ECUMENICAL TRENDS

Vol 45 No 7 ■ Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute ■ July/August 2016

A Ministry of the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement

The Prophetic Cry for Justice: A Pentecostal Response to the Racism of Mass Incarceration

By Peter Althouse

wo Pentecostal leaders urged their congregations to observe Black Lives Matter on December 14, 2015 in response to the Grand Jury decisions not to indict police officers in the unwarranted killing of unarmed black men in Ferguson and Staten Island. Bishop Charles E. Black Sr. of the Church of God in Christ and George O. Wood, General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God admonished their churches to stand in solidarity with their brothers and sisters to affirm the value of black lives. The release declares: "If Spirit-filled Christians cannot find a way to work together to heal their divisions, what hope is there for the rest of the country?". Wood called for prayer for all law enforcement and judicial officers "that they would be servants of justice, reconciliation, and peace in the communities they serve."

Many people are uneasy about the failure of the criminal justice system to protect black Americans and the legitimization of excessive use of police force in subjugating African-American communities. However, the events in Ferguson and Staten Island as well as a litany of unarmed black men and women dying at the hands of the police, are only the tip of the iceberg. Over the past forty years the prison population has exploded from 300,000 to more than 2.3 million with the majority of the increase targeting drug crimes committed by blacks and Hispanics, despite the evidence that whites use drugs at about the same. In some states, black men are incarcerated for drug crimes at a twenty to fifty times rate greater than white men.2 Moreover, the US has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, excessively more than other developed countries, and surpassing repressive regimes.3 US policies and practices regarding mass incarceration legitimize racial discrimination through interlinking social systems that subjugate "people of color" in legal systems that label, imprison, segregate and subsequently deny access to meaningful employment, housing and public benefits.

What is the church's response? How might denominational leaders respond to mass incarceration when congregants are mostly unaware, or even supportive of "tough on crime" ideology? I propose that the church's response can and should draw on the prophetic tradition that calls for justice and human dignity as found in Scripture. More specifically, the high value of the prophetic found in the charismatic ethos of Pentecostal churches can provide a basis for unified response calling the US to equal and transparent justice. However, I do not view the prophetic here as an abstract principle of social justice. Rather, the prophetic is the upwelling of the Spirit of God in believers that empower the people of God to discern injustices in the world that contradicts the justice of the reign of God. This view is consistent, I would suggest, with how Pentecostals discern the world through the lens of the Spirit's call. Stated differently, the voice of the prophetic is the voice of the Spirit of God calling the world to righteousness.

In order to lay out my arguments I will first briefly outline the realities and extent of mass incarceration in the US, how the systems are linked together in what is identified as the continued on page 2

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"prison industrial complex," and the way that imprisonment and the criminal label marginalizes, dominates, and segregates minorities, especially poor African-American and Hispanics. The effects not only have implications for the felon who must suffer the degradation of lengthy terms in overcrowded and substandard prisons, but affects the spouses, children, extended families, and communities though government policies that deny gainful employment and social services. The police force and prosecutors are implicit links in the racist outcomes of the mass incarceration system in that they selectively target, arrest and charge minorities in poor black and Hispanic communities especially. I will then offer a theological response to the crisis of mass incarceration through the lens of Pentecostal theology. Specifically, the prophetic cry against the injustices perpetuated by the powerful is needed to restore dignity to those who have been stripped of their humanity in the systems of mass incarceration.

Mass Incarceration

Marc Mauer, the director of The Sentencing Project, uses the term mass incarceration to describe the crisis of the contemporary American prison system.⁵ Mass incarceration is a penal system that links together multiple systems that not only imprison people behind bars, but in a more devastating way label people as criminals even if they are not physically imprisoned. Once labeled criminals, they are relegated to an underclass deprived of social resources and social rights that have become the backbone of the social safety net. Deprived of these services relegates felons as well as their families to an impoverished existence with only faint hope of ever making a better life. Mass incarceration not only affects the person that has been labeled a felon, but has collateral damage on their spouses, children, and even communities.⁶ It affects the felon's personal finances as states are aggressively trying to recoup the high cost of mass incarceration through a myriad of fines. This makes it difficult for the incarcerated and family to ever gain financial stability, but it also restricts the felon in employment opportunities, workplace licenses, bars them from low income housing, and welfare subsidies such as food stamps. Such restrictions create insurmountable barriers to community reintegration and contributes to recidivism. At its most extreme, mass incarMass incarceration not only affects the person that has been labeled a felon, but has collateral damage on their spouses, children, and even communities.

