displaying in an overt but unspoken way the preferred dress of the church to those who bring the world into their sacred space. The dress style is somewhat learned through example and not pushed upon one verbally. But the power of dress to influence those around them is obvious in week to week interactions of new individuals into the community. No one approached me about dressing appropriately upon my first visit, or even after many visits, but the pressure is there, even if present only in the self-consciousness of the visitor. Sister Sarah described that if an individual attended regularly but made no motivation to change their dress, the church leaders might eventually suggest a change. The pressure to find God within this community is strong, and dress is a primary tool used to 'set oneself apart' like Jesus and therefore to cultivate and then express inward holiness in order to experience the presence of God within one's heart.

Within the sanctuary, the stage is the ultimate place to beware of potential pollution, because whoever presents themselves to the assembly in that spot presents their holiness with them. The stage sits in the front of the sanctuary, elevated about a foot above the rest of the space. There are four chairs on the right which are heavier and plusher than the ones on the sanctuary floor, but no one seems to ever sit in them. The choir stands in the center and sings an upbeat catchy song. To the left of the choir are the band, a drummer, electric guitar, and keyboard player supplying a beat they hope with coerce the crowd into receiving the Holy Spirit.

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The standards of dress on stage are heightened by the visibility of those who are presented there to the assembly as a whole. Dresses are below the knee without exception, hair is nicely kept, and though most wear sleeves below the elbow, some venture to wear short sleeves. "We must certainly dress in a manner that would be considered modest for the occasion and in the judgment of our culture" (UPCI Position Papers 2011b:2), this statement on the UPCI's website brings attention to the need for being recognized as modest but not as a spectacle; as a worshipper of God.

The importance of modest dress to the church as a whole is expressed in the hierarchy of church membership. As Sister Sarah said, "to be an active leader in the church and hold roles within the church assembly you are held to a higher standard." This applies to dress as well as other holiness doctrines, but here dress is the visual personification of holiness to visitors who might not quite understand the ideology of having a holiness idea of self. The stage is an emotional area with tearful singing and raising one's hands in the praising of God. Most of all the stage and the area immediately in front is a place to receive the Holy Spirit in the eyes of the church community, the ultimate portrayal of one's inward and outward holiness. The idea of wardrobe malfunction is not lost here, and Sister Sarah noted that "you wouldn't want to be raising your hands to accept the Holy Spirit and have your bra showing to the entire assembly." In her mind, it seemed that the immodesty of such an event would not be lost even on an uninitiated visitor.

This space in particular takes the purest form of what it means to use personal dress to display visual holiness. It's a place where one displays true holiness, that within the heart itself, in the heartfelt expression of the gift of speaking in tongues, receiving the Holy Ghost. Although the stage has restrictions on dress, the area in front of the stage becomes a questionable area due

to its liminality between the stage and the front rows in the sanctuary. As I watched the praise

singers, with tears streaming down their faces, step from one foot then the next in a dance step

that moved like a wave through the audience, the assembly came to life. While on stage this

unearthly harmony of worshiping God and praising Christ, the singers singing out "praise God,"

"you are the greatest," and "Thank You, Jesus" the assembly joined in on the revelry, and the

space in front of the stage became an ethereal place for the acceptance of the Holy Spirit.

A middle-aged woman danced away from her seat, slowly moving throughout the space

in a jogging style fashion, tears streaming down her face as she clamped her eyes shut and

prayed with all her might. She was not dressed in the strict code of the stage, having her hair

down and looking slightly un-kempt and tangled with her movements, her skirt rose above her

knees slightly exposing her upper leg. Sweat rolled down her face and as she lifted her arms to

heaven. A young brunette 20-something girl with long messy, tangled hair, looking as though

she simply crawled out of bed and walked into the sanctuary stepped out from her seat as the

middle-aged woman moved past her. The top of her dress was white and the bottom a pale

yellow. The white top did not do an effective job of hiding the dark colored bra beneath. She

danced into the area in front of the stage and raised her hands to God exposing much of her

upper arms as her capped sleeves scrunched up. The skirt of her dress revealed much of her

thigh as she raise up arms bringing the hemline of the skirt up in her reverie. Although no one

said anything about her dress and the space, I remember Sister Sarah's comments on the purpose

of dress being to not draw attention to oneself and to dress up for God. Her unkempt appearance,

somewhat see-through top, and stiletto heels seemed to be just what the assembly was afraid of,

polluting the space and the assembly. This space in front of the stage did get polluted by

individuals who were not as forthcoming with their holiness in the area of dress, but the line was

drawn at the stage. For those who cannot make the entire dress commitment to holiness, this space was there for them to search for God and to taste the grace of the Holy Spirit in their lives and on their tongues.

