eman ta zabal zazu

Universidad del País Vasco
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

TESIS DOCTORAL

Rafael Costa Cazarin de Brito

RELIGION, EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION ALONG MIGRATORY PROCESSES.

The cases of African church leaders in Spain and South Africa

Dirigida por

Andrés Davila Legerén y Maria del Mar Griera i Llonch

Departamento de Sociología 2

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación

Diciembre 2015

eman ta zabal zazu

Universidad del País Vasco
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

TESIS DOCTORAL

Rafael Costa Cazarin de Brito

RELIGION, EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION ALONG MIGRATORY PROCESSES.

The cases of African church leaders in Spain and South Africa

Dirigida por

Andrés Davila Legerén y Maria del Mar Griera i Llonch

Departamento de Sociología 2

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación

Diciembre 2015

eman ta zabal zazu

Universidad del País Vasco
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Departamento de Sociología 2

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y de la Comunicación

RELIGION, EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION ALONG MIGRATORY PROCESSES.

The cases of African church leaders in Spain and South Africa

Diciembre 2015

Tesis Doctoral presentada por Rafael Costa Cazarin de Brito bajo la dirección de Andrés Davila Legerén y Maria del Mar Griera i Llonch para la obtención del Grado de Doctor en Sociología

La presente tesis ha sido realizada bajo la financiación del programa de Formación y Perfeccionamiento de Personal Investigador (2011-2015) Nº Ref. BF-2011-263 Modalidad AE, del Departamento de Educación, Investigación y Universidades del Gobierno Vasco.

AGRADECIMIENTOS

Hace más o menos 10 años que me propuse estudiar ciencias sociales. En su momento sólo sabía que me gustaban algunas asignaturas del curso y que quizás me podrían ayudar a entender mejor el mundo que me rodea. Idiomas, culturas, religiones, música, política, género, en fin, un poco de todo y a la vez nada en especial. Más allá de los intereses, hay también (¡claro!) la gente que hace que todo esto exista, y con la gente también vienen sentimientos, emociones y afecto. Lo que no se me ocurría imaginar al empezar mi trayectoria es que personalidades, emociones y categorías sociales también se aplican a uno mismo (por más obvia que parezca la conclusión). Por lo tanto, empecé también a descubrir un poco (o mucho) de mí en medio este mundo de variables. La antropología y la sociología me han dado las pautas para comprender lo complejas que son las relaciones humanas pero también me han ayudado a ver sus lados más sencillos; lo que nos une y lo que nos separa o, como dicen algunos, "we are the same but different". Afortunadamente (o no), me quedo con lo que nos une. Quizás porque me fui acercando a gente que dicen tan "diferente" que me volví parte de mí estudio. Es siguiendo a esta gente que vi la "diferencia" transformarse en "diversidad" y de ese modo me convertí en objeto de lo que iba a ser mi propia investigación: un inmigrante.

A lo largo de mis estudios, y siempre apoyado por mi familia, pasé por Inglaterra, Portugal y llegué a España. En especial, fue en el País Vasco que me han surgido oportunidades de desarrollarme académicamente. No obstante, todavía más importante que eso, el País Vasco me ha traído el bien más precioso de la vida: las amistades. Sean vascos de corazón o de apellido agradezco a Miri, Sandra, Erin, Julia, Yolanda, Gioia y Raquel por los inúmeros momentos compartidos tanto en el mundo de las ideas e intelecto como en el de las emociones y la intuición (aún que cada vez más pienso que todo eso va siempre junto). Entre trenes y aviones, Bilbao se extendió a Barcelona y allí también encontré risas, amistad y mentes brillantes: gracias Rocío, Anna y el equipo de Investigacions en Sociología de la Religió – Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona. Es también desde la amistad, el respeto y una gran admiración que tengo mucho orgullo de haber sido guiado por Andrés y Mar: vuestras cualidades van más allá del intelecto, llegan a un carácter y nobleza de corazón que me llevaré siempre. Vuestra solidez y pasión por las ciencias sociales resultó en una combinación perfecta para que yo pudiera aprender y desarrollar mis aptitudes. Gracias por darme espacio y voz para que todo eso haya podido ocurrir.

Pero faltaba algo, faltaba África, más concretamente Sudáfrica. Fue en mis estancias de investigación en Johannesburgo, en el African Centre for Migration and Society – Wits University, que he podido profundizar mis conocimientos sobre este apasionante país que es África del Sur, y ante todo aprender que "Amandla awethu!". Fue ahí que, inspirado por una gran amistad, en 2010 pensé este proyecto que por ahí volverá de algún modo. Muchas gracias a ti, Lore, por todo tu apoyo, por escucharme.

Agradezco a Oliver Bakewell y al equipo del International Migration Institute – University of Oxford por recibirme. Fue desde mi experiencia en Oxford que las ideas empezaron a tomar forma de palabras, párrafos y capítulos, hasta llegar a donde estoy.

Com muito amor e admiração, agradeco a minha família querida, Mãe, Pai, Gui e Ana, vocês são a minha primeira lei de vida: seja lá aonde for, penso sempre em vocês para nunca esquecer de onde vim. Ao Danilo meu irmãozinho para toda a vida.

To you: my love, my partner, and my sunny way…Jere

INDEX

RESUMEN

1. Introducción

A finales del siglo XIX, los estudios de Max Weber y Durkheim han dado cuenta de relevantes dimensiones de la religión en cuanto a sus efectos tanto en el surgimiento como en la estructura de las sociedades. En paralelo a los cambios sociales potenciados por la modernidad, también la religión ha pasado por cambios determinantes respecto a su estructura institucional y organizativa así como a los propios sentidos de la experiencia religiosa para las personas.

En el mundo moderno, el ámbito de la espiritualidad y la religión parece verse encaminada hacia la satisfacción de aspiraciones más emocionales y de equilibrio mental que de trascendencia. En otros términos, se espera que el mismo opere como un espacio de 'realización personal', 'terapéutico' o de 'encuentro consigo mismo' aquí y ahora (Hervieu-Léger, D. 1990) tanto como en 'vidas posteriores' o paraísos divinos. Precisamente por su carácter experiencial y no dependiente de un lugar predeterminado, algunas religiones tienen la capacidad de reforzar lazos culturales de sus comunidades con sus más lejanos orígenes geográficos (Cohen 1997; Adogame 2005).

Al respecto, las diásporas contemporáneas han sido progresivamente clasificadas hasta ser entendidas en tanto que comunidades transnacionales múltiples. Como en el caso de las comunidades de 'taste' (Giddens, 1994: 188) donde la característica dominante es la construcción global de localidades (Robertson, 1992), es decir, la identidad local es construida con referencias globales. Pese a esas transformaciones substanciales, las comunidades de inmigrantes siguen ubicadas en posiciones desfavorecidas de recursos y oportunidades, posiciones que se tornan más acusadas cuando dicho estatuto está marcado por contornos religiosos y étnicos. En las sociedades democráticas contemporáneas, todavía se siguen identificando casos de relaciones de marginalización y subordinación de grupos minoritarios y más específicamente, de colectivos inmigrantes. Entretanto, dichas cuestiones representan algunos de los temas más pertinentes en el debate político y académico actual influenciado por

la ideas de pluralismo, integración, solidaridad y cohesión social. Los 'nuevos' migrantes son cada vez más 'transmigrantes'.

Las migraciones agregan importantes nociones de territorios imaginados, comunidades transnacionales y espacios no terrenales que se conjugan con las culturas de los feligreses. En algunos casos, la afiliación implica asistir a una congregación específica dónde la doctrina, liderazgo y estructura están establecidos claramente; en otros, no existe necesariamente un sentido de pertenencia o devoción personal a determinada congregación y se vive la religiosidad en cualquier iglesia, templo, o mezquita cercanos a su realidad (Levitt, 2007). Es por eso que pensar en términos de religión en nuestros días requiere más que simples comparaciones entre territorios, naciones y descriptores religiosos.

Un ejemplo que encaja con las 'nuevas exigencias' espirituales y religiosas en el siglo XXI radica en las doctrinas 'evangélicas' – Pentecostales Carismáticos – cuyos orígenes se remontan a la primera mitad del siglo XX en Norteamérica así como en la región Sur de África. El Pentecostalismo es una rama religiosa del cristianismo que comparte una visión mística de la vida religiosa, con particular énfasis en la búsqueda de revelaciones directas de Dios. Dichas manifestaciones divinas incluyen en algunos casos curas para las enfermedades, la prosperidad profesional o material del individuo, la superación de sufrimientos y vicisitudes de carácter tanto psicosociales como emocionales. Desde su planteamiento teológico, estas revelaciones tienen origen en una intensa batalla espiritual entre las fuerzas espirituales del bien y del mal con una directa influencia en su vida diaria. Además, y de acuerdo con las bases doctrinales, el cristiano que aprehende un 'verdadero' conocimiento espiritual no debe ser afligido por las adversidades y está dotado para poder superarlas no importa donde esté (Pedro Oro, 2003).

A tenor de dicha idea, la experiencia religiosa interviene en variados aspectos de la vida social, y, posiblemente, de forma más acentuada cuando tales fieles comparten ciertos caracteres culturales. Las relaciones de apoyo mutuo son, a menudo, más beneficiosas cuando involucran a personas con estatus social, experiencias y valores comunes; es decir, cuando se comparten interpretaciones similares respecto a aquello que les motiva tanto a ayudar como a pedir ayuda, estableciéndose así una interrelación entre ambos aspectos (Ellison, 1998). Los valores compartidos dentro de una misma comunidad religiosa contribuyen al desarrollo de un discurso común y a la adscripción de significados tangibles en relación a temas como sufrimiento, emociones, memoria colectiva y tradiciones. Por consiguiente, el envolvimiento religioso

puede potencializar la calidad y la cantidad de recursos y socialidades disponibles al individuo en la cotidianidad y a lo largo de sus proyectos de vida.

Otro aspecto relevante en las iglesias evangélicas modernas o modernizadas se refiere a su institucionalización, que presenta un alto grado de internacionalismo de sus actividades. A la vez, no sólo sus relaciones internacionales pero también la capacidad de ajustarse a nivel regional comporta que la propia doctrina sea constantemente renovada. Por ejemplo, en lo que atañe a las iglesias proféticas o independientes de origen africano, Mary y Fourchard (2005:10) afirman que '…éstas no esperan a la mundialización para afirmar su vocación transnacional y aseguran desde hace varias décadas una implantación no sólo en numerosos países africanos, limítrofes o no, sino también en Europa y Estados Unidos, vía flujos migratorios por la formación de diásporas religiosas africanas…' (Mary y Fourchard, 2005:9-10).

2. **Trayectoria, Diseño y Relevancia Social**

Las sociedades democráticas se están transformando, progresivamente, en espacios plurales y por el mismo motivo tienden a subestimar los efectos de la diversidad. Incluso después de que las ciencias sociales, como señala Robert Putnam (2007), hayan revelado que es más fácil confiar y cooperar con el otro cuando la distancia social es menor. La consciencia de la proximidad, de las experiencias comunes, genera empatías y complicidades. Dicho de otro modo, son factores que reproducen y recrean identidades. Y es que las identidades sociales son inevitablemente indisociables de las distancias sociales, que a su vez potencian y consolidan las identidades (Putnam, 2007: 159).

No nos olvidemos de que en el pasado, considerando la precocidad de nuestras democracias, las minorías 'toleradas' han sido consideradas como grupos marginados, categorías-corporación (Wilson, 1996: 20-21) con identidad y cultura específicas; sus dirigentes ejercían simultáneamente el control social en el interior de la comunidad y mediaban las relaciones entre su comunidad y el grupo hegemónico. Pero el proceso adaptativo, a lo largo del tiempo, tanto de la inmigración como de la diversidad, reclama la «construcción de identidades sociales, no meramente de los propios inmigrantes (…) pero también de la nueva sociedad más diversa en su totalidad» (Putnam, 2007: 160).

Las nuevas formas de comunicación tecnológica y transportes de masa favorecen el mantenimiento de contactos entre origen-destino y las nuevas generaciones pueden reforzar la cultura de origen a la vez que asimilar la cultura dominante (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002: 13). Por esa razón, recordamos una vez más la perspectiva de Putnam (2007) sobre las potencialidades de las nuevas comunidades de inmigrantes en tanto que ricos instrumentos para un aprendizaje mutuo; y, al hablar de reconstrucción de identidades, lo que se pone de manifiesto no es solamente la identidad de las personas migrantes sino la identidad de la sociedad, culturalmente más diversificada en su conjunto

Los discursos desarrollados en la doctrina evangélica inscriben la emocionalidad en las prácticas de la cotidianidad reinterpretando biografías 'migrantes' e incorporando acciones y conceptos más 'fluidos' que se ajustan a la realidad de sus creyentes. A tal efecto se trabajan ritualidades con alta capacidad socializadora de emociones clave en procesos de integración y la cohesión social, principalmente relacionadas con la autoestima, la confianza interpersonal y la lealtad; tres emociones sociales necesarias, según Barbalet (1996), para los procesos sociales de la agencia, la cooperación y la organización, respectivamente.

En el ámbito de la psiquiatría y la psicología social, resúmenes sistemáticos de más de doscientos estudios publicados hasta 1989 han registrado consistentemente que varios aspectos de la participación religiosa están conectados a la salud mental y a la cohesión social (Ellison, 1998). La explicación psicosocial de dichos hallazgos puede ser planteada desde su capacidad para influir en estilos de vida personales, en la integración y el apoyo que favorecen los actos religiosos sociales e individuales, en la intensificación de las emociones y sentimientos de autoestima así como en el afrontamiento de situaciones desde un cuadro de referencia religioso. Además de la importancia de las emociones en el contexto presente de individuos, un examen de las emociones también permite enmarcar la idea de transformaciones biográficas que recogen el pasado y pueden llegar a proyectarse en un tiempo futuro. De ahí que expectativas y frustraciones, éxitos y fracasos sean constantemente enlazados con procesos migratorios en sus varias fases para cada individuo. No en vano, lo que se presenta en esos espacios es un rico ambiente de socialización que canaliza experiencias psicosociales extremadamente desafiantes para el individuo hacia nuevas narraciones de sus trayectos vitales e interpretaciones de la realidad.

En lugar de comenzar con una definición preexistente de la religión, sugerimos en esta investigación reflexionar sobre la relación entre prácticas e idiosincrasias cotidianas y la experiencia religiosa. Asimismo, indagaremos sobre los efectos de algunos eventos y acciones religiosas cotidianas en la vida de los actores y cómo dichos aspectos son moldeados por (y moldean) los diversos contextos culturales. En suma, proponemos profundizar sobre características de la experiencia religiosa intersubjetiva poniendo un énfasis particular en aspectos emocionales y psicosociales que juegan un papel (re)socializador dentro de contextos migratorios; hecho que, como veremos, parece ser de gran importancia en la generación de socialidades y cosmovisiones que dinamizan los procesos y proyectos vitales de algunos migrantes.

Las diferentes denominaciones y ramas enlazadas con los estudios sobre Diáspora ayudan a entender de qué manera el fenómeno de las iglesias africanas se desarrolla en la Europa contemporánea. En mi acercamiento al tema observo una gran variedad de procesos, sincretismos, reinvenciones llevadas a cabo por estas iglesias. Sin embargo, más allá de una historiografía del Pentecostalismo en África, considero que resulta central en este proyecto un rico análisis etnográfico de la comunidad ya que existe una vasta bibliografía sobre los orígenes, denominaciones, historia y desarrollo de sus iglesias en el mundo.

3. Objetivos y líneas de investigación

Esta tesis aborda la relación entre prácticas cotidianas, idiosincrasias y experiencias religiosas observadas a partir de los discursos de pastores pentecostales de origen Nigeriano y Congoleño durante actividades en sus iglesias; investiga las dinámicas de pertenencia y transformación social articuladas por dichos líderes en sus comunidades religiosas; y, por fin, aborda cómo tales aspectos son desarrollados a lo largo de trayectos migratorios sur-sur y sur-norte. Por medio de una etnografía multisituada en iglesias Africanas tanto en Bilbao como en Johannesburgo, busco relacionar casos distantes desde una perspectiva geo-cultural atendiendo a dos objetivos generales: (1) explorar las dimensiones emocionales y cognitivas de narrativas y prácticas Pentecostales Africanas desde la feligresía y en su cuadro discursivo de trasformación social; (2) perfilar un cierto *modus operandi* en las formas de volverse pastor y gestionar su liderazgo se combinan con esa tradición a la hora de contribuir en la mediación discursiva de procesos migratorios en sus respectivas congregaciones.

Partiendo de dichas líneas, propongo destacar tres ejes de trabajo desde los cuales esta tesis se ha desarrollado dando cuenta de ciertas preguntas de investigación:

I. Conocer de qué manera la experiencia religiosa asociada a una re-socialización emocional de inmigrantes creyentes promueve un *ethos* y una cosmovisión que reinterpreta sus circunstancias individuales y sociales, conlleva plantearse ¿hasta qué punto son los discursos religiosos capaces de mediar la relación entre cultura en origen y cultura en destino por medio de las emociones?; así como ¿en qué sentido(s) las sensaciones, los sentimientos y cierta praxis psicosocial (milagros, testimonios, música) son abordados en las actividades eclesiásticas?

II. A tenor de sus conocimientos teológicos y socio-culturales como congregantes, los discursos de líderes engendran un espacio de negociación de (des)igualdades a nivel global y local – teniendo en cuenta aspectos tales como género, roles de parentesco, raza, culturas, etc.- Pero en los mismos, ¿qué tipo de mecanismos socio-cognitivos son (re)producidos ante el afrontamiento de la realidad migratoria y de qué manera estos líderes los presentan a la congregación?; ¿cuál es el rol de las emociones en las experiencias de los propios líderes y hasta qué punto todo ello juega un papel en la construcción del liderazgo en la iglesia?

III. Un compendio de rituales llevados a cabo en las Iglesias median los escenarios anteriores (I y II), construyendo momentos de conexión entre una consciencia diasporica enmarcada por rasgos Pentecostales y Africanos (o africanizados). Una situación en la que nos interesa averiguar ¿cuál es el rol de los rituales en la interrelación iglesia-cotidianidad?, así como ¿de qué manera ciertos aspectos cómo cánticos, danzas, fotografía, y video resultan relevantes en esta interrelación y en qué sentido(s)?