ceration imprisons people in overcrowded, supermax prisons with the goal of incapacitation in tactics and methods that the California Supreme Courts consider cruelty through deliberate indifference in blatant disregard for mental health treatment and substandard health care.⁷

Moreover, a disproportionate number of poor African-Americans, Hispanics and ethnic immigrants are over represented, or suffer the consequences of labeling, even though whites are just as likely to engage in criminal activity at the same rate as blacks or Hispanics. The rhetoric of the "War on Drugs" or "get tough on crime" is thinly veiled, racist code for the "War on blacks" and "get tough on blacks." Although the interlinked systems of incarceration that include policing, judicial process, incarceration, and post-incarceration such as parole or community service are treated as color-blind, they reveal a disturbing trend of institutionalizing racial practices that are structural in nature.

To make matters worse, mass incarceration has become big business that has victimized the incarcerated, their families and communities. On the one hand, mass incarceration is costly to taxpayers, not only in terms of the high monetary costs of the expansion of the penal system in the longer terms and greater number of prisoners, but in that tax revenue has been diverted from other institutions and programs such as medical intervention, education and community programs that have more success in diverting individuals from entering the penal system and helping to prevent recidivism. In order to offset these costs, various states have sought ways to privatize prisons under the unproven assumption that pri-

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Ecumenical Trends

EDITOR, Rev. James Loughran, SA ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR, Christine Breglia BUSINESS MANAGER, Veronica Sullivan, Editorial Office Ecumenical Trends, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 1960, New York, NY 10115 Business and Subscription Office, Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute, PO Box 333, Garrison, NY 10524-0333.

Manuscripts sent to the editor should be in either WordPerfect or Microsoft Word. It is preferable to electronically transfer submitted texts using the software above via e-mail to jlgeii@aol.com. Ecumenical Trends is published eleven times a year (monthly except August) by the Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute. Ecumenical Trends is a member of the Associated Church Press and the Catholic Press Association. This periodical is indexed in the Catholic Periodical and Literature Index (CPLI), a product of the American Theological Library Association, 300 S. Wacker Dr., Suite 2100, Chicago, IL 60606, USA. email atla@atla.com, www. Http://www.atla.com. Microfilm copies are available from National Archive Publishing Company: P.O. Box 998, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-0998. Subscription Rates: Print and digital version, US Domestic \$30.00 USD/1 yr; \$56.00 USD/2 yrs. Canadian & Foreign \$40.00 USD/1 yr.; \$66.00 USD/2yrs. Digital version only: \$15.00/1 yr. Bulk rates are available upon request. Address for Subscriptions: Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute PO Box 333, Garrison, NY 10524-0333 (ISSN 0360 9073) Periodicals Postage Paid at Garrison, NY 10524 and additional Mailing Offices. Website: www.geii.org

vate corporations are better able to provide these services at lower costs than the government. These no-frill prisons have adopted policies of incapacitation that degrade the humanity of prisoners. Private prisons have also contributed to the increase of mass incarceration because the states guarantee full capacity. Some of these costs are offset by charging prisoners and their families for their incarceration and uses of facilities such as telephone communication.⁹

On the other hand, prisoners are seen as cheap labor for industrial and commercial production. As industrial and manufacturing jobs have largely been transported overseas in the search for cheaper labor, prisons have become a resource for cheap labor. Prisoners earn as low as 30 cents an hour and produce substantial profits for American corporations. Prisoners are denied many of the most basic human and civil rights, workplace regulations such as minimum wage, safe work environments, and unionization. The use of prisoners for cheap labor further devastates the black communities most in need of these jobs. Educated and skilled middle class African-Americans have moved into the suburbs, leaving unskilled and semi-skilled blacks without the means to provide for their families, thereby exacerbating the flow of individuals into the penal system. In other words, the incarcerated suffer financial hardship while businesses rake in huge profits, and the black communities that used to fill these working positions come under financial hardship because manufacturing jobs have either gone off shore or been forced onto prisoners at excessively substandard labor value.¹⁰

In order for mass incarceration to function effectively it must draw together numerous judicial and social systems. They range from mass media as the space for cultural rhetoric in order to gain popular credibility, 11 political institutions, enforcement, prosecutor decision-making as to who will or will not be charged and imprisoned, the extent of the charges, federal, state and local governments that enact policies to maintain incarceration, and the effects long past physical imprisonment, the judiciary that justifies its continuation, and prison systems. Mass incarceration is increasing seen as a means for incapacitation as punitive, retributive and deterrence, rather than restorative, rehabilitative, and reconciliation. These systemic links work together to maintain the racist practices of mass incarceration, and conversely may begin to unravel if they were decoupled.