As I take note of what the girls are wearing more and more individuals move from their seats to join the mass of people now swaying, kneeling in prayer, singing, and dancing in the front of the stage area. Guests, saints, and assembly members intermingle as the Holy Spirit descends on a few individuals. Because the initial sanctification in the Holy Spirit can occur in a guest who hasn't yet embraced holiness ideology this liminal space becomes a place of possible pollution. It is the expressive appearance of saints within the space and their guidance that keeps the sacred from being infiltrated by the profane. Sermons such as those that address worldly items and their danger to the assembly and assembly members re-enforce the notion that things of the world are dangerous and must be kept at bay. "These danger-beliefs are as much threats which one man uses to coerce another as dangers which he himself fears to incur by his own lapses from righteousness" (Douglas 1966:13). There is always a fear of backsliding in the assembly and the mingling with worldly individuals increases that fear.

Although the Church is always under potential pollution from invited people, the most critical front on their battles with pollution comes from within the organization itself. Sister Sarah noted that there are those in the church community nationally which would like to move away from the dress favored by today's conservative UPCI assemblies, and towards a modest yet more modern way of dressing for female members. This threatens the very nature of the being 'set apart,' the nature of the separation of the sacred and the profane. "A primary societal function is the exercise of social control to maintain the separateness of the two spheres, protecting the inviolate status of the sacred and maintaining its position as set apart" (Belk et

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al.1989:6). In 1986, a group of saints in Tennessee severed ties with the UPCI over several notions of holiness and church doctrine. One holiness aspect was that of dress. These situations seem to be played down by assemblies, describing those who leave the communities as having put their salvation in jeopardy.

The change in dress style within assemblies seems to be deemed a type of pollution which, if can't be addressed through outright punishment, can be addressed through the idea that it is infecting the church like a disease, sickening the community, and therefore pulling individuals back into the fold though scriptural reference and guidance means the eradication of this illness. As Douglas (1966:159) postulates, "When moral indignation is not reinforced by practical sanctions, pollution beliefs can provide a deterrent to wrongdoers." These attacked areas of dress and the perspectives which support them, when viewed from the inside of assembly communities, are based on an ideology of what could be termed 'modern modesty'. In such communities women may trim their hair, wear minimal make-up, pants, and some jewelry is acceptable. There is a threat felt by many communities as this new modern modesty eats away at the perceived holiness structure of the assembly's material culture, and therefore at the pure hearts that are contained within. The thought process of those fearful of such change reflects that as members fit more and more into the typical mold of society, they give up being set-apart like God, and therefore start to lose their link to Him. As Douglas (1966:158) points out "When action that is held to be morally wrong does not provoke moral indignation, belief in the harmful consequences of a pollution can have the effect of aggravating the seriousness of the offence, and so of marshaling public opinion on the side of the right." Therefore, practiced scriptural references are thrown out to those who question the holiness doctrine of dress, almost as if they

are throwing them a life-line in hopes to catch their soul to bring them back into the fold before it is too late.

The thought process suggests that as members fit more and more into society they give up being set-apart like God, and therefore start to lose their link to Him. Sister Sarah was very concerned about the possibility of dress doctrine being revised in order to increase assembly size or more easily fit into society. This would change the very face of the church and everything in which they believe. Although she seemed to think that this movement was originating within the church itself, the very essence lies in their separation from the world. By being set-apart they strive to influence the profane world outside through proselytizing, in the hopes of appealing to those who are looking for more than a worldly existence. Yet at the same time they are connecting themselves to the world by infiltrating it. They expose themselves to the pollution which they hope to save individuals from and by inviting it in, enabling this pollution to eat away at the very structure they have created.

The changing dress ideologies within the church are not a rare subject, indeed the members know well that through negotiation they can bring fashionable trends into the church assembly and they will over time be accepted. However, at a certain point this negotiation on dress breaks down and churches split away in an effort to accommodate new standards on dress. Let us look once again upon Deuteronomy 22:5 which says, "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garments: or all that do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God." A local church pastor whose community has broken away over the issue of dress had the following to say about women wearing pants within the assembly community:

"We lift this verse of Scripture out from a whole list of other laws we don't pay attention to." [Masters] says he believes the verse is referring to the role of a woman — that she should not lose her identity as a female — and not necessarily to how one should dress, especially not as a prohibition to wear slacks, since robes were the dress of the time for men and women. "We've been very selective and have taken stuff out of context," he says, noting that when Jesus died on the cross he "blotted out the old ordinances" — or the laws — of the Old Testament. "I'm afraid we are guilty of scaling back up the cross and pulling those blotted-out ordinances off that nail and trying to reinstitute them back into the church," (Storm, 2005)

But the church's stance on the wearing of pants for women stems from one word, abomination. "The word "abomination" used by God in this verse indicates that this rule will not change through all generations" (UPCI Position Papers 2011a:3). This is not the first community to pull away from the Church and move toward a more modern modest way of dress, as presented in the news article which states that women "can be found sporting shorter hair, dressing in pants and even wearing jewelry. The church still encourages modesty in dress but no longer has specific guidelines", guidelines which the UPCI organization finds an important trait of holiness (Storm 2005). The UPCI website challenges this very topic within their dress code, "Perhaps some will say this standard has changed due to the inception of the age of grace introduced by Jesus Christ. But this verse deals with moral law and with the nature of God, which never change, not with a ceremonial ritual fulfilled by Christ" (UPCI Position Papers 2011c:2). The UPCI stands by the passage against the wearing of pants and tight clothing which could expose the shape of a woman's body to those around them. For them to address this direct claim within the explanation of modesty is evidence that they are combating factions within the organization over modest dress and what can be defined as such.