4. Enfoque metodológico

En el plano teórico, hemos orientado el trabajo de investigación en conocer los estudios sobre las relaciones entre religiosidad, diáspora africana e integración así como las principales líneas de investigación conformadas por este campo. Nuestro foco se centra en las conceptualizaciones de los estudios socio-antropológicos en la medida en que puedan dialogar entre sí pero también con la realidad (lenguaje y sistemas simbólicos) del campo. En concreto,

decido inspirarme en las nociones filosófico-sociológicas del pragmatismo, la fenomenología, el interaccionismo y la etnometodología enmarcando el proceso de investigación en lo que me parece un importante aporte de este proyecto: conceptualizaciones, categorías y procesos entendidos a posteriori desde la experiencia religiosa.

En un primer momento, buscamos la aproximación etnográfica mediante la observación social clásica del objeto de estudio, es decir, intentando captar en su totalidad la experiencia religiosa/espiritual de inmigrantes partícipes de los grupos religiosos seleccionados en nuestra muestra, estructural que no estadística. Esta aproximación deberá ser capaz de captar el contexto histórico de sus sujetos y registrar la acción constitutiva de los sistemas internacionales, políticos y económicos en el nivel local. Tales acciones no son meros impactos externos en el campo observado, ya que los sistemas externos tienen su definición y penetración local, afectando intrínsecamente a la formación de símbolos y significados compartidos en los mundos íntimos de los sujetos etnográficos (Marcus y Fischer, 1986:39). A lo largo de todo el proyecto, el enfoque etnográfico de la observación pretende el estudio de las prácticas propias de la experiencia religiosa en relación a la cohesión social, analizando para ello la conformación de los nexos entre individuo, grupo y espacio desarrollados en su multiplicidad de significantes.

En un segundo momento de la investigación, se realizan entrevistas abiertas o en profundidad al objeto de hacer proliferar y recopilar diferentes narraciones por parte de los diversos actores involucrados en experiencias religiosas similares, asociándolas a la recreación y/o reinterpretación de sus objetivos vitales, particularmente en relación con aquellos procesos migratorios experimentados (campo-ciudad, origen-destino, transnacionalimo, etc.). Tales entrevistas, tanto a líderes religiosos como a feligreses de iglesias africanas en Bilbao y Johannesburgo, deberían permitirnos «superar las singularidades de cada historia y construir progresivamente una representación de los componentes sociológicos sociales de la situación bajo estudio» (Bertaux, 1997: 33.)

En la entrevista lo que proponemos es conocer el entrevistado en la re-construcción del discurso pero no solo el entrevistado pero también el conocimiento del entrevistado. Es una cuestión de postura ante el entrevistado que permea todo el proceso de investigación (entrevistarse entrevistando). En nuestro caso, sería una incongruencia partir desde una visión extractora de la información una vez que tenemos en cuenta la construcción de determinada realidad social

exterior a nuestro intelecto aun que contenga elementos de una realidad compartida. Es decir, tanto los individuos como el colectivo se mueven en función de una cosmovisión y con base en un ethos más o menos característicos con simbologías y lenguajes intrínsecos desconocidos a priori. Nuestro trabajo investigativo tiene por objetivo interpretar, elucidar o traducir dicha construcción socio-individual de la realidad en una especie de logos característico del grupo.

Como forma de enriquecer y multiplicar las perspectivas en la observación un análisis de videos grabados por el técnico de video y foto de la propia iglesia así como fotografías y fragmentos de videos grabados por mí a lo largo de la investigación. También analizar los carteles y folletos así como el uso de la música en los cultos es parte de la propuesta audiovisual. Los 'momentos' captados podrán ser contextualizados con las observaciones participantes y las entrevistas en profundidad tratando de relacionar tales aspectos entre sí y en cuanto a sus usos y significados. Nuestro análisis pretende captar dicha realidad social tal como se está continuamente construyendo, emergiendo como realidad objetiva, ordenada, inteligible y familiar. En este sentido, tratamos de explicitar el significado de la experiencia religiosa como forma de abordar las dificultades en los procesos individuales de aculturación y señalar los modos en que se promueven e incorporan desigualdades relacionadas con roles de género, así como las respectivas significaciones que admiten dentro del grupo y en la vida personal.

En la selección de los casos estudiados en Johannesburgo y en Bilbao, tres dimensiones han sido establecidas: (1) el *modus operandi* del movimiento Pentecostal Africano; (2) el estilo o la 'aplicación' Carismática tomando en cuenta por líderes de Iglesias frecuentadas por migrantes de origen Africano; (3) las personas que de alguna manera asumían una posición de liderazgo, desde líderes de 'hermandades', o subgrupos, a predicadores. Dichos aspectos señalan, respectivamente, el intento de abordar dinámicas socio-culturales en sus niveles macro, meso y micro que no necesariamente en su orden progresivo o regresivo caracterizan las experiencias observadas. Más allá, cada foco constituye parte independiente, y a la vez constituyente de un todo, que han servido como puntos de partida para la tesis, para el análisis y posteriores conclusiones. Al respecto, es también la noción de 'caso de estudio' que se desvela en unidades de análisis (Yin 1984) observadas desde dos trayecto/contexto migratorios (sur-sur y sur-norte). De ahí que doce líderes representen dichas unidades repartidas entre seis relatos de vida y observaciones participantes en cada caso; contextos en donde la figura del pastor personifica las 'formas de ser' (des)localizadas (Landau 2009) promovidas en sus discursos.

5. Presentación general de los capítulos

El contenido de esta tesis se estructura en seis capítulos. En el primero capítulo se plantean los supuestos teóricos y metodológicos de la investigación, presentándose los principales conceptos y argumentos abstraídos desde la literatura científica en ciencias sociales; particularmente en los campos de las migraciones, la religión y las emociones. Entre los argumentos introductorios de base y el diseño de la investigación, se empieza a establecer las ideas clave que permean toda la investigación.

En el segundo capítulo se delinean los aspectos históricos que construyen el trayecto del Pentecostalismo africano desde inicios del siglo XX hasta los días actuales. Particularmente, dicha historia es enmarcada en su relación con aspectos de agencia y transformación social. Algunos datos sociodemográficos y geopolíticos completan los argumentos históricos ampliamente trabajados por investigadores en el campo de la religión, principalmente en África y Norteamérica, lugares en donde movimientos etno-raciales se han especialmente entrelazado con el Cristianismo Carismático. Es también desde una perspectiva crítica que aquí se propone entender el Pentecostalismo Africano desde su evolución propia y rasgos específicos que lo distingue del caso norteamericano como en la perspectiva hegemónica.

En este sentido, el capítulo también expone el carácter misionario evangelizador que nutre la relación del movimiento Pentecostal con las migraciones y Diaspora Africana. De ahí que algunas menciones etnográficas de los casos aquí estudiados empiezan a surgir en paralelo y a partir de un Pentecostalismo Africano construido a lo largo de las últimas décadas. De esta manera, esta investigación progresivamente se proyecta desde la literatura y otros casos estudiados como una especie de proyección del movimiento; dicho de otro modo, siempre teniendo en cuenta su recogido histórico así como su diversidad. El desarrollo de las iglesias Pentecostales-carismáticas en la República Democrática de Congo así como en Nigeria dan las pautas de los contextos en origen. En seguida, se introduce los contextos en destinos o el escenario general de las iglesias Pentecostales en el contexto Español hacia el País Vasco y en África del Sur especificada por Johannesburgo.

En el tercer capítulo profundizo en la *persona* de los propios pastores buscando entender sus trayectos vitales desde sus primeros contactos con el Cristianismo en África hasta la inserción

en la vida religiosa y la consagración de sus puestos de liderazgo. En ese sentido, su liderazgo se desarrolla en medio a una intensa teatralidad, dinámico lenguaje corporal y una retórica poderosa que incorpora las narrativas transformadoras del Pentecostalismo-Carismático en sus propias biografías vitales (y religiosas). De ahí, se señala que de su educación formal y la vida familiar en origen hasta los progresos vocacionales y de liderazgo en sus iglesias, pastores y pastoras Pentecostales se vuelven la 'marca' principal de cada congregación de cara al público. A lo largo del proceso que lleva a 'volverse' líder, distintos rasgos de Africanismo dentro de la cosmovisión Cristiana son trabajados bajo el aspecto de 'madurez espiritual', 'dones del espíritu santo' y una trayectoria vital que constituyen un rico *stock of knowledge* (Schutz 1970).

Este mismo capítulo también explora la construcción social de este *stock of knowledge* más precisamente centrándose en los aspectos cognitivos y emocionales; dicho de otro modo, intento enmarcar las formas en que pastores integran las emociones y la cognición en sus discursos de trasformación desde una mirada a sus propias experiencias vitales y en contextos migratorios. Es en esa línea que aspectos como el poder de la curación, las visiones y sueños proféticos además de sus misiones evangelizadoras son establecidos como herramientas socio-cognitivas transformadoras. Examinando doce perfiles desde sus trayectorias en los dos casos el capítulo enmarca un cierto repertorio discursivo que medía y legitima 'glocalmente' (Featherstone and Robertson 1995) la figura del liderazgo ante la congregación Pentecostal.

En el capítulo cuarto se analizan las dinámicas emocionales en su relación con la construcción de la pertenencia desde una identidad colectiva y diasporica que lleva la congregación más allá del ámbito local. Su título: 'La arquitectura de la pertenencia', pretende poner sobre la pista de que mediante la articulación de los significados de ambas palabras se busca una combinación que da sentido discursivo a la organización institucional de la iglesia. Desde la diversidad de puestos de liderazgo hasta el establecimiento de subgrupos por género, edad, y estado civil, la arquitectura de la congregación remite a una idea de integración segmentada. Además, a lo largo de sus secciones el capítulo introduce los principales procesos por los cuales un 'régimen emocional' (Riis and Woodhead 2010) se funda tanto a nivel congregacional como global.

En ese sentido, la fusión de aspectos estructurales con el contenido emocional edifica un concepto de comunidad que abarca desde el micro a la macro escala: individuo, lazos sociales y familiares, así como la cultura, son encapsulados por un Reino de Dios que interpreta el cotidiano del feligrés y las vicisitudes de la modernidad. Bajo la solidez de su estructura

discursiva y la fluidez de sus narrativas, las comunidades Africanas Pentecostales abstraen dimensiones locales y globales en una especie de multiplicidad ontológica (Descola 2013) yendo de Johannesburgo a Bilbao, de África a Europa, de la tradición a la modernidad. Al mismo tiempo, desde sus obstáculos, sufrimientos, preces, enfermedades y dolores, se hace la forma de una consciencia diasporica que descentraliza rasgos etno-raciales o demográficos en función de una amalgama de sentimientos y emociones compartidas (Clifford 1997; Anderson 1991).

Dando continuidad a la idea de las dinámicas emocionales y, también, a tenor de dicha idea, en el quinto capítulo se conceptualiza una expresión mencionada por líderes como esencial para el entendimiento de las manifestaciones del espíritu en la realidad: el conocimiento espiritual o *spiritual knowledge*. En paralelo a la idea de Schutz sobre el *stock of knowledge*, el conocimiento espiritual es un constructo que engloba tanto experiencias vitales (migratorias, cuotidianas, familiares, etc.) como religiosas (*born-again* o el nacer de nuevo). La combinación de tales vivencias con el estudio bíblico, especialmente, profundizado en los temas afines al Pentecostalismo Africano, genera una 'madurez espiritual' citada por líderes como condición *sine qua non* para alcanzar las transformaciones socio-individuales planteadas. Por medio de una gama de rituales religiosos llamados por mí de 'interacciones de trasferencia' (*transferring interaccions*), el capítulo trata de enmarcar tres dimensiones desde rituales y la *praxis* observada en las iglesias. En estos rituales el conocimiento espiritual se 'transfiere' a los feligreses y las feligresas trasladando aspectos narrativos, emociones así como un cierto *modus operandi* hacia la realidad de la persona creyente que le permita incorporar el discurso de transformación en su biografía.

En la primera gama de actividades se destacan las interacciones personalizadas en donde el pastor aconseja cada persona en su vida privada, familiar y conyugal. La segunda escala envuelve actividades colectivas intra-grupo en donde se discuten temas por categorías de género, edad, estado civil, o mismo en los propios cultos de domingo. Es ahí donde la colectividad comparte sus sufrimientos y celebra sus victorias (conseguir papeles, un viaje de vuelta a origen, un trabajo, etc). Una tercera dimensión contempla las actividades inter-grupales que reúnen congregaciones distintas o también aquellas actividades de entrenamiento hacia el liderazgo y escuelas bíblicas. En ambos casos, un tema específico de aprendizaje bíblico y vital suele ser utilizado para transferir conocimientos más formalizados aunque siempre relacionados con la realidad vivida. En estas interacciones los pastores retroalimentan sus

conocimientos, conocen y reconocen las vicisitudes de la congregación y 'devuelven' a las personas creyentes narrativas pragmáticas, oraciones y discursos ajustados a contextos inestables y problemáticos.

6. Conclusiones

El conocimiento espiritual mencionado por líderes se nutre de una serie de recursos emocionales y cognitivos que en su relación con las narrativas y *praxis* Pentecostales articulan el afrontamiento a contextos migratorios. La combinación entre experiencias religiosas y migratorias permiten (re)producir constructos discursivos que evidencian regímenes emocionales y un *stock* de conocimientos particulares al Pentecostalismo Africano. Dichos constructos dan soporte a la idea de transformación social a lo largo de procesos migratorios. La historia del Pentecostalismo-Carismático ha sido desarrollada en función de un motor transformador en relación directa con procesos migratorios. En sus misiones evangelizadoras, redes transnacionales se han establecido tanto entre congregaciones localizadas en una única ciudad o mismo en continentes distintos. Estas redes componen y a la vez reproducen la Diaspora Africana enmarcado un Pan Africamismo inspirado en un ethos y cosmovisión Cristianos. Al mismo tiempo, la habilidad de líderes en ajustarse a los contextos migratorios en que se encuentran ayuda a reinventar y actualizar los discursos religiosos; asimismo, sostienen la expansión de las congregaciones Pentecostales-Carismáticas mientras se mantienen las conexiones con la perspectiva global.

El desarrollo de los 'dones del espíritu', la consolidación de roles familiares y de genero así como la institucionalización de objetivos vitales son los pilares del recogido biográfico de líderes. Dichos aspectos son trasladados al cuadro de referencia Pentecostal y corroboran con la legitimidad del liderazgo y sus poderes trasformadores. En ese sentido, ciertas emociones y experiencias son particularmente mencionadas en sus discursos en un intento de (auto-)legitimar(se) desde el propio ethos y cosmovisión Pentecostal Africano. Las iglesias fundadas por migrantes son espacios intersticiales en las sociedades de destino, lugares marginales donde interacciones sociales y religiosas conforman un régimen emocional así como una consciencia diasporica. De ahí que un repertorio de emociones, símbolos, experiencias espirituales y transformaciones biográficas engendran lazos entre individuos hacia una cierta fraternidad horizontal (Anderson 1991).

Y es que esta 'comunidad emocional' unida por sentimientos y sensaciones mutuamente reconocibles desde el trayecto migratorio, trasciende la localidad y relaciona feligreses de estas iglesias tanto en Europa como en África. Una táctica de pertenencia en un mundo cosmopolita guiado por un reino global (Cristianismo) y una nación espiritual (Pentecostalismo Pan Africano). Por otro lado, la interpretación *top-down* de dichos conceptos sobre macro escalas es trasladado por líderes hacia la interacciones religiosas dentro de las iglesias. Son también esas las actividades que ayudan a reinterpretar los procesos migratorios vividos por feligreses desde lo que hemos evidenciado como 'conocimiento espiritual'.

Este conocimiento spiritual es el terreno común y punto de inflexión en la mediación de las varias paradojas (en sus maniqueísmos y dialécticas) abordadas desde el Pentecostalismo Africano que fueron mencionadas a lo largo de la tesis. Dicho constructo parece haber inspirado las propias experiencias de líderes en sus experiencias misionarias, migratorias y cuotidianas. Al establecer un sistema de aprendizaje social, el constructo se 'transfiere' a la feligresía desde interacciones clave cargadas de emocionalidad y discursos de transformación. A lo largo de ese proceso, no solo una cosmovisión y ethos se ajustan a contextos individuales pero a nivel comunitario dicha praxis discursiva ayuda a (de)construir emocionalmente la noción de transformación.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The greater picture

Throughout recent decades, an extended literature has been developed which presented approaches for 'achieving' and catalysing the integration of migrants in a determinate society. These strategic policies have turned 'integration' into a multisided concept that has been simultaneously and vastly explored in social sciences. Whereas multiculturalism, intercultural, acculturation or 'melting pot' are just some of the terms used, we observe the prevalence of looking at migration and its dynamics through the management of public policies and legal measures. Yet migratory processes are not a phenomenon exclusively circumscribed to nation-state policies nor is their impact limited to the developed countries. Human mobility has been largely significant in south-south dynamics where rural-urban or intra-continental flows have been particularly evidenced throughout history (Skeldon, 2014: 70).

Yet, considering the problematic and fragile governmental structures of developing countries it is precisely under the auspices of informality along the spatial interstices of urban areas that integration plays an essential role. Such spaces are often seen as failures of urban development, as a lack of 'healthy public space' and can even be understood as the 'anti-public space'(Brighenti, 2013: Intro). From 'migrant neighbourhoods' to ethnic businesses and informal markets, these interstices are recognised worldwide by their factors of attraction or threat. On the one hand migrants who reside in relatively established welfare states are exposed to the vicissitudes of a segregated micro-cosmos. Areas where informality, unemployment and social exclusion pervade the integration processes. On the other, along the metropolitan areas of the global south such vicissitudes are extended to the wider societal context as well as enhanced by violence and poverty.