More could be said, and has been said, about race and mass incarceration. My purpose is to offer a brief outline to show how it has become an issue of social justice in need of a theological response from all churches. In the following section, I will suggest a response developed from within the Pentecostal theological tradition that I hope will offer venues for all Pentecostals in partnership with other churches to end this injustice.

Theological Responses from a Pentecostal Perspective

The question I would like to take up is: what might a Pentecostal response to mass incarceration look like? In Spirit of the Last Days, 12 I proposed that a Pentecostal prophetic critique rooted in the already-not yet of the coming kingdom of God was a way for Pentecostals to engage issues of social justice, human rights and dignity, political theology and environmental concerns. Other Pentecostal theologian-ethicists have taken up the concerns of social justice and developed the theological concept of prophecy as a means to offer a Pentecostal response. They have retrieved the ancient prophetic tradition that challenges the social evils of society and apply the biblical notions of dignity and liberative hope in order to combat social sin. Four of these theologians will be taken up here with the effort to apply their theologies to the problem of mass incarceration. They include Eldin Villafañe, Murray Dempster, Cheryl Sanders, and Leonard Lovett.

Eldin Villafañe is an Hispanic/Latino Assemblies of God minister and professor of social ethics at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary who argues that in order for the Pentecostal church to be true to the Gospel's prophetic voice so that it can continue to minister with and to the poor and oppressed, it must construct a social ethic that affirms Latino/a cultural heritage from its status as a sectarian church.¹³ Villafañe highlights the social role of the Hispanic church as a "prophetic indictment" that challenges racism, political oppression, economic exploitation, and socialcultural marginalization.¹⁴ The Hispanic storefront churches ("barrios") with their dynamic "cultos" found in urban city centers are disenfranchised, oppressed, and marginalized in relationship to the political and economic powers of the city's wealthy. The prophetic witness of the Hispanic church must unmask and challenge the institutional and dehumanizing "powers and principalities" as a church called to bring hope, forgiveness, and community (koinonia) to the world15 The prophetic counterculture denounces personal and social factors that are destructive to human life through its call to repentance, righteousness, and justice. 16 The prophetic voices that challenge sinful social structures and long for social justice have been missing in the emphasis on the Spirit's charismatic empowerment. The Hispanic Pentecostal church offers a distinctive spirituality that sees charismatic empowerment found in the baptism in the Spirit as valid "signs and wonders" of, and prophetic witness to, the reign of God.¹⁷ The implication of the prophetic witness of the Hispanic Pentecostal community is that the koinonia, leitourgia, kerygma, and diakonia of the church must demonstrate to the world the faithful, loving, and just structures of social relationships that reflect the gospel, while denouncing the influence of individualism, materialism, classism, racism and sexism as the dominant idols of American culture.¹⁸

Murray Dempster is a white Assemblies of God minister and distinguished professor of social ethics at Southeastern University. In different publications, Dempster has teased out the implications of Pentecostal ministry for social justice. In practice, Pentecostal churches implement social programs that cared for the poor and oppressed, but that the desire to change unjust social conditions are becoming the hallmark of Pentecostal ministry.¹⁹ However, Dempster purposefully links social justice to the prophetic tradition in Scripture in order to develop a social ethic. The Old Testament prophets nurture both the individual and corporate ramifications of social concern by insisting that it exists, and is kept alive, in the Law and covenant but most especially in the pursuit of social justice as a visible expression of God's ethical character. The quality of social concern in the believing community is a reflection of the community's view of God.²⁰ Grounding social justice in Yahweh gave the prophets' message against injustices within and without the covenant community moral conviction. They gained insight into the political, economic, and social institutions that perpetuated social injustices; and thereby induced God's people to look to God's moral character with fresh insight.²¹ Dempster then turns to Amos as an exemplar of the latter prophets who employed "prophetic criticism" as an indictment of individuals and groups who insisted on exploiting the poor, e.g., profiteering on the urban poor, driving farmers into debt in order to foreclose and take their land, as well as social systems that maintained injustice. Amos called for reform of the sinful, social conditions that perpetuated social injustices by reflecting on God's moral character as the basis for pursuing social justice.²²