This pathogen from within the church seems to have always been a threat, but Sister Sarah seemed increasingly worried at the notion of individuals chipping away at holiness

ideology. It is important to remember that this threat comes on the heels of a split in 2008 over the use of television advertisements within the UPCI communities. Many members of the church see the acts of holiness as the outer protective layers that surround church doctrine. If you start chipping away at the outer layers, you slowly make your way to doctrine itself. Changing doctrine would mean the changing of the very nature of the church, challenging its stance on God himself. Although membership is growing at a very quick rate for the Pentecostal community, pastors who depict the recommended dress of the church organization as being too constrictive might expect that membership could grow. Even given this possibility of greater membership, the pastors who wish to forego the status quo of the current dress code rather than maintaining the sincerity of the faith and its doctrine are considered the main source of pollution within the Pentecostal assembly.

As I thoughtfully look at the weathered door and listen to Sister Sarah talk about the threat from within the Pentecostal community whittling away at the very foundations of Church doctrine, I think about how just like the door had become splintered over time, its fibers becoming set-apart from one another, the church itself will slowly separate over time as well. The creaks and moans of change eventually take their toll, and perhaps, just as Sister Sarah was suggesting, the rifts between factions of the church were becoming deeper, their concerns over losing doctrine more severe.

Conclusion

In Pentecostal assemblies, dress communicates holiness ideology found in direct references to biblical text, and demonstrates the notion of living like Christ within a modern setting. Assembly members reject the notion of mainstream clothing options by modification,

layering, and reinterpretation of uses and needs, creating their own visual interpretation of Godliness based on biblical scripture. This interpretation communicates their pious nature to society at large, and for the assembly serves as an affirmation of lived holiness. Negotiations in dress reveal to us not only what appropriate dress means within given communities but also what happens when appropriate dress is infringed upon by the profane notion of fashionable dress. Ultimately it demonstrates to us that fashionable dress, whether pressing in from outside the assembly, or walking in through the front door in the form of a stylish and progressive member, can in fact negatively impact the prevalence of elements of the 'holiness lifestyle', therefore polluting the assembly and its members.

These assemblies use dress to 'set-themselves apart' from mainstream society, and define a holiness identity which can be used to communicate their closeness to God to both members of the assembly and to the outside profane world. However, as presented above, the gap of separation between the outside world and the assembly seems to be shrinking as the church itself grows. This closing gap has been represented in many mainstream ideas which have infiltrated the church system, such as the 2008 schism over television advertising which left the church split with many saints leaving to form their own movement in order to maintain holiness doctrine. In Northwest Arkansas the same situation has occurred with dress, in 2005, when a local assembly broke away from the UPCI system in order to augment dress within their assembly; moving dress standards away from more restrictive notions that are deemed appropriate for living a holiness lifestyle. As I have shown, Eden Hill assembly members worry about this changing face of dress within local church assemblies, and deem this change as a type of pollution; the profane world is infecting the sacred realm of the assembly.

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[i] UPCI Position Papers: The United Pentecostal Church International's website lists many "worldly" items which should be refrained from in modern times in order to help maintain holiness within assemblies. I have presented a shortened list here to more focus on the aspects of holiness pertaining to this thesis project. For further reading go to http://www.upci.org.

[ii] I have provided the Northwest Arkansas community I studied with an appropriate fictitious name to protect their identity within the community. In this thesis they are known as Eden Hill Pentecostal.

[iii] Pastor Peters is a name given to the Pastor of Eden Hill Pentecostal in order to protect his identity. I have also paraphrased his speech throughout the document in order to maintain a high level of anonymity.

iv All Bible verses not supported by UPCI citing are pulled from the New King James Version of the Bible, which is used within Eden Hill Pentecostal

v Definition for the term saint can be found in the UPCI Position Papers 2011b:1 as cited in the bibliography.

vi Gifts of the Holy Spirit include divine wisdom, extraordinary faith, special teaching gifts, supernatural ability to help, the gift of exhortation, the ability to give with liberality, and divine power to show mercy. These gifts present themselves as the ability to heal, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, just to name a few. For further information see I Corinthians chapter 12.

vii Sister Sarah is a fictional name given to a key informant, it should be noted in an effort to conceal her and another informants, Mary's, (also a fictional name) identities I have melded some of their thought processes into one.

viii Within this thesis we will focus on dress specifically.

ix All Bible verses not supported by UPCI citing are pulled from the New King James Version of the Bible, which is used within Eden Hill Pentecostal.