These social interstices – social spaces of differentiation sometimes known as marginalised, heterogeneous, mixed, both familiar and delocalised – appear to be a communal alternative to the organisation of a fragmented reality where intersubjective experiences and cultural values are negotiated (Bhabha, 1998). In particular, within the societal margins of African and Western societies, Migrant Initiated Churches seem to be offering African migrants a bridge for the 'here' and 'there' as well as an interconnection between past and present, tradition and modernity; all of which is illustrated by a combined African and Pentecostal ethos and

worldviews that mediate the relationship of culture, society and religion either at global or local levels. In some cases, the religious practices involve attending a specific congregation where the doctrine, leadership and structure are clearly established, in others there is not necessarily a sense of belonging or personal devotion to a particular congregation and the religious experience can be developed in any church, temple or mosque nearby (Levitt, 2001).

In addition to that, several other aspects within the migration process – integration, settlement, migratory journey, collective memory, xenophobia, etc. – also play important roles in delineating the sense of belonging to religious groups. That is why, thinking about religion in the modern world requires more than simple comparisons between regions, nations and religious descriptors. As evidenced by scholars of religion over the last decades (Asad, 1993; P.E.. Berger, 1999; Csordas, 1994; Hervieu-Léger, 1990) , these 'new requirements' of the modernised religious individual seemed to find room in Christianity, more specifically amongst Pentecostal-Charismatic churches worldwide. With their Western history dating from the first half of the 20th century in the United States, these churches tend to promote a phenomenological vision of the religious life. Their foundational pillars emphasise embodied-manifested gifts from the Holy Spirit, faith-based cures for illnesses and an intense spiritual battle between the forces of good and evil, all of which have a strong influence on the ethics of their daily lives.

Another important aspect of the modernised Pentecostal-Charismatic movement is related to its institutionalisation, addressing activities to worshippers all around the world, especially to the people who are connected through its migration flows and Diasporas (Adogame, 2000). This particularity implies that the doctrine itself is constantly updated about their original approaches that characterise a certain plasticity at the moment of founding new churches. On prophetic or African independent churches, for instance, Mary, Fourchard & Otayek (1986) state that "... they do not expect globalisation to assert its transnational mission and ensure decades of implantation not only in many African countries, neighboring or not, but in Europe and the United States, they open up migration pathways for the formation of African religious Diaspora ... "(p. 9-10).

Religious institutions differ from other immigrant institutions in that they see themselves as the living embodiment of universal and timeless truths (Chen, 2001). They provide members with moral compasses and orient them to act upon these values in particular settings of theological inspiration. The discourses developed by church leaders seem to move closer to a

subjective emotional approach and practical everyday life stories. They adjust actions and interpretations towards the needs of *glocalized* religious communities and the articulating universalism features relate to particularistic need (Featherstone and Robertson, 1995). Yet few studies take theology seriously or try to understand what ordinary people actually believe and how these beliefs guide their everyday lives (Levitt, 2001). Moreover, Pentecostal rituals are highly capable of socialising key emotions on integration and social cohesion processes by relating self-esteem, interpersonal trust and loyalty. According to Barbalet (1996), these three social emotions are necessary for the social construction of agency, cooperation and organisation, respectively.

In the modern world, the field of spirituality and religion appears to be more aimed at satisfying the aspirations of emotional and psychosocial balance (Hervieu-Léger, 1990). They engender social spaces for personal fulfilment, therapeutic practices and the finding or experiencing of oneself in this life more than in afterlives or divine paradises (Beck, 2009). In correlated fields such as Psychiatry and Social Psychology, longitudinal studies have consistently reported that several aspects of religious involvement are connected to mental health and social cohesion (Ellison, 1998). The psychosocial explanation of these findings may be raised from their ability to influence personal lifestyles, in the integrational and supportive acts that favour social and individual religious, in intensifying the emotions and feelings of self-esteem and coping in situations from a religious frame of reference.

Embedded in this idea, religious experience involves various aspects of social life, and is possibly more pronounced when worshippers share certain cultural characteristics. Mutually supportive relationships are often more beneficial when involving people with similar social status, experiences and common values; that is, when shared similar interpretations about what motivates them both to help and to ask for help, thus establishing an interaction between these two elements (Pargament, 1990). The values shared within a religious community contribute to the development of a common discourse and the ascription of meanings in relation to tangible issues like suffering, emotions, collective memory and traditions. Thus, religious involvement may potentiate the quality and quantity of resources available to the individual in daily socialities and throughout their life projects.

What is presented in these spaces is a rich environment that channels psychosocial experiences as well as challenging individuals to explore new biographical accounts for their life journeys

and interpretations of reality. By offering an emotional-cognitive experience of religion church leaders develop 'important spaces for the establishment of kinship and family networks while extending the emotive religious experience initiated by Pentecostal churches in the homeland' (Akyeampong, 2000, 209).

In this regard, shouting, dancing, singing, laughing and crying are just some of the emotionally-based states that can be perceived by the participants of a Pentecostal service in some of the so-called manifestations of the Holy Ghost. Likewise, Pentecostal Pastors are known for dramatically expressing their emotions during sermons and preaching as well as by their influence on congregants' cognitive responses throughout rituals (Holm, 1991; Tankink, 2007).

The know-how of church leaders in interpreting and transmitting biblical words is filled with sensorial abilities that often are responsible for reinforcing and legitimising their leadership (Willems, 1967); but far from being limited to Sunday sermons, these emotional dynamics seem to engage with narratives of a certain 'spiritual knowledge' that is somewhat related to social transformations. This demand for a specific set of abilities is commonly found throughout church services or activities and it seems to be deeply rooted in the cause-effect logic framed by Pentecostal discourses of transformation.

In this way, Peel (1995) highlights the importance of narratives on rebuilding individual and collective memories giving a new account of how things should work in the future by articulating experience, expectations and life journey. Together with narratives, emotional regimes also play a role in transforming and reproducing discourses of power. Woodhead and Riis's (2010) Sociology of Religion indicate, for instance, that such regimes 'persist over time, and transcend individuals, shaping what they can feel, how they can feel it, the way they can express their feelings, and hence the forms of social relationship and courses of action that are open to them.' (p. 12). Yet, emotional regimes and narratives are often transformed throughout time provoking people in the way they must rethink events, ideas, problems and crisis dealt with daily and to reorganise discourses based on these elements; furthermore, they are 'the principal means by which historical agency is achieved and new meaning articulated, but also because its production is a sign of change' (Marshall, 1998: 289).

1.2 Research Design

1.2.1 Aims and objectives

This thesis explores the relationship between everyday practices, idiosyncrasies and religious experiences orchestrated by African Pentecostal Pastor's discourses in church activities; to investigate the dynamics of belonging and social transformations articulated by these church leaders in their religious communities; and to see how these aspects are (re)configured by south-south and south-north migratory processes. Through an ethnographic approach on Congolese and Nigerian Pastors in Bilbao, Spain, and Johannesburg, South Africa, I aim to relate these geo-cultural distant cases by analysing: (1) their mutually recognisable emotionally-based set of interactions, narratives and practices framed by the Pentecostal discourse on transformation; (2) a *modus operandi* comprised of how narratives of 'becoming' a Pastor and 'doing' leadership are combined with religion towards the construction of a discursive mediation of migratory processes. These two comprehensive objectives comprised three research lines and hypothetical suggestions shaped by key research interrogations:

IV. The religious experience would be associated with an emotionally-based re-socialisation of migrants promoting an *ethos* and a worldview that reinterprets migrants' individual and social circumstances

- Are religious discourses capable of mediating the relationship between culture of origin and host culture through the establishment of emotional bonds? In which way(s) feelings, sentiments and psychosocial practices (faith-based healing, testimonies, prayers) are framed throughout church activities?

V. Based in theological and social-cultural acknowledgements, pastors' discourses offer a room for negotiating local and global inequalities (gender, family roles, racism, etc) as well as portray tactical ways of belonging.

- What kind of social-cognitive tools are provided to face reality and how do leaders present them to the community? What is the role of emotions in pastors' own religious experiences and how they translate these to their modus operandi in the church?

VI. A particular set of rituals are mediators of scenarios one and two. They (re)produce moments of emotional and cognitive connectivity while engendering a diasporic consciousness shaped by an African(ised) and Pentecostal scenario.

- What is the role of ritual in the social construction of everyday life? How are these religious experiences able to forge community? How can aspects such as singing, dancing, photography and video be relevant to this task and in which ways?

1.2.2 Methodological framework: theoretical dimensions

In the first section of this thesis I suggested introductory theoretical and methodological perspectives on the current studies of migration, religion and emotions in social sciences. Likewise, the experiential domain within Pentecostal rituals and *modus operandi* has appeared not only as a common thread in these studies but also as particularly integrated to the aims and objectives of the present study. With regards to the understanding of what I called 'emotionally-based discourses', the role of emotions hereby is that of an 'analytical glue' that seems to bridge experiences, spaces, identities and migratory processes under the auspices of belonging.

.

In this regard, experience and emotions are mutually integrative aspects of human reality that often have been tangentially explored by sociologists and anthropologists but have not necessarily been taken as core objects of empirical studies. On the one hand, from the development of Durkheimian approaches on rituals to the analysis of practices and meanings, (Csordas, 2002; Geertz, 1973) and the social construction of religion (Berger, 1971), a lack of a systematic approach on emotions is still evident in the field of religion and spirituality (Riis & Woodhead, 2010: 5). On the other hand, phenomenology, as a relatively established theoretical tradition, has played a substantial role in placing and disseminating a compendium of theoretical bases for the study of human consciousness in the social sciences and particularly related to religious experiences.

The mentor of modern phenomenology, Edmund Husserl, directs ones attention towards Rene Descartes' approach to the understanding of human consciousness as a one-sided sensorial 'receiver' of information which misrepresented the way consciousness works. Husserl's idea of consciousness is that of a self-contained construct only existent through things that makes us conscious, or in other words, consciousness is 'nothing but itself' (Knibbe and Versteeg

2008: 56). He explains the etymology of the term 'phenomenology' as the accountancy-giving *(logos)* of a phenomenon (*phainomenon)* observed (Kelly, n.d.); hence, the notion of time in relation to consciousness is a central aspect to be explored in this field and a phenomenology of time would be responsible to grasp the accountability of the way things appear to us as temporal or even how we experience time. Furthermore, it should avoid making time-motion Aristotelian and metaphysical conjectures on framing psychological notions of time lapses (past and future); or establishing Kantian transcendental and cognitive arguments on time's dependency of mind. For Husserl, phenomenology's task is to 'investigate the essential structures of consciousness that make possible the unified perception of an object that occurs across successive moments' (*ibid.*).

In the same manner, Alfred Schutz (1970) analyses everyday social life by establishing a link with Husserl's time-bound experience and the impossibility to separate human beings from the intersubjective creation of thoughts, things and life-world. The author argues that the distinction between subject and object is itself a distinction made by our subjective consciousness that constitutes objects as things separated from it. Furthermore, he explains how some phenomena can be conceptually grasped 'all at once' (monothetic) while others are eminently multi-dimensioned (polythetic); in his sociological phenomenology of religious rituals, Jim Spickard's (2012) insights illustrate these ideas as follows:

> The idea standing behind the phrase 'two is two' could be equally well expressed as 'four is four' or 'Mary is Mary'. These all say something equals itself. Schutz argued that once we grasp such an idea, the particular words by which we gave grasped it lose their importance; they are not central to monothetic endeavours. This is why one can understand a scientific, mathematical, or philosophical conclusion without having continually to recreate its proof (…). Unlike conceptual thought, Schutz argued that music is polythetic; it cannot be grasped all at once because it has to unfold in time. Yes, one can speak about the 'meaning' of a piece of music, but that meaning is not an all-at-once phenomenon. In fact, it takes as much time to reconstitute the 'meaning' of a piece of music as it did the first time one experienced it. (p. 158)

By comparing it with theatre and music, Spickard follows his explanation offering a phenomenological frame for understanding religious rituals in relation to meaning, time and experience. As rituals can only be experienced over time, they are intrinsically polythetic and 'do depend on particular words, gestures, pauses, songs, and other events used to express them' (*ibid.:* 159). In sum, rituals involve particular people and are placed in distinctive spaces over a sequence of time and actions that attribute chronological features experienced by these people

in ways that are beyond conceptual thinking. Yet, people's schematic interpretations of experiential phenomena are also central to articulating meaning within time.

In this regard, both the 'stock of knowledge' suggested by Schutz and Husserl's 'sedimentation of meaning' indicate how an interpretative framework is constituted by one's consciousness in relation to past and present experiences. Such schema also orientates individuals over expectations and may also determine anticipations of things to come. However, this 'stock of knowledge' is not homogenous but somewhat structured in the way that only some ideas, thoughts, beliefs are consistent within itself. These core points of inflexion are then surrounded by a gradation of less clear, doubtful notions and suppositions in which we can only put trust. Still, this framework for meaning is in constant flux and change of structure and range since each experience aggregates nuances that may extend as well as intensify it. On explaining its logic over past and present experiences, Schutz (1970) writes:

> By reference to the stock of knowledge at hand at a particular Now, the actually emerging experience is found to be a 'familiar' one if it is related by a 'synthesis of recognition' to a previous experience in the modes of 'sameness', 'likeness', 'similarity', 'analogy', and the like. The emerging experience may, for example, be conceived as a pre-experienced 'same which recurs' or as a pre-experienced 'same but modified' or as of a type similar to a pre-experienced one, and so on. Or the emergent experience is found to be 'strange' if it cannot be referred, at least as to its type, to pre-experiences at hand. In both cases it is the stock of knowledge at hand that serves as the scheme of interpretation for the actually emergent experience. (p. 75)

The author follows by suggesting that such frameworks imply more than ways of thinking but also a practical knowledge that ultimately would shape one's way of acting in everyday life. For the present purpose, these phenomenological articulations are essential to unfold three questions that led my analytical efforts on understanding the cases observed: (1) how experience and emotions are combined along meaningful religious events over one's biographical account; (2) when religious interpretative frameworks (stocks of knowledge) are (re)structured throughout the time and who the leading individuals are, if that's the case; (3) which are the transformational nuances and how they operate within the individual's immediate environment. However, other aspects of the human experience have progressively provoked social scientists to expand and integrate a more materialistic understanding of consciousness.

In this regard, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Merleau-Ponty and Edie, 1964) brings Husserl's phenomenology to the field of the senses demonstrating a corporeity of consciousness as much

as an intentionality of the body, and so challenging the Cartesian dualist ontology of mind and body; as stated by the author 'there are many ways for consciousness to be conscious'(Merleau-Ponty, [1945] 2013). By starting from the study of perception, Merleau-Ponty (*ibid.*) points out that individual's own bodies materialise the consistency of experiential conditions and an integrative to the perceptions of one's relatedness with the world. In contrast with the idea of a body primarily used as an object of scientific study he underlines the inherence of consciousness as well as that of the body of which the analysis of perception should take account. Thus, the primacy of perceptions signifies the primacy of experience to the extent that perception becomes an active and constitutive dimension which intersubjectively conforms to one's notion of the world.

The 'corporeal turn' was also addressed by Marcel Mauss by proposing, a more 'active' view on the human body towards culture and its 'imprints' where an experience of the body becomes a moment in an experienced (taught) body (Asad 1993: 33) . He follows by suggesting that bodies are sources of physiological expressions arrayed in one's immediate history and culture not necessarily deciphered by symbolic meaning. Still, these kinds of corporeal practice constitute and embody virtues, subjectivity and beliefs as well as compose a *habitus*. As put by the author:

> I believe precisely that at the bottom of all our mystical states there are body techniques which we have not studied, but which were studied fully in China and India, even in very remote periods. This socio-psycho-biological study should be made. I think that there are necessarily biological means of entering into 'communion with God' (1979: 122).

Hence, anthropologist Talal Asad (1993) notes that the Maussian centrality of the body should be understood according to the individuals' potential ways for reaching determinate goals. Such challenges range from 'styles of physical movement' and 'modes of emotional being', to kinds of spiritual experience (p. 33). In other words, ways of walking, eating, excitement, composure, ecstatic experiences, etc. In consonance with Merleau-Ponty's work, Marcel Mauss 'seems to avoid the Cartesian dualism of the mind and objects of the mind's perception. (*ibid.*) From this point, Asad echoes Mauss by suggesting the examination of body practices that operate prior to multiple religious experiences (pre-experienced) including the uses of language; it follows, he states, that 'the inability to enter into communion with God becomes a function of untaught bodies. "Consciousness" becomes a dependent concept' (Asad 1993: 33). Contrary to this, a

taught body (experienced) engenders a corporeal experience 'where discourse and gesture are viewed as part of the social process of learning to develop aptitudes, not as orderly symbols that stand in an objective world in contrast to contingent feelings and experiences that inhabit a separate subjective one' (*ibid.*).

The proposal of a pre-reflective experience has been intensively explored by anthropologist Thomas Csordas (2002; 1990). Aligned with Mauss' ideas, the author claims for the re-empowerment of the body by placing processes of embodiment as the 'true' ground for cultural phenomena; here, the body is understood as something else other than, or added to, the physical body itself. His concerns relate to the ways in which people 'inhabit' their bodies so that these become 'habitated' and in doing so he advocates that an 'analysis of the pre-objective (perception) and practice (the habitus) grounded in the body leads to collapse of the conventional distinction between subject and object' (Csordas 1990: 40). However, a common critique is underlined in his attempts of ultimately reducing cultural phenomena to processes of embodiment (Knibbe and Versteeg, 2008). Furthermore, this proposal of 'solving' the Cartesian dualism seems to fall into a cognitive-centred frame that still leaves unclear the articulation of meaning in relation to outer-body reality (i.e. objects, texts, vestments, nature, landscape, space, territory, etc), cultural phenomena and the self.

As I have been pointing out, the phenomenological attempts of avoiding a dualism that goes back to Aristotelean-Platonic assumptions have immensely contributed to 'shifting' the notions of social scientists on human reality. This work is directly nurtured from these shifts by examining both what shapes experience and what experience shape but taking a particular look at the role of emotions along the way. In its Latin description, *motus animi* or the movement of the soul, we find the starting point for taking emotions as an ambiguous and complex concept where different emotional fields may shape and be shaped in day to day life. Other than the sole definition of psychological inner-states or individual orientations, Linda Woodhead and Ole Riis (2010) introduce the study of religious emotions by articulating a range of relational perspectives. Yet, emotions are considered as "lenses" which we use to make meaningful everyday events, decisions and circumstances of life based on personal, symbolic and social experiences, whereas feelings would play more than psycho-physical roles of adjustment in one's interior state.