The prophetic tradition is the basis on which a Pentecostal social consciousness can be developed. Jesus the prophet proclaimed the year of Jubilee when the prisoner is set free and the debt-ridden farmer is forgiven his debts so that he may keep his covenantal inheritance. Jesus' ministry is the continuation of the prophetic tradition and the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost is the continuation of Jesus' prophetic ministry in the charismatic community through the inauguration of the eschatological kingdom of God. In the charismatic community, injustices related to race, ethnicity, wealth, and sex are overcome by the Spirit as typified in the equalizing phenomenon of glossolalia, and this portrait becomes the basis for a Pentecostal position on social justice. A

Cheryl Sanders is a Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) minister and professor of Christian ethics at Howard University who has an interest in the intersection of black theology, personal and social ethics, and the standards of worship in the "sanctified" church, that is the Holiness, Pentecostal, and Apostolic churches. The common thread in the sanctified churches is that they all emphasize the experience of Spirit baptism though with disagreement over whether or not the experience is validated by glossolalia.²⁵ The under-

lying framework in *Saints in Exile* is the double rejection experienced by the sanctified black church in which the world with its sinful, oppressive, and discriminatory practices rejects the saints, and the world the saints reject by purging themselves of the world's secularizing influence through their own cultural authenticity and biblical understanding. To put it in theological language they are "in this world but not of it." The emphasis on cultural resistance in liturgies and structures rejects patterns of oppression and racism.²⁶

Sanders uses "prophetic" as an adjective to nouns such as ministry, mandate, task, initiative, etc., throughout her writing in order to highlight the work of resistance to oppression, social justice, and empowerment ethics of the African American churches that continue to experience racism.²⁸ In "Pentecostal Ethics and the Prosperity Gospel," Sanders adopts the language of prophetic action to highlight the need for African American preachers to struggle against white racism. Her concern is that African American preachers who promote the prosperity gospel must also embrace the social ethics role of the biblical prophets who spoke against oppression and poverty. Faith based government funding that have strings attached and conservative political discourses on family values have been developed to lure white evangelicals, and prosperity preachers too are being lured. Sanders asks however: "Are there any signs of a resurgence of prophetic activism among those who are willing to call forth the fires of Pentecost as the souls of black folk rages on?"28 There are Pentecostal preachers who refuse to serve materialism and wealth accumulation, instead choosing to be prophetic and activistic in regard to social concerns.²⁹ Sanders concludes the chapter with an important call to the black Pentecostal church: "The most important task of black preaching and activism is to build prophetic community, that is, to exercise one's individual gifts of ministry and leadership toward the end of empowering congregations to hear the voice of God in conversation with the deepest concerns of the people and communities one is called to serve."30 The hope, for Sanders, is the possibility of social reconciliation between the poor and affluent, but she cautions that in order for reconciliation to be genuine, African American Pentecostal leaders must acknowledge the negative impact of race, sex and class on their congregations that will require prophetic engagement that challenges the idols of consumerism, conservativism, and shallow discourses regarding multiculturalism.³¹

Leonard Lovett is a Church of God in Christ minister who at the time of writing serves as the denomination's ecumenical officer since 2004. Lovett has worked to bring to light the problems of racism for black Pentecostals and announced a prophetic call to white Pentecostals to engage in serious work to overcome racism. In *Kingdom beyond Color*, Lovett defines his role as a Pentecostal minister and

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scholar as both priestly and prophetic. He is priestly in that he works to bind up and heal the wounds of the injured; but he is prophetic in that he is called to "challenge the status quo" and "speak truth to power." His work is "prophetic protest writing" that challenges the evils of racism and injustice.³² His method of discourse is a mode of autobiography that he views as fruitful for theology and "prophetic ethics.³³ In "Ethics in a Prophetic Mode," Lovett follows James McClendon and uses polemic and testimony to attest to the power of grace, healing and transformation as an illustration of the ancient prophets' challenge to the status quo of institutional and systemic racism in the world and even in Pentecostalism itself.³⁴