This claim of a relational perspective is sustained by the historical contrasts abstracted throughout the studies of emotions which have already been indicating the multifaceted influences of this construct in human life. It can be seen, for instance, in William James' (1884) approach of feelings as physical reactions such as sweating or a fast heart beat or in Robert Solomon's (1993) understanding of feelings as having intrinsic motivational influence in action where the objects and contexts involved will be always affected as a whole. Yet, a comprehensive approach to emotions can be also drawn from the multiple therapies applied with practical or clinical strategies to alter emotional patterns such as psychoanalysis, holistic-body, drug-based, group and family, spiritual and cognitive-behavioural (Riis and Woodhead 2010: 25). However, from cognitive and biological individualised biases to its symbolic dimensions and social aspects, the interest on empirical understanding of emotions has been far more addressed by health sciences and psychology.

In consonance to this thesis, the relational view proposed by the Woodhead and Riis (2010) is based on the analytical scales of *micro, meso* and *macro* interactions. As put by the authors:

> Implicit in this approach is the awareness that emotional patterns transcend the individual and persist over time and across generations. We would say that they are transmitted by emotional regimes, and communicated by their distinctive cultural symbols, and patterns of relating, over time. Regimes relate back and forward, and carry emotional patterns across history, not in a static way but in a way that develops out of what has been in relation and sometimes reaction to it.

With regards to the micro-level, the notion of a western sense of emotions being related to *psyche* has been strongly opposed to its social-cultural understanding where corporal or spiritual influences may also take place through emotional vocabularies, symbols and meanings; an extreme of this confrontation can also be expanded when posing social constructivism against classic socio-behaviourism. In this regard, Talal Asad's (1993) insight on the quest of symbols in representation and reality may be used as analogy for such debate. For Asad, such divergences arise from the mix up of cognitive questions in this account with communicative ones which would make it difficult 'to inquire into the ways in which discourse and understanding are connected in social practice' (p. 16). Asad explains that a symbol is not an object or event that serves to carry a meaning but a set of relationships between objects or events uniquely brought together as complexes or as concepts, having at once an intellectual, instrumental, and emotional significance.' (*ibid.*)

In their turn, Woodhead and Riis (2010) suggest that physiological states of emotion must be linked with communicational variables in which its physical expressions are been constantly evaluated by the actors in order to modify and adjust behaviour. In other words, individuals have an immediate sensorial engagement with the world mediated by an 'image schemata' – prelinguistic patternings of embodied motor activities – that gives meaning to physical experiences. Hence, the body is understood as a phenomenological entity with lived experiences (Denzin 1984: 6) enacted for others (people and objects) and enacted for the self, the site of a person's feelings and presence in the lifeworld[1] more than just a biological structure. In this sense, emotions emerge from a circular process raised by the merging of past and present situations with future expectations into a self-reflective emotional consciousness and its intersubjective nature (Denzin, 1984).

Hence, it is often impossible to make a difference between one person's feelings and someone else's feelings and that's why the study of emotions must avoid a sole individual focus. Yet, Woodhead and Riis (2010) propose that at a micro level there is a pre-rational unarticulated way of perceiving emotions that we use in daily interactions that may clash with our articulated beliefs[2] ; or as put the authors: 'Ordinarily emotions do go hand in hand with typical beliefs. But this is not because emotions are beliefs. It is because ordinarily we believe that things are as they seem" (p. 9).

At a *meso* level, it is the social group that endorses emotional experiences and individuals must gather regularly to refresh the power of symbolic objects and experiences (*cf.* Durkheim). Furthermore, in the case of religious events and experiences, the 'power and depth' is found in its 'persistent ability to draw a given item of religious data into the flow of the emotions, whose movements it must renew constantly' (p.10). In a parallel to Randall Collins' (2005) neo-Durkheimian approach to symbolic interactions, Arlie Hochschild (1979) imagines social life as a scripted drama in which social actors play different roles. In order to do that, they must take into account 'feeling rules' and emotional 'display rules' that operate through the efforts of an 'emotional work'; this articulation must be performed to ensure that personal feelings

[1] *cf.* Merleau-Ponty

[2] This 'pre-rational unarticulated' may also lead us back to the initial discussion in this section on Husserl's and Schutz's phenomenological understanding of experience as well as Mauss, Merleau-Ponty and Csordas efforts on embodying the experience.

conform to the emotional scripts of society. Likewise, the author suggests that emotional obedience provides a constant biographical reinterpretation that enables the sustaining of a positive self-image and avoids disapproval by the others. The development of Hochschild's perspective shows that an emotional division of labour reinforces social hierarchy and supports unequal distributions of power, including those related to gender, class, and ethnic difference. Thus, it is important not to discount the important of individual agency on changing the tendencies of the effervescence.

At a *macro* level, Woodhead and Riis (2010) explain the relationship between emotions and social structural aspects such as race, status, class and gender and highlight that those in dependent positions, including women, children, and other marginalised groups, are more often expected to demonstrate humility, fear, gratitude, and obedience. Furthermore, an interesting point is raised by Catherine Lutz (1986) on social-individual attributions to emotional situations by stating that 'when the emotional is defined as irrational, all of the occasions and individuals in which emotion is identified can be dismissed; and when the irrational is defined as emotional, it becomes sensible to label emotional those who would be discounted' (p. 292).

Still, when it comes to marginalised groups, it is particularly relevant to our purpose to point out the ability of migrants and Diasporas to transport their own national or transnational emotional regimes, but combine, blend, and rework emotional regimes in their countries of settlement, introducing new forms of emotionality in the process (Warner, 2002). As put by Woodhead and Riis, in such contexts sets of words are as important as signs or objects in motivating and enacting agency.

1.2.3 Case study and the comparative focus

The word 'case' originates from the Latin 'casus' (*cadere* = to fall) meaning an 'event', 'situation' or 'condition'. However, a case is not necessarily related to one observed 'unit' such as an individual, an institution or a community settlement but according to the scenario of interest the units can be framed by aspects such as interpersonal relations (*micro*-level), and/or organisational dynamics (*meso*-level), and/or nation-state circumscriptions (*macro*-level). The definitions of a case study research may indicate significant differences amongst themselves which can be evidenced by accessing some of the most well-known theorists in this field such as Glaser and Strauss (1967), Stake (1995); Yin (1984) and Matthew and Huberman (1984).

These differences may impact substantially on our understanding of what a case is, especially, if we also consider a variety of analogous expressions coined by them in order to address specific academic traditions (i.e. case report, case history, case biography, case study, etc.)

Social scientists, in particular, have made wide use of this qualitative research method to examine contemporary real-life situations and provide the basis for the application of ideas and extension of methods. Researcher Robert K. Yin defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984: 23). According to Peter Swanborn (2010: 13) a case study refers to the understanding of a social phenomenon carried out:

(1) Within the boundaries of one social system (the case), or within the boundaries of a few social systems (the cases);

(2) In its natural context by monitoring the phenomenon during a certain period or, alternatively, by collecting information afterwards with respect to the development of the phenomenon during a certain period;

(3) In which the researcher focuses on process-tracing or the description and explanation of social processes that unfold between persons participating in the process;

(4) Where the researcher, guided by an initially broad research question, explores the data and only after some time formulates more precise research questions, by abstaining from pre-arranged procedures and operationalisations;

(5) Using several data sources (documents, audio, video, interviews, observation, etc.)

This definition seems to be adjusted to most of the case studies used on qualitative research in Social Sciences research and is specifically relevant for this thesis. By the mention of 'qualitative' I intended to call attention to its enriching analogy with the 'intensive' research approach. While the extensive research often implies the strategic collection of empirical data within large sets of units (events, people, organisations or nation-states) to draw conclusions,

an intensive approach, focuses on only one specific instance of the phenomenon to be studied, or on only a handful of instances in order to study a phenomenon in depth. The collection of data, in its material variety for analysis, is made through the use of many sources of information, such as spokespeople, documents and behavioural observation in a 'natural context'. As a consequence, case studies would exclude for instance research based on social surveys, laboratory experiments and stimulation studies.

In this regard, monitoring the phenomenon and its 'units' over time as well as in diversified contexts allows the researcher to articulate its accountancy on history, transformations and structural complexity. Furthermore, it is also acknowledged that either observing one case or multiple cases, comparison is abstracted from all kinds of research since every single case is constructed by comparisons with a standardised idea of the case, or with the previous occurrence(s) of the case itself. However, a literature review indicates that particular distinctions used to be established between 'non-comparative' or 'case studies' (N=1) and the 'comparative method' (N>1), in which more than one case is included (Eckstein, 1975; George, 1979; Lijphart, 1968). Yet, the latter has also been entitled 'case-oriented comparative method' and later on 'diversity-oriented methods' (Ragin 1989; 2000).

As mentioned elsewhere, since most of the research has taken place within the 'natural context' of the phenomenon, this framework allows us to explore the significance of different social and physical contexts and their impact on the social process in a repertoire of case studies. In order to describe and explain (partially) social processes, case studies or intensive research may offer a distinctive opportunity for a deep understanding of 'social interactions and the developing meanings that participants in the system attach to each other as well as how they interpret each other's acts' (Swanborn, 2010: 16). Moreover, the enriching feature of this research is remarked by the multiple realities in which 'different, and sometimes contrasting, views participants in a system have, and their diverging interpretations of events and conditions.' (*ibid.*).

Defining the cases: religious movement, migrant initiated churches and leadership

For the purpose of this thesis, the articulation of three dimensions were acknowledged while selecting the cases: (1) the *modus operandi* of the African Pentecostal-Charismatic movements;

(2) the development of this phenomenon within churches founded and led by African migrants; (3) those who hold leading positions in their organisational scheme. Such aspects indicate, respectively, the richness of *macro/meso/micro* dynamics observed from the interactions carried out in each case but have no specific sense of progression or regression in their order. Each level constitutes, independently and altogether, starting points, explanatory means and/or accountable outputs of this study. In relation to the above, two case studies are hereby unveiled through 'embedded units of analysis' (Yin, 1984) understood as church leaders' life journeys characterised by south-south and south-north migration processes in their (re)production of (de)localised forms of being (Landau, 2009); each individual is circumscribed within a biographical account in relation to his religious experiences, discourses and immediate reality.

The typical cases observed take into consideration the current *etic* debate of this religious phenomenon considering its plurality and a historical account that will be better clarified in the next chapter. Authors like Afe Adogame (2011), Ogbu Kalu (2008) Birgit Meyer (2004), Allan Anderson *et al.* (2010) Walter Hollenweger (1972) and Roswin Gerloff (1995) were important contributors to my previous and continued training in the field of African Christianity and Pentecostal-Charismatic movements. Yet, although there is still an ongoing debate on the definitions of Pentecostal, charismatic and evangelical churches, my approach to the sample was significantly framed by a series of distinctive repertoires of practices and discourses observed (Währisch-Oblau, 2009).

In this regard, a literature review and 'pilot' observations of the field were also corroborated by an *emic* definition; in other words, my 'trained eyes' towards Pentecostal-Charismatic *modus operandi* were constantly exposed to a critical response from Pastors and worshippers while a 'successful' encounter of our perspectives confirmed the empirical consistency of each case. Pastors and worshippers involved in this research were crucial to my understanding of either the experiential and discursive content of such academic categorisations. As my encounters were particularly mediated by African migrants who assisted and/or led these churches, my experience in this field helped me to gradually construct my own points of inflexion when recognising Pentecostal-Charismatic expressions. They are broadly constituted by the following:

- A prevalence of oral liturgy and 'non-plotted' prayers with occurrences of inspirational written liturgy exclusively guided by the bible.

- Praise and worship as ecstatic experiences mediated by music and dance throughout the services.

- A specific time (from thirty minutes to one and a half hours) dedicated to scrutinise certain fragments of the bible previously and, often, conveniently selected according to the environment 'felt' by the pastor.

- A variety of everyday life anecdotes and dramatisations inspired by biblical passages particularly addressing migrants' vicissitudes ('getting papers', xenophobia, racism, origin/destination comparisons, etc.)

- Prayers that recall healing, deliverance and prophetic visions or dreams.

- The self-proclamation of testimonies in which blessings and curses are pictured.

- Open emotionally-based and cognitive manifestations of the 'power of the holy ghost'; shouting, murmurs, crying, fainting, gestures, shaking, smiles, etc.

- Intertwined interactions between worshippers and leaders either by requested questions to the latter or energetic expressions of approval and/or reassurance from the former group.

Another criteria of the selection process is the spatial and public dimensions of the churches visited. Considering the existent literature in the field of African Pentecostalism in its plurality, it is acknowledged that the size and infrastructure of churches vary from small garages, office spaces and industrial pavilions to new appropriate buildings and old theatres or cinemas. The latter often host large religious institutions with a larger organisational board of leaders working if compared with the former smaller counter-parts. The present research focused on smaller churches and, with the exception of one institution[3], in all remaining cases I had the opportunity to interview and/or observe the founders of these institutions.

[3] In a Congolese church established in South Africa, the founder and senior pastor of the church was in his home country due to his ecclesiastical position. After a couple of attempts to interview this pastor, it was recommended that I interview the pastor in charge at that moment who was normally the second 'power' in the community.

Together with the spatial and public dimension, another common point of inflexion to be considered is the use of a descriptive category that relates to migrants and churches. In this regard, Claudia Währisch-Oblau (2009: 47) highlights that a standard use of nationality of the members[4] and the denominational identity of the church as categories were shown to be inadequate by the recent literature. The author accurately states that 'while some churches are clearly mono-cultural and mono-national, others are multicultural and multinational' (p. 47).

While our 'units' of analysis are church leaders *modus operandi* rather than institutional structures and dynamics, the designation preferred for categorising such congregations is the one that better remarks a more individual-led definition known as 'migrant initiated churches'. In this regard, the national specification of Nigerian and Congolese Pastors was only considered relevant when incidental encounters with Pastors from both countries became recurrent throughout the fieldwork. A further literature review as well as my deeper immersion in the field indicated a particular relevance of these countries the intra and intercontinental expansion of Pentecostal-Charismatic movements amid Africans.

Yet, another distinctive facet was the very own notion of leadership within each group and the movement itself. As per a deeper discussion to be continued in the subsequent chapters, a general occurrence in the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement is that of intra/inter church groups, such as fellowships (women, men, youth, and children), prayer groups and ministries. For our purposes, the notion of church leader comprehends not only pastors but distinguished group leaders who often develop preaching, teaching and organisational services in the church. However, a particular set of life histories and observations were particularly framed towards those who were publicly known for their main activity of preaching as senior, assistant or training Pastors.

By having such aspects in mind, I was able to refine the search for individuals who more or less shared them although this feature proved to be more of a gradual acknowledgement than a starting point. The first part of the fieldwork was carried out in Bilbao where the selected cases

[4] Even when considering a certain uniformity in mono cultural/national congregations, my fieldwork encounters have shown a variety of cultures ascribed by nation-state borders who were also considered by pastors as part of the church diversity. In a similar perspective, a Nigerian Pastor in South Africa rejected the label of migrant church mentioning that around sixty per cent of his congregants were South African nationals. The pastor offered later an alternative understanding of migrant by considering that worshippers were also from various South African provinces and cultural traditions.

were mainly found by exploring semi-peripheral "migrants' neighbourhoods" and industrial areas. During several walks around the areas of Rekalde and Ibaiondo or visits to African shops, I was able to spot posters and announcements of church services in English and French with most of them mentioning names, addresses and telephone numbers of pastors.

At the same time, some key contacts were provided by Basque NGO workers after an introductory mediation explaining the focus of the research. In Johannesburg, key contacts were reached by the mediation of researchers in the field of religion and migration who maintained detailed information of migrant initiated churches settled in descriptively analogous areas to their Spanish counter-parts (Rosettenville and Randburg). In order to ensure a certain variability in the selected cases as well as avoid any social alarm at my presence, pastors were not necessarily encouraged to recommend church leaders from other institutions but only those within their own such as assistant pastors, evangelists, ushers, etc.

1.3 Empirical dimensions

It is imperative that the emergence of new fields in social research often uncovers discloses methodological debates capable of generating innovative research strategies and collaborations with correlated areas of knowledge. As stated by Peggy Levitt (2007), studies on modern religions and mobility 'should explore migrants' grassroots transnational practices or what Michael Smith and Luis Guarnizo (1998) call "transnationalism from below" and take as their primary focus grounded, concrete expressions of religious beliefs, practices, and organisation' (p. 8). In this regard, the present study was already challenged in its starting point by bridging the experiential domain of religion with migratory processes; in other words, framing how and when experience meets praxis, and vice-versa. However, not only a focus on grassroots religious practices was essential but the extent of which methods and techniques would better suit a flexible multifaceted (re)production of meanings and experiences. Thus, an experimental approach on the use of qualitative methods provided a continuous enclosure and disclosure of analytical tools throughout the fieldwork. Together with classical ethnographic techniques such as participant observation and interviews (informal, in-depth and life course narratives), the collection and recording of audio-visual data was carried out in unanticipated moments. In other words, whenever exposed to the nuances of the field (embodiment, sound, visuals, narrative, emotions, etc.), a cautious and ethical use of different tools was integrated by me as an effort to 'glue' what was to me multi-level and multi-sited 'fragmented realities'

1.3.1 The field work: multi-sited ethnography, life-course narratives and thematic analysis

George Marcus (1995) proposes several techniques that surround a multi-sited ethnography as essential 'tracking' strategies for capturing mobile, contingent and contextual aspects of the field and individuals observed. Moreover, his suggestion of a 'mobile turn' is conceptualised as a natural response of the ethnographer to a postmodern flow of ideas in the social sciences. This flow is engaged with the contemporary awareness of the world-system and its multi-level influences in social life. On the one hand, ethnography has been traditionally examining the dynamics of resistance, accommodation and power within local and cosmopolitan groups and persons within cultures in transformation under the aegis of colonial subalterns. On the other hand, less common ethnographies 'self-consciously embedded in a world system', have been moving out from the particularities of single and local contexts 'to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space' (*ibid:* 3). In this regard, the author states:

> Cultural logics so much sought after in anthropology are always multiply produced, and any ethnographic account of these logics finds that they are at least partly constituted within sites of the so-called system (i.e. modern interlocking institutions of media, markets, states, industries, universities – the world of elites, experts and middle classes.) Strategies of quite literally following connections, associations, and putative relationships are thus at the very heart of designing multi-sited ethnographic research. (Marcus, 1995: 4)

One of the main methodological outcomes of this proposal is what Marcus calls 'the loss of the subaltern', an effort that has also been addressed throughout this doctoral research. This approach intends to induce a shift from the analytical frame to other domains of cultural production than the habitual focus on subaltern subjects circumscribed by systemic domination (*ibid.*: 8). Although it's clear that such an approach is not able to offer a definitive solution for biases in ethnographic studies, it is at least bound to defy traditional and dominant perspectives in this field. In this task, Marcus suggests six aspects that the ethnographer must follow in the chosen field of observation: (1) the people involved, (2) the metaphors expressed, (3) the 'things' referred, (4) the story or plot shared, (5) life journeys or biographies and (6) conflicts related. These 'modes of constructing' the field might be understood either as strategic or opportunistic methods in the 'sense-making' of mobility and of tracing a certain cultural

phenomenon whose identity gradually comes up as 'contingent and malleable' throughout the research (*ibid*.: 13).