One chapter in Kingdom of Color is devoted specifically to the problem of racism in the criminal justice system, especially the role of some police and the way they target young people of color, charge them with questionable crime violations, and process them into a system that defines the rest of their lives as criminal.35 He is concern that some police employ a practice of a "long ride to the station" over any perceived resistance to their authority as a way to intimidate potential violators in the future.³⁶ (This is precisely what happened in Baltimore in the case of Freddie Gray Jr., a twenty-five year old black man who was arrested for the alleged possession switch blade, placed in police transport without being secured, and driven by police in such a way as to cause spinal injury and death.) Lovett is critical of how the criminal justice system favors white privilege and treats African Americans harshly. Lovett argues that the way to deal with police brutality and the racism of the criminal justice system is through prophetic protest - to speak in the name of the Lord without fear.³⁷ However, he is careful not to condemn the police as a whole and has worked with a number of police forces to various ends; but he denounces racist police, the methods they use to oppress, and the brutality of their intimidation.³⁸

Lovett is critical as well of the Euro-American church that failed to take advantage of the opportunity to "collectively and prophetically" indict racism during the civil rights era. Lovett cites Martin Luther King, Jr. as God's gift in a troubled time who spoke as "vocal social prophet." On the eve of his assassination King delivered his final speech at Charles H. Mason's Church of God in Christ temple, one of the oldest Pentecostal churches in the United States. King's nonviolent resistance against racism and segregation ultimately cost him his life. Lovett sees a parallel to Seymour's revival at Azusa Street in 1906, where eyewitness biographer Frank Bartleman said "the color line was washed away." However, Lovett bemoans the racial and ethnic fractions that later divided the fledgling movement. And yet where the power of the Spirit is supreme, argues Lovett, race can no longer act as a barrier to fellowship where love reigns.³⁹ There are Pentecostal preachers who refuse to serve materialism and wealth accumulation, instead choosing to be prophetic and activistic in regard to social concerns.

Lovett contends that liberation is the consequence of genuine renewal and presence of the Spirit. He declares, "I dream of a movement of Pentecostal-charismatic Christians so sensitive to the guidance of the Spirit and God's initiative and liberating activity that they will know when to tear down oppressive structures, and when to build new structures or they will receive wisdom to work within existing institutional structures as change agents."

Final Reflections

I have argued that the prophetic cry against injustice is the basis for a Pentecostal response to mass incarceration as a method for racial oppression. All people have inherent dignity under God, but the systematic incarceration of blacks and Latinos in the criminal justice system perpetuates an evil that must come under God's judgment and must be actively resisted by the church as a whole. Pentecostals must participate in this resistance. As the ancient prophets of old, I believe that Pentecostals have within their theological ethos a means whereby they can and should condemn the oppression of racism in the incarceration system. The prophetic voice that springs from the upwelling of the Spirit calling into existence the coming kingdom is the voice of hope against the injustice of mass incarceration. The missive published by Bishop Charles E. Black Sr. and General Superintendent George Wood to proclaim that Black Lives Matter and stand together with the oppressed is a good first step. Unfortunately, Wood was criticized by some of his ministers for taking this stand. Obviously, more work needs to be done. The racist actions of some police are cogs in a whole complex system of mass incarceration that needs to be challenged and transformed into a more just reality.

This is a shorter version of a working paper for the National Council of Churches in Christ USA.

Notes:

1.George O. Wood, "Call for AG Churches to Observe 'Black Lives Matter Sunday' in Coordination with Church of God in Christ," December 11, 2014 http://ag.org/top/News/index_articledetail.cfm? targetBay=c97d4d5c-a325-4921-9a9e-e9fbddd9cdce& ModID=2&Process=DisplayArticle&RSS_RSSContentID=28902&RSS_OriginatingChannelID=1184&RSS_Originating RSSFeedID=3359&RSS_Source= (accessed January 28, 2015).

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- 2. http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2012/06/06/time-served-the-high-cost-low-return-of-longer-prison-terms, accessed January 28, 2015.
- 3. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010) 7.
- 4. The prison industrial complex was first coined by Mike Davis, "Hell Factory in the Field: A Prison Industrial Complex," *The Nation*, February 20, 1995: 229; and Angela Davis, CD *The Prison Industrial Complex* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2001).
- 5. Marc Mauer, *Race to Incarceration* (New York: The New York Press, 1999).
- 6. See Sara Wakefield and Christopher Wildeman, *Children of the Prison Boom: Mass Incarceration and the Future of American Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- 7. Jonathan Simon, *Mass Incarceration on Trial: A Remarkable Court Decision and the Future about Prisons in America* (New York: The New Press, 2014.).
- 8. Alexander, 53, 59.
- 9. Kristen D. Levingston, "Making the 'Bad Guy' Pay: Growing Use of Cost Shifting as an Economic Sanction," in *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration*, Tara Herivel and Paul Wright, eds. (New York: The New Press, 2007), 52-79.
- 10. Mauer, Race to Incarcerate, 12-13; see the collection of essays in Tara Herive and Paul Wright, eds. *Prison Profiteers: Who Makes Money from Mass Incarceration* (New York: The New Press, 2007).
- 11. See for instance, "Television, Public Space and Prison Population: A Commentary on Mauer and Simon," in *Mass Imprisonment: Social Causes and Consequences*, David Garland, ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001), 28-34; Paul Y. Sussman, "Media on Prisons: Censorship and Stereotypes," in *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Incarceration*, Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind, eds. (New York: The New Press, 2002) 258-278.
- 12. Peter Althouse, *Spirit of the Last Days: Pentecostal Eschatology in Conversation with Jürgen Moltmann* (London: T & T Clarke International, 2003).
- 13. Eldin Villafañe, *The Liberating Spirit: Toward an Hispanic American Pentecostal Social Ethic* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), xi.
- 14. Villafañe, 103.
- 15. Villafañe, 126-127.
- 16. Villafañe, 156.
- 17. Villafañe, 204.
- 18. Villafañe, 216-217.
- 19. Murray Dempster, "Evangelism, Social Concern, and the Kingdom of God, in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, Murray [W.] Dempster, Byron Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, eds. 22-43. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 22.
- 20. Murray Dempster, "Pentecostal Social Concern and the Biblical Mandate of Social Justice," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* (Fall 1987): 129, 131.

- 21. Dempster, "Pentecostal Social Concern and the Biblical Mandate of Social Justice," 138.
- 22. Dempster, "Pentecostal Social Concern and the Biblical Mandate of Social Justice," 142.
- 23. Dempster, "Pentecostal Social Concern and the Biblical Mandate of Social Justice," 142.
- 24. Dempster, "Pentecostal Social Concern and the Biblical Mandate of Social Justice," 148-49.
- 25. Cheryl J. Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.
- 26. Sanders, Saints in Exile, 63-64.
- 27. See for instance, Cheryl J. Sanders, *Ministry at the Margins: The Prophetic Mission of Women, Youth & the Poor* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1997); Cheryl J. Sanders, *Empowerment Ethics for a Liberated People: A Path to African American Social Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), throughout.
- 28. Cheryl J. Sanders, "Pentecostal Ethics and the Prosperity Gospel: Is There a Prophet in the House?" in *Afro-Pentecostalism: Black Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in History and Culture*, eds. Amos Yong and Estrelda Y. Alexander, 141-152 (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 141.
- 29. Sanders, "Pentecostal Ethics and the Prosperity Gospel," 141.
- 30. Sanders, "Pentecostal Ethics and the Prosperity Gospel," 150.
- 31. Sanders, "Pentecostal Ethics and the Prosperity Gospel," 151.
- 32. Leonard Lovett, *Kingdom beyond Color: Re-Examining the Phenomenon of Racism* (np: Leonard Lovett, Xlibris Corporation, 2006), 16.
- 33. Leonard Lovett, "Ethics in a Prophetic Mode: Reflections of an Afro-American Radical," in *Afro-Pentecostalism: Black Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in History and Culture*, eds. Amos Yong and Estrelda Y. Alexander, 153-165 (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 163n2.
- 34. Lovett, "Ethics in a Prophetic Mode," 152, 160.
- 35. Lovett, Kingdom beyond Color, 51.
- 36. Lovett, Kingdom beyond Color, 59.
- 37. Lovett, Kingdom beyond Color, 55.
- 38. Lovett, Kingdom beyond Color, 57.
- 39. Lovett, Kingdom beyond Color, 98-99.
- 40. Lovett, *Kingdom beyond Color*, 135; also Leonard Lovett, "Liberation: A Dual Edged Sword," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1987): 155-171 (168). Reminiscent of Martin Luther King, Jr., Lovett concludes the article with "I dream" statements.