In addition, the conduction of multi-sited ethnography enacts several and diverse dissonances and consonances within the field regarding personal commitments and the *modus operandi* of the researcher. By negotiating roles and identities in different contexts, the so-called analytical detachment of the scholar from the observed milieu gives place to engaging with actors in the field on different levels. Issues of race, nationality or language, for instance, may be challenged or presented in particular ways and generated other insights in the course of the research.

In consonance with Marcus's work, the ethnosociological perspective proposed by Daniel Bertaux (1997) presents a framework on the understanding of life journeys, especially, when aligning biographical accounts within migration journeys. The ethnosociological perspective proposes a type of empirical study structured by the ethnographic tradition (observation, interview and documents) in relation to sociological problems. The author's main argument advocates that the logics governing the nuances of a social world or *meso*cosmos are similarly translated within its constitutive sub-cultures or *micro*cosmos. Thus, the ethnosociological mission is responsible for interconnecting particularities and generalisations in a given field through the acknowledgement of social mechanisms, social accounts, logics of action, social logics, contingent processes and patterns, etc. It is by observing these units within the *micro*cosmos that researchers would be able to apprehend at least some of the *meso*cosmos social logics. In sum, it presupposes the existence of 'social worlds' as collective constructs within society that (re)produce particular sub-cultures.

These social worlds are then constructed around specific types of activities (i.e. sports, cultural, associative, religious, bureaucratic, etc.) which by turn are conformed and conform to situational categories. In this task, Bertaux (*ibid.*) brings up the analysis of '*récits de vie'* or life course narratives as a distinctive frame to other biographical approaches and the concept of 'situational action' plays a special role in such narratives[5]. My understanding of such a construct is based on what is considered relevant in a determinate dimension of one's life but, and at the same time doesn't comprehend the wholeness of his life history. Despite being

[5] In order to avoid any methodological confusion, I choose the expression 'life course narratives' the preferred translation to the original concept coined by Bertaux as '*récits de vie'*. Other literal translations for this concept such as 'life story' or 'life history' would fail to grasp the significance of the original concept.

founded by the pillars of a biographical accountancy, life course narratives are woven by a selection of arguments in which interviewer and interviewee are mutually engaged; where a certain sequence of actions may relate to other social worlds without losing the track of a governing line. However, what is relevant might also be explored and challenged by the researcher in order to better understand the constraints and externalities that influence agency.

Katy Gardner (2002), for instance, shows how these narratives play an important role in the formation of both collective and individual identity and are key domains for the articulation of gender and age where gaps and silences can be understood as important issues and concerns. Beyond a simple objectification of looking at life under the aegis of cultural and social systems a life-course narrative allows 'one to see how an actor makes culturally meaningful history, how history is produced in action and on the actor's retrospective reflections on that action.' (Behar 1990: 225) Yet, actions alone do not necessarily conflate into social worlds but also the situations involved in these actions delineate distinctive categories within social worlds. In our cases, African Pentecostal migrant initiated churches are social worlds related to common situational categories of their leaders throughout migratory journeys, family and conjugal lives, religious status, born-again and spiritual gifts narratives, etc.

The observed Congolese and Nigerian-led churches in Spain and South Africa are parallel in that they were initiated in the diaspora. They share similar socioeconomic conditions – i.e. lower income status and undocumented migration, spatial and hierarchical structures alike – and location. Far from the distinctive architecture of their well-established counter-parts, Catholic churches in Bilbao and classical Protestant churches in Johannesburg, these migrant initiated churches seemed rather modest and transient. Yet the home-made decoration and spatial adjustments made by church leaders and ushers turned these spaces into a somewhat African Pentecostal look[6]. From certain tones of colours used in curtains and the use of plastic flowers to the way the space is organised or the music played during services. The interior design indicates a certain shared sense of aesthetics, sounds and textures that combined with the rituals seems to bring the togetherness and security of a recognisable scenario. The services are mostly carried on in marginalised urban areas where economic migration is a well-documented occurrence. These 'migrant neighborhoods' of Bilbao and Johannesburg are

[6] A selection of short videos and photos collected throughout the fieldwork show the correlation that I am trying to point out. The referred material is catalogued in the Appendix.

marked by diverse local dynamics amongst different groups of foreigners and the surrounding society. Racism, xenophobia, police control, crime, social stigmas of all sorts are experienced in the everyday lives of the residents in such districts – an extended and detailed description of both contexts will be explored in Chapter Two. Beyond social and anthropological descriptors of these geographically-distant cases, routes and rites followed by pastors indicate that their south-south and south-north migratory journeys find a common ground in the church. Furthermore, church leaders' own biographical accounts are transmuted into religious narratives that connect migrants in Africa and Europe with a particular Pentecostal *modus operandi*. A delocalised know-how that helps to bridge collective identities and personal circumstances, ways of being and belonging, making one community out of multiple others and vice-versa.

.

Considering the differences and similarities between the cases, a multi-sited ethnographic approach took place although initially this project was set to be developed amidst African Pentecostal initiated churches in Bilbao. My first steps as an ethnographer was to focus on a selected community in which I was introduced by an informant. Although a previous attempt was made in two different churches, the openness of this specific community played an important role in my decision to select it for preliminary participant observations. In the first period of the study (around six months) this church was visited regularly and throughout this time I was able to become familiarised with the organisational aspects, names, people, religious positions and structure of the institution. Throughout this time, my interest in church leaders arose from the energetic impact and dramatic skills of such figures observed in almost every church activity visited. In an effort to test and confront my first observations in different contexts, other churches with analogous characteristics were visited. With time I slowly began to interact with the Pentecostal 'world' in Bilbao and started to know – and be known – by other leading church figures.

In a second period that lasted approximately one year, the apparent chaos of my first impressions gave place to a more clarified understanding of religious events: the timing in each church service, the use of certain audio-visual tools, the role of women (either as pastors and pastor's wives), the importance of music and other leading characters, etc. All of these elements contributed to the ensuing period of designing a flexible and systematic framework to be contrasted with the future fieldwork in South Africa. By that time I had already 'inhabited' a previous experience of research in Johannesburg in which a visiting stay that

lasted three months in 2009 had allowed me to conduct fieldwork amongst migrant initiated churches. My earlier experience in this city as well as the relevance of African migration in South Africa set the premises for the upcoming fieldwork during the third phase of the present project. Therefore, a period of doctoral research fieldwork was designed for my return to Johannesburg. This second-to-last period comprised new insights, confirmations and adjustments of this framework and also evolved into a case to be considered for comparisons and similarities with the previous periods of the research – most participant observations were registered in reports organised by date and coded as (PO) as *per* Appendix III.

By then, observations were followed up with in-depth interviews, life course narratives, and informal talks with Pastors and other leading church figures such as intercessors, fellowship organisers, pastors' wives and some congregants. In this regard, inspired by Marcus's 'tracing strategies' and Bertaux's 'situational categories and social worlds', five general themes were established (and often reviewed) throughout the fieldwork and guided the formal interviews mentioned above. Yet, two nuances were taken into consideration to help construct the themes: (1) the aims and objectives suggested in the research proposal and (2) a thematic analysis from the reports generated in participant observations conducted along the first and second periods of the study. The latter was a fundamental aspect on finding consonances and dissonances between what was initially suggested and what had arisen from the field; in addition it helped me to design a guide for the interview according to main subjects that had arisen from the field (see Appendix I). The guiding themes were organised as it follows:

- Migratory processes and the ontology of leadership
- Education/working experience
- Religious influences in everyday life – framing the local
- Religion in its social and cultural roles – framing the global
- Experiential – emotional arousal on prayer

The questions derived from these themes were mostly open and spontaneously addressed in accordance to the circumstances. However, some basic interrogations were proposed in the guide[7]. These aspects didn't presuppose any specific order within the biographical timeline of interviewees who in turn were able to address their own sequence of events. After intertwined

fieldwork experiences of seven (2013) and three months (2014) in Johannesburg together with those being registered in Bilbao (2011-2015), the guide was fairly adjusted and proved to offer a comprehensive approach to the areas of analysis suggested in the proposal. A selection of twelve life course narratives was equally divided by number and gender in both cities with ages varying from 30 to 55 years old: four male and one female Nigerian pastors and two Congolese male pastors in Bilbao; three male and one female Congolese pastors and two Nigerian male pastors in Johannesburg. By that time, all of them were married with co-nationals and had children being raised in their respective hosting countries. In addition, some informal interviews were also collected in both places with a more open thematic and other three life course narratives of women pastors were included as an extension towards gender issues. However, all of these interviews were analysed mostly as complementary data since few women pastors were found in the core cases. As an effort to maintain the core significant of the technical concepts used hereby, the interviews collected were catalogued according to the Bertaux's notions previously mentioned. In this way, for the life course narratives the concept of *récits de vie* (RV) was maintained and the other interviews followed the idea only that described as *récits* (R) – see Appendix III.

As aforementioned, a thematic analysis of transcribed participant observation reports, life-course narratives and interviews evidenced my efforts to act on four fronts:

- 'to overcome the singularities of each story and gradually build a representation of sociological components of the situation under study' (Bertaux, 1997: 33);
- Highlight the meaning of religious experience as a way to address the difficulties in individual processes of acculturation;
- Identify ways in which they promote and incorporate inequalities related to gender roles;
- Look at those distinctive religious experiences that may offer the articulation of emotional, cognitive and social aspects in migration processes.

In order to develop these lines within a systematic approach, a set of thematic networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001) was established by both bottom-up and top-down extractions of: (i) lowest-order premises highlighted in the texts (basic themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarise more abstract principles; and (iii) 'umbrella' themes capturing the mainline metaphors in the texts (global themes). As pointed out by Laurence

Bardin (1977), the thematic analysis works with or through a determined message. In this way, the manipulation of the message – by its content and the expression of this content – evidence the aspects that allows to apprehend realities other that of the message. As a widely used procedure in qualitative analysis and also easily found, for instance, in grounded theory (*cf.* Corbin and Strauss 1990), this technique frames explicit rationalisations and their implicit signification in texts without necessarily aiming at relationships of causality.

1.3.2 Audio-visual techniques

The use of audio and visual tools in the social sciences often face cognitive limitations when articulating ways 'to see' and 'to look' at the construction of different symbolic universes and it is from the articulation of both frames that ethnographic responses arise (Cazarin and Davila, 2014). Alternatively, this unexpected 'player' may join in an ethnographic project that is already in progress becoming, together with words, an equally meaningful element of the work. Audio-visual languages are able to frame and explore their own apprehensions of social realities by offering particular cognitive styles and ways of understanding and interpreting them, developing 'alternative objectives and methodologies' (MacDougall, 1997). Moreover, these languages may lead to the fabrication of unconventional ways 'to see' and 'to look' at reality, elaborate and construct knowledge.

While exploring the place of the visual in anthropological research, Andrea Barbosa and Edgar Teodoro da Cunha explain the variety of the uses of images in the development of a research process as well as a technique and a tool for storing information (Cunha & Barbosa, 2006). On the one hand, a realistic use of images implies some sort of documental proof of what has been researched *in situ* or even an audio-visual description of some fieldwork situations; on the other hand, some approaches focus on images as objects for reflexivity and analyses and, instead of the resultant objectification of empiric data, it is through these 'lenses' that the researcher 'thinks' the field. In this case, images may integrate (or not) a process of constituting evidence available for appreciation and evaluation within the research. In the same manner, Sarah Pink's introduction to her book 'Doing Visual Ethnography'(2006: 6) states that:

> …visual images, objects, descriptions should be incorporated when it's appropriate, opportune or enlightening to do so. Images may not necessarily be the main research method or topic, but through their relation to other sensory, material, and discursive elements of the research image and visual knowledge, will become of interest (…) there

> is no essential hierarchy of knowledge or media for ethnographic representation. Academic epistemologies and conational academic modes of representation should not be used to obscure and abstract the epistemologies and experienced realities of local people.

In a parallel with Pink's claims, Walter Ong's passage from 'Orality and Literacy' (1982) points out the 'existential assets' of hearing and sounds in the conformation of 'otherness' on auditory perceptions. He suggests that vision comes to a human being from one direction at a time: 'to look at a room or a landscape, I must move my eyes around from one part to another. When I hear, however, I gather sound simultaneously from every direction at once: I am at the centre of my auditory world, locating me at a kind of core of sensation and existence' (Ong 1982: 71) and he adds that, unlike written words, 'the spoken word forms human beings into close-knit groups. …the audience normally become a unity' (Ong, 1982: 73).

In this regard, while using tools for perceiving the immediate environment (as a photo or video camera) the audio-visual ethnographer must acknowledge that those are not just mere extensions of certain organs of the sensory system, eyes or ears; they are mechanisms of inscription. Still, what is being framed is an already registered visual and sound context, recorded and reproduced as well as selected, combined precisely by the capacity of such tools in 'seeing' and 'hearing'. However, the arguments around my use of audio and visual materials in this case are structured by and from the experience of observation, in other words, through social and anthropological perceptions of the context. In particular, the existence of an audio-visual *ethos* that, as we may see, is interwoven with certain church activities as well as leaders *modi operandi* that helps to legitimise, reinforce and (re)produce the Pentecostal discourse on transformation; all that, being aware of the methodological consequences that are generated throughout the work of the observer.

It follows that during this period, especially during Sunday services observations, the use of audio and visual artefacts were noticed to play a relevant role either for worshippers or leaders in experiencing and capturing such moments. Furthermore, not only non-living technical mechanisms (i.e. musical instruments, projector, cameras, etc) but also mechanisms of the 'being' (body, voice and gestures) seem to converge towards the production of an audio-visual culture that indicates at least three aspects to be observed: (1) the use of captured images as part of 'sociograms' or, in other words, if their use helps to enact or initiate a construct of

collectivity in a trans-territorial geographical frame (*cf.* Bourdieu); (2) the representation of codes, values, significant circumstances, lifestyles and rituals that engender an *ethos* for these communities; (3) a potential disseminative factor of the very own religious experience before, during and after the services. These aspects were observed from the interaction between worshippers' and church leaders' regarding audio and visual culture either collected by me or generated throughout this interaction – the material was coded as 'field notes (FN) and organised by type, number of files and place *as per* Appendix III.

In this regard, the recording and dissemination of ecclesiastic events through audio-visual techniques is only possible because such material represents emotional states, sounds, looks and moments that are socially acceptable and make part of an imaginary *status quo*. Yet, they are part of protocols that qualify events with solemnity and individuals with approved manners. What is being archived, recorded, is only addressed in that way because either both leaders and the worshippers, together and separately, present these materialised constructs as their representations; images and sounds that imply a capture of social roles more than individual particularities, roles that emanate various meanings according to the interlocutor and the related context (Bourdieu & Bourdieu 2004).

1.4 Structural considerations

1.4.1 Ethics & good practices

Ethical and good practices measures were merged within the process-making of this doctoral research as intrinsic values from my formative years as a social scientist. Throughout this fieldwork, my very own approach to individuals and events would not have been so fruitful without a clear and respectful treatment of my counterparts. From my understanding, these measures are not only an effort to avoid or minimizes any harmful (legal, mental or physical) impact and protect those who helped me to produce this work. Such actions enabled me to balance what is an often unequal relationship long cultivated by a broad scientific culture in which the observer simply 'captures' the data with no concerns about the consequences for the observed. By recognising the power of informants over generated analytical data, the researcher is impelled to acknowledge their constitutive role on the (re)production of an area of study and its research fields.

My first concern in the task of establishing a trustful and transparent relationship with the field and its protagonists was to offer a presentation card with each conversation made in relation to the research. In this card, my professional details and institutional affiliation were mentioned as well as contact tools such as email, telephone number and work address. In this same line, alternatively to the current standardised use of written consent forms, an oral agreement was recorded at the beginning of the interviews in which the work was explained and a clear approval from the interviewee was requested.

Specifically for the following reason, the first impact of a document to be signed could have negatively impacted on the trust relationship established by both parties, especially, considering the social context involving undocumented migrants; while 'the written proof' may indicate safety in some cultures, the prevalence of orality in this religious culture offered me the room for building a trustful relationship based on my word and that of my counterparts. Additionally, a digital copy (DVD or CD) of each interview was offered by me at the end of the interviews. Finally, my previous knowledge of the social adversities faced in such contexts as well as the influence of other inspiring research experiences led me to distribute information sheets that summarised addresses, contact numbers and key institutions.

Measures were also taken with regards to data processing, anonymity and confidentiality. The names of individuals interviewed were substituted by fantasy names although most interviewees indicated no particular concerns regarding the mention of their real names; moreover, the codes created to identify each digital file also omitted the real names of institutions and individuals. Alternatively, numbers, dates, and descriptive abbreviations were used to better organise and process the data collected. Furthermore, Videos, posters and photos were donated from informants' personal collections and used for presentations and analytical purposes considering that all this material was already in the public domain; in other words, they were already produced with the purpose of reaching the public sphere by internet, radio and television broadcasts. Pictures and videos recorded by me were only made in circumstances where such actions were allowed and intensively practiced, for instance, in celebrations and specific religious events. Nevertheless, their use was primarily restricted to audio-visual field notes and interwoven with other major discursive aspects.

1.4.2 Insightful limitations

Every empirical research is exposed to limitations and the present study was continuously delineated by methodological and theoretical challenges that positively contributed to exploring alternative ways of carrying out the project. Moreover, these obstacles were also marked by personal aspects such as linguistic, gendered and racial dynamics involved in this field. To start with, the proposed task of establishing a systematic approach to the still under-researched field of emotions and social transformations permeated a classical debate in social sciences about structure and agency. In this regard, the influence of pastor's discourses in congregant's lives is particularly framed within a balancing effort between my perspective as a researcher and those offered by church leaders throughout the fieldwork. The deliberate choice of focusing the analysis on outstanding religious figures implies that only one side of the picture is present predominantly remarked either by official or institutional discourses and that of legitimising religious leadership.

While a greater attention to the analytical consequences of this aspect was and will be given in other sections, I sustain here that the discursive dissonances and consonances found in interviews significantly made sense during participant observations and informal talks with worshippers. Since emotions are eminently social constructs, these encounters helped me to examine how leaders' biographical accounts are interwoven with their multiple interactions with the public as pillars of what I called 'emotionally-based discourses'. Likewise, by a flexible and constant regulation of my approach in between agents and structure, I expected to scrutinise social anthropological meanings of emotions rather than accessing psychological mechanisms of affect and sentiment.

However, undeniable differences permeate South Africa and Spain such as those between Johannesburg and Bilbao, with regards to standards of living and contextual dynamics of race, class and language. Furthermore, the way I was perceived by Pastors and the church community in both places varied broadly from a possible individual ready to be converted to a suspicious foreigner or a curious student. In some situations, the possibility of having their voices amplified in the public sphere was more likely to be interpreted as a good marketing strategy for promoting their religious work and institution. As a consequence and based on problematic experiences related to interviews in which this behaviour was extreme, my insistence on managing expectations of how and where this work would be promoted as well

as a predominant institutional-based relationship gave prominence to the figure of a curious student. The possibility of carrying on interviews and conversations in national languages such as English and, in some cases, French was also influential in establishing bonds, especially, considering my 'neutral' national background or, in other respects, on being a migrant myself in both contexts.

Equally important in accessing the field and designing the research were the nuances within gender interactions. My initial intention to have a gender balanced sample was limited by the very personal dynamics found in these selected churches where women tended to be limited to peripheral leading activities in comparison to men. In fact, the notion of 'church leaders' was, amongst other aspects, an alternative category to what once would have been only categorised as Pastors. The remarkable presence of women in church services were similarly expressed by female figures of leadership throughout the church organisation as fellowship heads, organisers, intercessors, prayer warriors, elder spiritual mothers, preachers and the role of being a pastor's wife.

In this sense, I was gradually persuaded to acknowledge satellite activities and consequently expand the notions of how and when emotionally-based discourses are articulated also in relation to gender. Still, some of my fieldwork encounters with women were only able to be conducted after a prior conversation with their husbands as some sort of authorisation process. An alternative option to these constrained encounters was taken by carrying out a couple of group interviews with women leaders as well as choosing a more public location for conducting their interviews.

Religion is not necessarily understood here as a motivation of the migration journey and the assumption of accountability brings an awareness of overstating spirituality within Pastors biographical accounts. The socialisation of emotions is a rather complex process to grasp in any one-sided, cross-sectional perspective, and family, culture and language play a fundamental role in this process. Still, the very unique circumstances that pushed or constrained pastors to take part in migration processes are also involved through analogous complexities that may not be captured through narratives. However, the exceptionality of a Pastor's relationship with spirituality may offer a particular frame for both processes; a homogenised social and cognitive repertoire interpreted and made sense within a spiritual body of knowledge that transforms and is transformed by migratory dynamics.

1.5 An overview of the chapters

The content of the present thesis is structured in six chapters. By presenting the main arguments found in the field of religion, migration and emotions this dissertation begins from the introductory remarks framed in the previous sections. As pointed out so far, theoretical and methodological discussions are woven amidst other aspects considered central to the planning and implementation of a research project in the Social Sciences.

The following chapter delineates the historical account of the phenomena throughout the last century until today, particularly in relation to processes of social transformation and agency. Demographical and geo-political pictures of the contexts involved are provided through evidence collected by the scholarship on Pentecostalism in Africa, Europe and, peripherally, North America. Still, ethnographic descriptions of the case study's immediate environment are also explored and, therefore, the first bridges between this research and its related fields of study are structured.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters evidence the themes drawn from the data analysed and unfold their core arguments dealing with different scales of the phenomena. In particular, the third section involves the forging of the 'characters' observed followed by a fourth segment exploring the social construction of bonds and belonging amongst leaders and their followers. The fifth chapter presents a particular concept primarily elucidated in this thesis involving individuals, discourse and praxis; that is, the notion of a 'Spiritual Knowledge'. Throughout the chapter, this concept is unfolded into other nuances towards the delineation of certain modes of operation (often referred as *modi operandi*), a combined *ethos* and worldview, that engender a religious culture under the aegis of African and Pentecostal features.

The sixth and final section articulates the main findings and discussions abstracted in each chapter vis-à-vis the field of social transformation. Furthermore, it's a segment that navigates along the multi-faceted relevance of such abstractions for the stakeholders in the field of migration and integration.

CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT

2.1 An introductory critique

The history of Pentecostalism in its classical terms, traces back to North-American and European Protestant churches along the 20th century promoting a renewed Christianity based on a personal experience with God through the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Moreover, the Pentecostal 'experience' is particularly related to a 'ground-breaking' event led by William Seymour in 1906 known as the Azusa Street Revival which later undertook to send out missionaries to fifty nations within two years (Anderson, 2000). The revival occurred in the outskirts of downtown Los Angeles in a building that once hosted a Methodist church and had several other uses afterwards ranging from a wholesale house and storage space to a low cost boarding house. The intensity of such event was quickly spread to every corner of the country calling the attention to a set of supernatural experiences carried out by its attendants. In this regard, Vinson Synan's (2001: 42-45)) historical compilation of the movement presents the comment from a resident neighbour who described:

> They shouted three days and three nights. It was Easter season. The people came from everywhere. By the next morning there was no way of getting near the house. As people came in they would fall under God's power; and the whole city was stirred. They shouted until the foundation of the house gave way, but no one was hurt.

Although the focus of this thesis is to unveil aspects of its African counterpart, I rely on my fieldwork and the existent literature on Pentecostalism to draw an 'intercontinental bridge' between these two movements. By mentioning the Azusa Revival, my starting point reasserts in the first place two intrinsic values of the Pentecostal Charismatic worldview evidenced in both contexts: 'divine healing through prayer (1), experienced as the restored wholeness of bodies and communities, and tongues (2), believed to include actual languages given to improve communication between God and people, and people and people' (Nelson, 1981: 201-204). Secondly, as per my use of the definition 'Pentecostal Charismatic' (PC)[8], this section aims to compose a socio-historical accountability of the movement that will help to

[8] I draw here an analogy to Birgit Meyer's (2004) coined abbreviation for Pentecostal Charismatic Churches as PCC, although for the purpose of this study based on leaders interpretations of the movement I decided to omit 'churches' making reference only to this religious *modus operandi.* A similar attempt was made by Allan Anderson (2001) by coining the expression, NPCs or 'Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches', to differentiate from classical Pentecostals

circumscribe the present case study amidst its broader picture. In doing so, I also start by highlighting that the PC movement has intrinsic cross-sectional connections to other Charismatic approaches within Christian movements in Africa, namely, Catholic and African Independent Churches (AICs)[9]. Thus, analogies and comparisons are drawn from the current literature on African Christianity as a whole in order to better delineate the genealogy of the PC movement over the continent.

The fragment aforementioned could characterise revivals, night prayers, church services and other celebrations experienced by me in the past few years and are also presented in the vast ethnographies carried on by social scientists through the last decades. In a similar task of finding general points of inflexion, Gerloff (1995) argues that the non-white Charismatic-Pentecostal movement offers a series of responses to traditional Christianity in a way that experiential aspects of religion plays a much more important role than dogmas, rhetorical arguments and rational treatises once used as a basis for worshipping. The author call attention to a strong faith in God that emerges with a sense of independence from the hegemonic white westernised Christianity and also a faith that takes into consideration the accountancy of structural marginalisation, exploitation, oppression and migration. From William Seymour's break-through in the U.S. to Simon Kibangu's prophetic figure in the DRC, resistance and spirituality become unified in a way of life guided by the power of prayer as a sort of 'non-violent counter-force instrument that de-colonises one's own mind and soul'(Gerloff, 1995: 86-87).

Yet, claims of a biased history of the movement that portrays western institutions, leaders and experiences with an excessive responsibility on facts and consequences are continuously evidenced as misleading frames for an actual understanding of the phenomenon. (Gaiya, 2002; Jesse, 2014; Kalu, 2008; Ndung'u, 2009). Until the late 1990s, the majority of studies done in the field in relation to its African history focused on those classical missions and their role of evangelising Africans (Kalu, 2009). Furthermore, it is evidenced that Pentecostalism has predominantly progressed in the global south as well as amongst non-white groups; although

[9] An African Initiated Church (AIC) is a Christian church independently started in Africa by Africans and not by missionaries from another continent. The abbreviation covers a variety of overlapping terms which exist for these forms of Christianity mainly corresponding to the aspect emphasiswd by scholars from correlated fields (i.e. African initiated churches, African independent churches, African indigenous churches and African instituted churches). On being primarily etic terms, they may not represent the way in which some of these religious communities describe themselves.

its North American counterpart has being internationally exposed through powerful media and communication resources, three quarters of Pentecostal believers are located in the global south (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2006). The experience of the Azusa Street Revival illustrates the Pentecostal emphasis on 'freedom in the Spirit' characterises the malleable approach of the movement within various social and cultural contexts; particularly, that 'freedom in the spirit' attracted not only those based in developing countries often oppressed by elites but also reaches marginalised minorities in the western world in similar circumstances (Anderson, 2000).

In this sense, I acknowledge the claims of detaching the history of the PCs movements in Africa from western missions and, therefore, focus on the pictures of African leaders and worshippers who contributed to its growth and expansion throughout the continent. Furthermore, not only a historical review must be reassured but also the challenging of western categories and concepts established by social scientists on the understanding of Christianity in Africa; as stated by Fernandez (1978), instead of lying in the 'application of imageless ideas exported from the West', scholars should be 'beginning with African images and by careful methodology learning what they imply—what is embedded in them' (p. 215)

2.2 African Pentecostalism and the rise of the Pentecostal Charismatic movement

Classical western Pentecostals have been on a mission over Africa for most of the 20th century and their infra-structure and institutional organisation certainly influenced the expansion of African churches throughout the continent. These Christian denominations such as the Assemblies of God or the Church of God, Salvation Army and many others, are still active nowadays as well as they are fairly often led by African preachers but cannot be primarily regarded as African initiated movements. Yet, the very notion of being a Pentecostal is quite ambiguous in Africa while in Europe or North America the terminology is much more specific.

According to Allan Anderson (2000), the African Pentecostal umbrella would include African Initiated Churches (AICs), classic western Pentecostal missions, and 'new' independent churches, fellowships and ministries that mainly evolved in the past five decades. However, the traces of African Pentecostalism are spread amongst various independent, denominational, interdenominational and non-labeled churches in which strictly historical, cultural or social

categories would fail to define their nature. In this regard, Ogbu Kalu (2009: 5) illustrates a variety of occurrences across this continent:

> In Ghana, they call themselves Charismatics even when they are independent of any denominations. The reason is that the movement started as charismatic movements within mainline churches and spawned into independent groups. In Nigeria, they are named as "born again" Christians. In Congo Brazzaville, they refer to themselves as revival churches because the earliest forms were revival movements within missionary institutions. Thus, the identity and historical origins are linked to the trail of ferments or revival movements. Africans were intensely interested in the charismatic power in the Biblical narratives. Beyond the early manifestations such as by "The Kongolese Saint Anthony" and Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita (1684-1706), a number of revival movements occurred in the 19th century and intensified significantly at the turn of the 20th century.

Throughout the last century a series of indigenous religious events have appeared emanating similar claims towards an African interpretation of the gospel message. From the several intertwined years of independence wars, inter-ethnic conflicts and local insurgences, 'revivals', 'crusades', 'prophetic experiences', have progressed substantially and became distinctive features in African Pentecostal and Charismatic movements[10] (Thornton,1998). Likewise, Allan Anderson (2010) states that similar PC approaches were significantly carried on in the history of AICs although scholars usually suggest different frameworks to examine each case.

Yet, Harvey Cox (1996) referred to AICs (such as the Apostolic/Zionist, Lumpa and Kimbanguist churches) as 'the African expression of the worldwide Pentecostal movement' (p. 259). By the similar problematic considered elsewhere, whether AICs can be categorised as African PC churches, I argue that a PC *modus operandi* resonates in multiple ways within Christian practices on the continent. Moreover, 'the politics of identity and belonging in which fixed markers govern processes of in- and exclusion, both in Africa and the Diaspora', is simultaneously observed in AICs and PC churches (Meyer, 2004: 468). In other words, such division seems to be counter-productive for exploring African Christianity in its diversity of contexts.

[10] To name some of them: the Ibibio Revival in south-eastern Nigeria occurred among the Qua Iboe Mission in 1927. The same year in Western Kenya, a revival flared up among the Quakers. In 1930, the Balokole movement among the Anglicans swept from Rwanda through Uganda to Kenya and Tanzania. In 1947, revivalism occurred within the Swedish Free Church in Congo Brazzaville (Kalu, 2009)

From the mid-20th century, numerous social, religious and political transformations took place on the African continent marking a generalised discontentment of nationals with their institutional counterparts. African nation-states were being redefined with new borders being drawn and political systems transformed by independence movements through civil wars and guerrilla movements. At the same time, those who had grown-up under the aegis of the Pentecostal institutional *apparatus* (i.e. schools, hospitals and churches managed by western missionaries) also started to 'surf' this transformational 'wave'. Most of these groups were largely independent from their missionary counter-parts and had an African foundation arising within the contexts of interdenominational evangelical campus' and educational institutes; Christian organisations, from which young charismatic leaders emerged with significant followings. Around this time, young and vibrant Charismatic fellowships, ministries and groups blossomed all over Africa; also known as the *Aliliiki* in Malawi, these 'puritan young preachers catalysed the modern Pentecostal movement, thus giving it a different stamp from pervious genres' (Kalu, 2009: 6).

The 70s renewalist wave is known as the 'incubator' a current PC *modus operandi* that became one of the most significant expressions of African Christianity on the continent, especially in urban contexts. With the 70s rise of PC churches, Social Scientists increased their interests in a field that was once considered an extension of Classical Pentecostal missions and opposed to their previous protagonists, the aforementioned African Independent Churches (Meyer, 2004: 452). Their efforts at conceptualising its pluralism at a micro-interactional frame (i.e. leading claims, Holy Ghost manifestations, particular expressions, individuals involved and techniques) have better contributed to establish a background and a starting point for its broader understanding.

In this regard, Birgit Meyer (1998), Matthew Ojo (1998) Allan Anderson (2001), Rijk Van Djik (2002), Afe Adogame (2004) and Ogbu Kalu (2008) have characterised the development of the African PC movement without marking specific categories or claiming concepts. Mostly remarking the phenomenon as responses to white cultural domination and power in the church, these authors presented its diversity, mutations and continuities over the past decades. From the older 'prophet-healing' AICs and the 'classical' missions to the newer Pentecostal churches, they have all responded to the needs of multiple African worldviews as well as followed migrants in their Diasporas, inside and outside the continent. Via different manifestations (body, mind and spiritual healing, prosperity) and by the use of various

techniques (charismatic skills, media, liturgy, music, etc) they offered a personalised encounter with God through the power of the Holy Spirit and deliverance from spiritual, social, and structural evils. In a progressive detachment from the bureaucratisation process in established churches, new independent PC churches emerged with the promise of horizontal and flexible hierarchical relationships. At first, these churches had no specified affiliations (nondenominational) nor were they committed to any particular networks more than carrying on the spirit of renewal. This generation of the African PC movement initially presented a younger and more formally educated leadership and membership, including young professionals and middle class urban Africans (Anderson, 2000).

In the following decades, the numerous geo-political and social-economic transformations lived by Africans endowed these leaders with distinctive competences to face the continuous instability of worshippers everyday life. These individuals have also been previously sent or prepared to go on missions and the combination of faith, 'spiritual knowledge'[11] and networks turns out to be a real possibility of establishing a church. The capacity for opening up channels of communication, maintaining networks, addressing communal concerns, connecting at local, national or international levels revealed the core potentials for those who were then initiating a ministry or a church.

Yet, aligned with this informal sociological knowledge, these pastors were now in the course of being senior professionals academically graduated and well-travelled individuals who had founded their own ministries and created trans-territorial networks; these networks were considerably influenced by the previous 70s renewalist movement leading youth while they were enrolled in secondary schools and universities. Many of these churches will have already developed denominational structures with a certain degree of internationalisation with African Pastors been immersed in Africans' migratory flows to Europe and North America; the formation of such networks also contribute to their later expressive south-south relations, particularly, within the Latin American PC context.

In leadership structures, theology and liturgy, these churches differ quite markedly from the traditional AICs and the western mission-founded churches; the previous anti-hegemonic response to the religious *status quo,* mostly at local and intra-continental levels, gave place to

[11] The skill of understanding the gifts received from the Holy Ghost as well as manifesting and transferring them to 'unexperienced' worshippers. This particular notion will be extensively conceptualised throughout this work.

globalised techniques adjusted to the actual scenario of modern African cities and the international community (Marshall, 1998). In this sense, the focus of PC churches has been varied in every decade thereafter: the puritan and evangelistic tradition of the 1970s gave way to faith and claim, prosperity ministries of the 1980s. The latter was proved to be a decade of social and economic hardships and political collapse that enhanced the necessity of enlarging networks with western counterparts. By the 1990s, the movement was recalled to the holiness tradition, intercession, and engagement with the public space as well as impelled to reach every corner of everyday life (Kalu, 2003).

Another aspect immensely contributed to the diffusion of this religious movement across the public sphere is the rise of television and the expansion of the mass-media industry. What was previously led by orality and press media until the 1960s, television was progressively inserted in African countries along the subsequent decades as a power tool for evangelisation. The proliferation of mass media and communication tools helped to reinforce their message and visions with a clear influence from North American Pentecostals. Perhaps, amongst the modern strategies of recent African PC churches, the 'televangelism' is one that has been generating distinctive outputs (*ibid.*). Throughout the 1990s and 2000s a number of pastors (mainly North American) who became internationally known in the Pentecostal world paid regular visits to Africa and broadcast their own television programs.

In the same way, African televangelists are now (re)producing their own audiovisual and press material as well as promoting international conferences where local, regional and international networks are established or reinforced. As pointed out by Anderson (2000), despite being often criticised, such strategies have been successfully promoting a form of Christianity interconnected with an increasing flow of western trends within African urban environments. Such technological outcomes of modernity (gadgets, internet, electronic devices, media etc.) are inserted into the religious culture making for a more efficient propagation of messages and stimulating the production of audio-visual material shared through the religious networks as services and practices like revivals and rallies. However, the Pentecostal worldview is mainly led by a conservative criticism of modernity in which a spiritual war against demonic forces takes place at the same time where healing the soul is being promoted. Aspects of western modernity related to specific modes of behaviour, fashion, music, literature, etc., are condemned as 'ungodly' and a number of special services are offered for healing specific evils in counteraction to these vices (Adogame, 2004: 37).

In its theological basis, modern African PC churches are Christocentric and the interpretation of everyday life is adjusted to the only notion of truth possible to exist: that of the word of God materialised in the bible. In this regard, Musa Gaiya's (2002) synthesis of Pentecostal theological approaches in Nigeria delineates some distinctive aspects observed in the PC institutions characterised as *Scriptura* churches.[12] In our sample, the discourses and narratives provided by church leaders also confirm a deep attachment to the bible as the 'one and only' leading guide to be followed. Regarding the *Scriptura,* or bible based, churches Donatus Ukpong (2006: 15) points out:

> The Bible is the sole authority in these churches and all doctrines and practices must necessarily be built on a biblical antecedent whether as a normative or as an historical antecedent. Their theology is based on biblical analogy (Menzies & Menzies, 2000). Their identifying characteristics are the Bible, African spirituality and western theology, particularly health and wealth theology. They demonstrate an immense attraction to the Bible, but the Bible is interpreted from the perspective of African spirituality wrapped in the categories of material well-being of believers in this world.

Together with the emphasis on the bible and the figure of Christ as well as the power of the Spirit, modern African PCs present a particular focus on personal encounters with Christ by the experience of being 'born again'. Furthermore, long periods of individual prayers and God praising, faith-based healing and problem-solving like unemployment and poverty, deliverance from demons and 'the evils from the ancestors' (mainly exemplified by traditional beliefs and witchcraft), the use of spiritual gifts like speaking in tongues and prophecies, are other essential features.

2.2.1 The 1970s revival in Nigeria

From the *aladura* and the Zionist churches on one hand to the African independent churches and western missionary Pentecostals on the other, Nigerian society has been through dynamic and heterogeneous religious processes in the past century. The country has nowadays a population of 74 million Christians constituting 46 per cent of its total and prospective studies indicate an increase of at least 20 million people in this category; under the Christian umbrella, the largest growth has been observed amongst Pentecostals and Charismatics and this trend continues for the same period onwards.[13]. A broad understanding of Pentecostalism in this

[12] In this regard, Musa Gaiya (2002) creates four referential streams, each one associated with a particular set of cosmological bases: *Scriptura, Sola, Scriptura et, Traditiones.* See Appendix.
[13] Center for the Study of Global Christianity, 2011: 15.

country would assume an accountable and relational view with the history of other Christian-based movements developed throughout those years. However, the current literature on Pentecostalism in Nigeria highlights the particular influence of the religious and political scenario of the country around 1970s (Gaiya, 2002; Ukpong, 2006). During this time, a series of ideological and political claims aimed at the *status quo* of an existing post-colonial religious milieu contributed to the reconfiguration of Christianity either through Charismatic or Pentecostal movements.

In several parts of the country the blossoming of born-again movements were imminent in churches, universities and schools where the previous generation failed to present a unique non-western approach to African Christians (*Ibid*.). As I have been referencing, the analytical portraits of those times have pointed to an organic and growing dissatisfaction with the traditional religious *modi operandi* of that time. In spite of the historical context, I often heard from Pastors a similar approach to Western Christianity. At times, the idea of combating the boredom of an 'ineffective' and 'cold' set of practices was mentioned to be a challenge on their own conversion processes as well as preaching techniques. The analogy between these two distant discourses is illustrated and described by Luke Mbefo's (2001) account on the challenges suffered by missionary congregations from that time when Christians all over the country were claiming for such cultural and social adjustments:

> Their (members of mainline churches) expectations from the churches were not met. The missionaries of the older churches failed to address the type of questions the African situation raised for them: witchcraft, demon possession, haunting by evil spirits, the cult of ancestors; the use of protective charms, talisman; sorcery and the traditional dancing form of worship at the shrines. The tendency among the missionaries was to dismiss these questions as due to ignorance arising from a pre-scientific mentality (p. 109)

In addition, the scarcity of social and economic resources generated by the recently ended Nigeria-Biafra war led mostly young believers to revolutionise the use of the ecclesiastical structure already existent by establishing the Charismatic approach in its practices without having to found new institutions. Together with those 'renewed' religious institutions, the appearance of new religious organisations and networks such as the 'Scripture Union' or 'The Christian Union' helped to disseminate the born-again worldview in different areas of the social sphere, but mainly, those related to education and media. A highly educated 'team' of religious leaders was never so well prepared as Nigerian 70s Pentecostal youth and in combination with their holy spirit driven experiences a deconstruction of Western models of the old missions was

progressively implemented (Kalu, 2008; 89-93). According to Ogbu Kalu (Ibid.), the establishment and fast expansion of Pentecostal ministries such as 'The Hour of Deliverance', 'Hour of Freedom' and the 'Benson Idahosa Ministry' have also contributed to the scenario. In this regard, Matthew Ojo (1998) remarked the consequences of such events:

> In no period since the nursing enterprise of the 19th century in Nigeria had the youth been so active or so prominent in evangelism as in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the Charismatic movements had assumed a high social profile owing partly to the attention given to them by the media, and partly to the multitudes of new churches and 'ministries' that were emerging and erecting signboards all over the major cities in the country. (p.28)

The importance of inserting the revivalist spirit amongst the Nigerian youth had a substantial role on the establishment of a strong national, regional, and global movement of the following decade. Likewise, the governmental act that enforced a period of compulsory service for university graduates at the National Youth Service Corps[14] boosted the propagation of the revival beyond borders. Those who eventually had to serve in northern and eastern parts of the country as well as some who for various reasons developed contacts with foreign nationals during this duty, were already committed with a born-again life and, therefore, spread the word (Kalu, 2008: 92).

At a sociological level, Donatus Ukpong (2006) highlights the social deprivation framework to analyse the explosion of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in Nigeria. The author suggests the '3-D (deprivation, disorganisation and defective)' perspective from the social deprivation theory to help us to understand the phenomenon stating that 'the Pentecostal experience is bound to thrive in a context were people are deprived, disorganised and made defective'. In an effort to translate those socio-historical circumstances to its current counter-part, I engage with Ukpong's ideas by acknowledging this theory but also by looking through the prism of usual comments made by Pastors in my fieldwork. In this regard, the search for freedom seems to permeate the goals of a born-again no matter where he or she is settled. Furthermore, by the lack of freedom we also understand reduced opportunities and political voice, low collective self-esteem and dignity which may reduce the flow of social interactions amongst affected groups sharing a specific context (Bassouk and Donelan, 2003). Such aspects

[14] In 1973 the Nigerian government set up the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to involve the country's graduates in development activities for one year. This period is known as the national service year where members are posted to cities and areas far from their origins and often mixed with others with diverse ethnic, social and economic backgrounds (Marenin, 1990).

may often characterise immigrants in everyday life although in their extreme occurrence, as observed in the Nigerian 70s context, the social deprivation outputs would be drastically increased – the subject of freedom in Pastors discourses will be better discussed throughout other sections of this study.

Beyond a break-through freedom in spiritual manifestations and expressions in liturgical, ceremonial and doctrinal areas, the transformational claims within the structure of classic Pentecostal churches included a defiant reaction to patriarchal standards led by women. Either by participating and creating women fellowships or instigating a major feminine role in the church, the establishment of a new order in ecclesial activities was urged by young women. The promises of a more horizontal, democratic and inclusive religiosity echoed the feelings of believers who then started to identify the established missions as existing and continuous colonial threats (Mbefo, 2001: 108; Ukpong, 2006: 11).

The renewalist religious wave also came along with political activism by the foundation of the "Christian Students' Social Movement of Nigeria" in 1977, based on similar premises of those used against the traditional missions. Their claims were inspired by the reforming power of spiritual forces that must also govern political actors and policies through prayer (Freston, 2001: 185-186). Currently, Nigeria is known as one of the larger Pentecostal nations in the world with born-again being found at every level of the public sphere. From high level politicians, including presidential candidates and cabinet ministers, to university professors as well as hospitals, media and telecommunications professionals, the movement is only confronted by Islam in the northern part of the country. The Pew Forum Pentecostal survey (2006) suggests that nowadays born-again Christians constitute approximately 30 percent of its 175 million nationals.

2.2.2 '*Églises de réveil'*: Pentecostalism in Congo (DRC)

In the previous section I characterised the historical account of Pentecostals in Nigeria focusing particularly on the social and religious dynamics of the 1970s' revival. In the same manner, I intend to highlight the most relevant events in the development of the DRC's Pentecostal movement highlighting its major dynamics throughout the last decades. In relative terms, the Democratic Republic of Congo has the highest number of Christians in the world translating

into 95 per cent of its population or approximately 63 million people in 2010[15]; in absolute numbers this also makes the DRC the second largest Christian nation in Africa after Nigeria. Similarly to his African counterpart, a prospection on Global Christianity indicates a 20 million increase in Congolese Christians until 2020 which will offer fertile ground for maintaining the growth of Pentecostals in this country.

As a mirror of the Nigerian case, Congolese Pentecostals and Charismatics have been responsible for an intense 'reverted mission' in European countries, specially, France and Belgium. Before that and, in some cases, during this reversion an extensive process of western missions, religious crusades, political conflicts and wars marked the advance of revival churches in the region. After an initial disembarkation of missionary Pentecostal denominations such as the Assembly of God (AG) and the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) at the beginning of the 20th century, the revivalist churches or *églises de réveil* have seen a progressive growth after the country's independence in the 1960s (Demart, 2010).

The CEM was a Pentecostal denomination based in South Africa and brought to the Belgian Congo by its British leaders around 1915 mainly concentrated in the Katanga region (south-central). The AGs arrived in the DRC coming from different national backgrounds of which the UK, US and French intertwined missions were sent to the north-eastern and north-western areas of the country. In the following decade the former name of the Democratic Republic of Congo-Kinshasa changed to the Republic of Zaire and the nation was subsumed by socioeconomically degenerated conditions and political struggles of national identity reinforced by the civil war (Ndaywel è Nziem, 1998 *apud* Demart, 2010.). In this postcolonial milieu, the engagement of Congolese nationals in taking the lead against the remains of a colonialist structure also implied challenging the religious *modi operandi* in a parallel with the Nigerian case.

Amidst the 1960s anti-colonial *status quo*, the evangelical crusades carried out by Alphonse Futa, a Congolese elder from the Baptist church, and Swiss missionary from the Assembly of God Jacques Vernaud made a significant contribution to the dissemination of Pentecostalism in the North-western region, especially, Kinshasa and Brazzaville. Invited by Vernaud in 1968, Tommy Lee Osborn, a globally known Oklahoma-born evangelist, also joined the crusades

[15] Center for the Study of Global Christianity, 2011: 15.

and helped to found several revival churches in the area of Kinshasa as well as in the most remote and interior parts of the country (Burgess and van der Maas, 2010).

In the 70s, correspondently, revivalist fellowships and prayer groups were already being formed within the heart of mainstream and traditional churches (Protestant and Catholic) unveiling an 'alternative' and more direct way to be connected with God. By the manifestation of spiritual gifts and the adjustment of biblical passages to an environment where witches, ghosts, evil spirits or other entities are part of an everyday battle, these groups and young churches founded all over the country mostly progressed into the 1980s generation of revival churches. Furthermore, the aforementioned establishment of the CEM and the AG denominations at the beginning of the century was translated into a considerable number of church branches throughout the following decades.

In this regard, the work of Fungwa Jesse (2014) presents the approach of the CEM members to the Congolese context 'by identifying it as a lost, unholy and socially broken society with high levels of poverty, unemployment and poor access to basic needs' (p.4). Hence, CEM's central role in the 'Pentecostalisation'[16] of the Katangese people in Congo was significantly affected by its deliberate compromise with empowering African and Congolese members, in particular, after 1960 when the church's lead was passed to locals. Together with the revivalist Pentecostal churches in the Congo, other movements that also comprised the idea of personal empowerment with the notion of born-again and healings by African-realities based and colonial freed understandings of biblical words. In this regard, Benedicte Méiers' (2013) work on Pentecostal spiritual warfare evidenced the 'transgressions of the established order' in those times.

> (...) As soon as you started to shake, the Belgians did not like it! They thought you were rebels. Trances were not allowed. The gospel was stifled. We were prevented from preaching the full gospel. In 1961, we had a conflict with the Presbyterians (...) We wanted to state that we were evangelical and we left the place to settle down a little further, on the field next door. We began to preach Pentecost ourselves (...)
>
> Kinshasa, March 2011.
> Apostle Nkelani[17] *apud* Méiers (2013: 3)

[16] A definition for the 'Pentecostalisation' is described by Parsitau (2007: 83) as an integrative and appropriative process of a Pentecostal and Charismatic ethos, spirituality and features in an attempt to survive its impact.
[17] Trained by a Swedish mission, Apostle Nkelani worked for the Community of Assemblies of God in Zaire / Congo, the first formalised Pentecostal church in Congo in 1965 (Méiers, 2013: 3)

Similarly to the prophetism of *aladura* churches in Nigeria and African Independent Churches (AICs)[18], Simon Kibangu, founder of the Kibanguist Church in 1921, emerged as a prophet-healer due to attracting multitudes of people who thronged to his village of N'kamba in search of healing (Ndung'u, 2009). Founded in the early 1990s The 'Spiritual Combat Ministry' led by Elizabeth and Joseph Olangi, is described as a ministry from the Body of Christ Church where each local branch is led by a man and woman married pastors. Although both organisations progressed under the aegis of spiritual combat in day to day life involving corporeality, senses and emotions freed from the colonial command.

Furthermore, the initial work done by missions (Catholic and Protestant) of establishing primary-schools was also influential to the rise of religious leaders in the following decades; often subsidised by the state, the mission school system brought up theologically aware Christians within a continuous cultural exchange with Congolese realities. Yet, until independence clinics and primary health care were also part of missions' responsibilities once approved by Belgian requirements. A captivating observation of Congo's current social-religious scenario confirms Anderson and Hollenweger's (1999:25) arguments by recalling the sub-Saharan region with the greatest quantitative growth of Pentecostalism. Nowadays, the Democratic Republic of Congo presents one of the highest concentrations of Pentecostal and African Charismatic movements compared to other country[19] and in the city of Kinshasa only the Congolese state has noted since 2001 at least six thousand churches (Demart, 2008).

2.3 Migration and Diaspora: beyond the borders of the Nation-state

The combination of African Pentecostal and Charismatic movements arose historically from the melting pot of indigenous appropriations and grass-root social engagement in a series of revivals that transformed both the Christian and the missionary *status quo*. In particular, within societal margins of African and Western societies, PC Churches seem to promote a bridge between the past and present, tradition and modernity; all that is illustrated by ethos and worldviews that mediate the relationship between culture, society and religion either at global or local levels. The vibrancy and efficacy of these strategies have given the movement a high

[18] A broad understanding of the AICs in their relation to Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCC) can be found in the work of Birgit Meyer(2004), 'Christianity in Africa : From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches'.

[19] 23.8 percent (Centre for the Study of Global Christianity, 2011: 19)

profile in the public sphere. In some cases (i.e. Nigeria and DRC, are our main protagonists) it has reproduced a political theology of engagement through intercession for a national identity. The connections with Asia, Latin America and the Global North enable the attainment of external cultural resources that create an emergent cosmopolitan know-how (Krause, 2011). Nowadays, these Christian worshipers are remarkably present in the Sub-Saharan African countries with the highest percentage of Pentecostals in comparison to either the percentages of its world and regional populations.

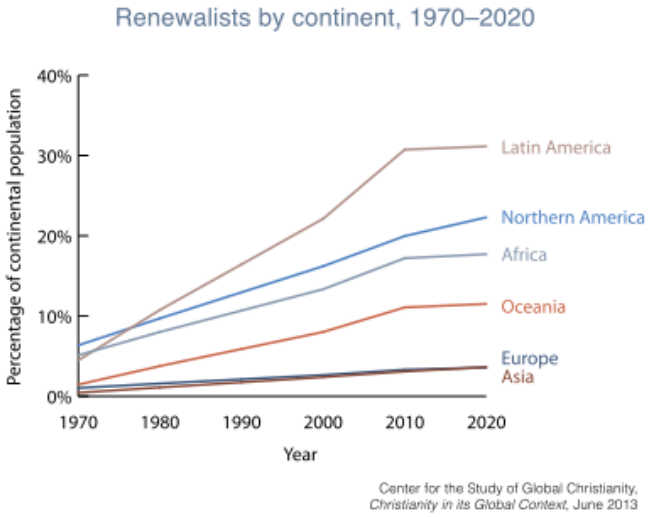
Pentecostals by Region

Regions	PERCENTAGE OF REGION THAT IS PENTECOSTAL	PERCENTAGE OF WORLD PENTECOSTAL POPULATION
Americas	10.9%	36.7%
Sub-Saharan Africa	14.8	43.7
Asia-Pacific	1.1	15.5
Europe	1.5	4.0
Middle East-North Africa	0.1	0.1

Source: Pew Forum analysis of data from the Center for the Study of Global Christianity. Percentages may not add exactly due to rounding.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life
Global Christianity, December 2011

While not all Pentecostals are Charismatics, recent data presents the successful results of the converting and evangelising strategies by an impressive growth over the past decades, especially, after the 1970s' relevant renewalist movements in Africa and the Americas. Furthermore, its projection for the next five years maintains the tendency of increase in all continents with special attention to Sub-Saharan Africa as well as Latin and North America.



The fluidity of these movements through the porous African frontiers and its missionary background from the past with classical Pentecostals as well as those from the present indicates its strong migratory tradition. Converting individuals by evangelisation of the gospel and promoting the gifts of the Holy Ghost have been intrinsically connected to the geographical mobility of those who, for several reasons, leave their birthplace. It is precisely within a migratory *milieu* that church leaders develop a PC *modus operandi* that transforms and is transformed by a variety of socio-cultural contexts and at the same time bridge shared identities and biographical narratives under a communal umbrella.

Yet, these 'new bonds' also imply ruptures with those who threaten its *status quo,* especially if these communities are surrounded by limited external resources as migrant communities normally are. The next section explores the special place of migration within the story of African Pentecostalism and the current social and cultural implications of this phenomenon. With vibrant evangelistic strategies, they re-evangelise the continent and aim to re-evangelise the world.

2.3.1 Faith on the move: missions and the migratory establishment

The homogenised discourse of the Muslim 'world' and its 'threats' seems to 'lead' and dominate the public sphere's debates on migration in western societies blurring the deep and multiple processes that have seen the reshaping of the religious landscape in the region. With a less religious 'appeal' and polemic picture, PC African migrants are generally portrayed as

conservative in theology and practice as well as are known for using their own languages, cultural expressions and leaders (Adogame, 2005; Kalu, 2008). The World Council of Churches Commission for Migrants (2008) estimates 24 million migrants find their home in Europe. Half of these sojourners belong to Christian churches ranging from Oriental, Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, to Protestant, Pentecostal and Charismatic. In this regard, Matthew Ojo (2007: 380) and Afe Adogame (2011) point out that African churches have moved from the periphery to the centre once dominated by Western missionary agencies and this work is not anymore unilateral but multi-lateral with a broader understanding of Christianity and its cross-cultural nuances. As pointed out in the previous section, such characteristics have been unfolded by scholars into a more complex set of global and local interactions often ambiguous and diverse.

From the expansion of the movement in the African continent in a parallel to its counterparts in Latin and North America, Pentecostals have been taking mission and evangelising as core intrinsic values of born-again Christians; evangelist missions are meant to go out and reach the 'lost' for Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit (Anderson, 2000). As some sort of continuum of previous Christian missionaries to the 'new world' with the Catholic church and the colonialist imperial era, PC missionaries not only follow and reinforce existent migratory patterns but also create their own migration channels. As mentioned elsewhere, the beginnings of North American Pentecostalism in the 1906s Azusa Street revival of Los Angeles resulted in an extensive and intensive development of Christians in the following decades.

As put by Anderson (2000), the understanding of mission was mainly related to foreign missions in non-white lands with a remarkable series of outreach revivals documented in the global south[20]. Mostly, missionaries relied on their divine call and will to evangelise whereas no formal skills, education or training was considered necessary either for 'saviours' or those to be 'saved' (*ibid.*). However, mission and evangelism are far from being exclusive practices of the 'north' towards the 'south' nor from the west to the east. With its own expansionist history that includes revivals, cultural and political challenges, wars and postcolonial conflicts, African PC churches have reached all corners of the globe particularly through its integrative role in the African Diaspora and African migration processes.

[20] Some of these experiences are summarised by Anderson (2000) such as those in India around 1907 and 1909, South Africa 1908 and the British East Africa 1911, Bahamas in 1910, North China 1912, Chile 1909 and Brazil 1910.

In the past decades the public sphere has been increasingly framing the religion of migrants in the global north and its institutional responses towards social integration. Aligned with such frames, the influx of Christian leaders from the global south into the north has been described by the concepts of 'reverse flow' or 'reverse mission'. Nevertheless, as remarked by Ogbu Kalu (2008: 272) a historical account indicates that the idea of a reverse flow was not an invention of the PC movement but it was already contemplated in a 'blessed reflex' prophecy acknowledged by a nineteenth century missionary. According to this perspective, the 'reversion' would consist in mirrored blessings from the churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America towards previous mainline sending-churches of the west. In the late 70s, the notion of a reverse flow was reinvented within the missiological discourse in Africa under the aegis of wider theological debates on the decolonisation of African churches. All of this happened after similar struggles in the political arena relatively influenced by Marxist perspectives on power. Both decolonising processes have substantially impacted on the further development of PC churches in terms of ecclesiastical size and hierarchy, theology and international relations (*ibid.*).

Throughout the second half of the 20th century, African churches and missionaries have raised the quest for a new 'crusade' that would focus on saving the 'dark' and 'dead' west. In this task, congresses and seminars have taken place throughout the Diaspora triggering cooperation and empowerment as well as encouraging training and networks amongst African churches. The reverse mission became more than an expression or a prophecy and acquired organisational support, mainly from those churches that had a better established structure (Anderson & Hollenweger, 1999). Furthermore, a number of freelance evangelists have started to appear encouraged by their divine calls and the baptism of the Holy Ghost just like those who arrived in the early 20th century. These young and free evangelists have been navigating in the sea of migrant initiated churches networks' within the Diaspora in Europe and North America by carrying on short-term stays in interdenominational churches with a quite flexible and horizontal hierarchy (Adogame, 2003: 2005).

As aforementioned, the growth of migratory movements between Africa and the Global north has also been marked by political and social-economical conjunctures. The 'revival' of Christianity in the west has put migrants in contact with ongoing processes of secularisation and a weak presence of religiosity in the wider society particularly significant in the European

context. Moreover, African PC churches have intensified their presence in developed countries from the 80s led by the emergence of a new generation of well- educated leaders with travel experience and contacts with northern Pentecostalism through outreaches, leadership training programs, and media (Kalu, 2008). The British case seems to present the first emblematic acknowledgments of such PC-type institutions mainly arriving from Nigeria, Ghana and Caribbean countries like Jamaica, Trinidad and St. Vincent (Gerloff, 1995). From early evidences around the 1950s and onwards, Pentecostal churches in Britain were primarily founded by marginalised black immigrants and attested by scholars as the providers of ethical and moral codes within migrants' integration processes (Hunt, 2000).

Sarah Démart (2008: 2010) highlights that only three decades later an influx of francophone and sub-Saharan African migrants had established the first churches in France and Belgium within a similar postcolonial context marked as that of the British ex-colonies in the same continent; mostly coming from the DRC (ex-Zaire) and Congo-Brazzaville these first pastors often acquired formal theological education along the evangelising journey in Europe and were later joined by those younger pastors who primarily relied on the gifts of the holy spirit. Likewise, in the late 80s and during the 1990s, a number of diasporic congregations composed by students, refugees and other migrants have founded a number of churches in Germany. Their arrival in the following years was marked by missionaries sent from other overseas-established Pentecostal churches either seeking to reinforce evangelism in those already existent communities or those dedicated to the implantation of new churches (Währisch-Oblau, 2009). Throughout these cases, we can find congregations originally based in African countries with 'cell' (branches) overseas deliberately founded by the leaders in the home base as extensions whereas some others are fundamentally European based. Moreover, an affluent congregation in Africa may sponsor an overseas branch as a mission project or vice-versa.

From the 1990s, African PC congregations continued to follow migratory flows as well as missionary projects founding trans-territorial churches with different sizes and cultural backgrounds. The dynamics of a varied and problematic social scenario engendered action from the African scholarship and religious institutions with its leading figures starting to discuss current issues such as: the very first notions of integration in Politics with the growing importance of human rights, religious freedom, racial equality and social justice, the deficit in partnership models between African independent groups and European religious and secular institution, etc (Gerloff, 1999). By analysing four of these events which had taken place in

1997/1998, Roswith Gerloff (*ibid.)* describes their reports as 'narratives of survival' of various stakeholders throughout different countries. In one event entitled as 'The Leeds Consultation' the author (*ibid*: 115) highlights an 'atmosphere of cooperation and commitment' where around fifty-five delegates coming from various European countries articulated their experiences in multiple fields:

> They dealt with the experience of struggles to be fought and the function of a religion, which is not practised for its own sake but for the common good reporting everyday problems such as racial and religious discrimination, poverty, ill-health, spiritual affliction and the resulting dependency syndrome or lack of motivation to change one's condition - and how to overcome these by the 'power of the Spirit'. They pointed to the urgency of starting a discourse between secular society and traditional values, especially for the younger generation.

This conference, together with other events, indicated emerging forms of engagement that African migrants carried on in the public sphere as active actors concerned not only with internal matters but multidimensional facets of migration processes, racial, political and religious challenges. Beyond the previous idea of a 'crusade' to the west orchestrated by African PC leaders in the 70s, the core themes of these later gatherings were then located on the 'other side' or the destination. On framing everyday life quests of worshippers and religious leaders from different traditions under the aegis of the African Diaspora, Gerloff (*ibid*.) also pointed out in those events specific themes such as the tackling of the integration of African Anglophone and Francophone churches as well as Caribbean-background congregations; the de-Africanisation of churches in Europe and at the same time to adapt to changes and transformation in their respective societies; the support of the young who live in the tension between the secular state and traditional values imported from Africa; the affirmation of African leadership, both religious and cultural, in white-dominated societies; the raising of the profile of black women leaders both inside and outside religious communities.

Many studies in the field of Social Sciences have portrayed the immigrant condition as perpetrated by suffering, hope, hardship, dreams, goals, and various ambiguous measures ranging from failure to success. Christian allegiance in its African Diasporic account seems to mediate these processes from past to present times and the Pentecostal rhetoric strongly advises frameworks of behaviour for the future. In origin, worshipping, appraisal and prayer vigils take place in Pentecostal churches where travel papers and protection against life threats during mobility are put in vogue. Upon arrival and onwards, the minimum everyday survival needs

such as working permits, employment, and money for rent, health insurance, and other bills become the core issues. There is also the added pressure to accumulate money and goods to transfer home. In addition, the rural-urban migration helps to create an 'all against all' Hobbesian sense that threatens other forms of social relations (kinship, ethnic, hometown, etc) and facilitates the action of Pentecostalism, especially by stressing on the nuclear family protecting individuals from 'evil doers'. The churches provide new forms of networks based on shared values and common purposes apart from the exchange of goods and services. Most resources are generated locally and international ties might be generally symbolic; belonging to a small ministry or a community is a bridge to a global world by giving believers access to information, ideas and technology.

In this regard, a more critical perspective is offered by Ogbu Kalu (2008) on the mainline studies of migrant PC churches the relations established by African scholarship to the current aspects such as modernity, externality, and globalisation discourses. He adds that an overexposure of 'successful' churches as exemplary cases of the so-called reverse flow may lead to a misrepresentation of the phenomena leaving aside its diversity and particularities. The author observed, for instance, some challenges faced by immigrant churches with regards to low attendance and the unstable level of membership either by staff or worshippers. Moreover, a poor analysis on questions about the impact on sending and receiving contexts or host perceptions is motivated by rich descriptions of successful cases. By taking into account the notion of reverse flow, Kalu (*Ibid.*) interrogates if these churches succeed in attracting a wider band of population outside their ethnic and national bases.

As argued in this section, a core value of Pentecostalism is evangelising missions and a distinctive pillar of such religious culture is constructed by a theology in which Africans are able to juxtapose the kingdom of God and everyday life no matter where they are settled. Concerned with similar issues, Waldo César (2001) presents a theological and practical explanation for Pentecostalism growth suggesting that narratives originated on the dispersion of languages at Babel. The author highlights the metaphor about the confusion amongst humans that couldn't understand each other which culminated in segregation; an idea also corroborated by Pastors' narratives throughout the fieldwork carried out for this thesis. Therefore, Pentecostalism comes to reunify men and women and experiencing *glossolalia* is only one aspect of this new world united under a communal value added to individual experiences. With malleable institutional structures that are able to either avoid the danger of being a national

church or incorporate national features, the Pentecostal venture works locally and internationally. African Pentecostals have built up the logistical support to sustain the enterprise of missions mainly pointing to the south. The southern concentration of Christianity and the surging forth of southern Christianity into the global north are expected to be reinforced with the advent of mass transportation and communicational technologies. From the gifts of the spirit to the use of audiovisual techniques, Pentecostals trans-territorial *modi operandi* and networks seem to offer a counter-force against the vicissitudes of migratory processes.

2.3.2 *Glocal* networks and transnational practices

The modern phenomenon of migration is characterised by its fluidity and multidirectional features internationally interconnecting migrants' old and new 'homes' by the development of new technologies on communication, transport and mobility networks created by migrants themselves (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999: 219). In the global context, these aspects play a major role in engaging in what Michael Smith and Luis Guarnizo (1998) called 'transnationalism from bellow' where ground-level activities are promoted between migrants and their counterparts in the homeland; at the other extreme we would find 'transnationalism from above' where high level institutions conduct cross-border initiatives throughout the world.

In this sense, both high-level and ground-level movements are mediated by a series of social, cultural, religious and historical links that are able to strengthen ties and (re)shape a sense of communal identity amongst migrants wherever they are located. These communal identities are flexible and even multiple according to migrants' backgrounds in each context resulting in an amalgam of cultural, national, ethnic and religious features. Thus, the influences held on migrants' host and homeland societies are similarly diverse and complex where being 'here' and 'there' in a broad sense is more than just a possibility but an actual fact (Goebel & Pries, 2002: 37).

All religions may be classified as transnational by their nature of being a channel for spreading a determinate worldview and ethos. Although in some cases Christianity has its historical connections with Nation-states the idea of a Christian message that must be revealed to the world grows from this same seed. However, Pentecostalism shows us new patterns to this stream according to its strong relationship with globalisation. This happens due to a new world

context where Nation-states don't necessarily rule identities' social, symbolic and material constructions (Marshall, 1998).

The trans-territorial networks established in the African context such as in the northern globe are not necessarily engaged with the idea of assimilation and aculturation of migrants by cutting off ties with the homeland (Adogame, 2004). Following the internationalisation of goods, activities, people and ideas, Pentecostal churches present a modernised version of transnational religious communities no longer limited by colonial trends of power and authority or strictly characterised by specific ethno-national identities. These churches are concerned with evangelising the world and cultivating religious internationalism as one of their main goals in promoting a global Christianity.

Manuel Vasquez (2003) evidences the function of these churches just as Manuel Castells (2009) has described as a network society – decentralised, flexible yet connected networks that provide customised services and goods. Just as decentralised, adaptive modes of production are better suited to meet the challenges of global economic competition, so flexible production and the dissemination of religious goods does better at meeting the needs of contemporary religious consumers. Yet, smaller models are more adaptable and more responsive and, therefore, more likely to endure (Levine and Stoll, 1997).

According to the various cultural contexts involving African migrants within their Diaspora, it is acknowledged as a continuous need for reconstructing and identifying religious beliefs in relation to past and present experiences (Adogame, 2010). In a parallel development to globalisation, African religions have been strongly affected in a way which complex outputs have come out as combinations of old and new practices, worldviews and ethos that are easily adaptable to a variety of contexts inside and outside the African continent. Besides of its global and local extremes, African Pentecostalism is reinforced by its strong network and social ties amongst migrants, churches, pastors and families throughout the world that many times are responsible for organising local practices within wider bases or structures. In a case described by Afe Adogme (*ibid*.), The World of Faith Bible Church in Kiev, the institutional structure and environment created by African churches is translated for a non-African majority challenging the limits of religious ethnicisation and cultural differentiation.

In addition, there is a claim for scholars paying attention to media and transnational activities in the field of religion especially considering a framework where trends of Western modernity and non-western modernity are being syncretised (Adogame, 2005; Corten & Marshall, 2001). Considering that mass media are directly influencing globalisation processes and are even constitutive in this phenomenon, its production and dissemination of material and immaterial goods has two central outputs for the formation of identities: provision of 'cultural archives' from which scripts can be formed of imaginary lives taken from global perspectives and transformed into local realities by everyday experiences (Marshall, 1998).

Both social and individual emotional experiences reinforced during the cults are turned into more impersonal or neutral experiences by TV and radio programmes to be broadcast throughout the world. In this mix of world modernity, new forms and strategies of evangelism are taking place where personalised ways (door to door) of appeal are juxtaposed by mass-media and communication tools with a greater societal approach (*ibid*.). The high level mobility of leaders and the use of multi-sited mass-media tools reinforce networks where a ground-level structure is built by the congregation on a daily basis.

Another distinctive aspect that has been calling for the attention of scholars is the celebration of massive gatherings (revivals, camps at stadiums, theatres, etc) taking place throughout the world. At such events, worshippers sharing the same locality or church are connected with a more global focus and linked with worshippers from other churches. These interdenominational events are usually broadcast, taped and promoted via Pentecostal media as a way of advertising its powerful experiences of change. A vigorous market in audio-visual material is developed and exchanged amongst churches throughout continents extending the influence of local religious events beyond their immediate perimeter. Yet, the importance of belonging to a specific community is not essential to marking identities as long as worshippers are kept interested in attending this community.

Disjuncture has become central to the politics of global culture with regards to a great and large-scale level of exchanges and fluxes; as images ideas and symbols move through global space they break free from their context of production in some sort of cultural *bricolage* (Appadurai, 1996). In this context, Pentecostalism stands as a transnational phenomenon which in its modern forms is reproduced in its local diversity through a highly accelerated circulation of good, ideas and people (Van Dijk, 1998); its emergence indicates a strong alternative form

for organising global traffic in resources, images and individuals under the auspices of an ethos and worldview.

In such a mobile and dynamic scenario, it's acknowledged that challenging methodological and epistemological quests are posed. Thus, the present work also echoes the main concerns of scholarship in the field of transnational religion (Levitt, 2007; Levitt and Schiller, 2004) such as (1) making concrete the landscapes and communities that people imagine; (2) to go beyond the in-depth/grounded field work needed to make explicit what is often so implicit in order to make comparisons across groups; (3) articulating the outcomes of a shift in the central organising principle of nation-state to faith community, taking seriously what many respondents suggest.

2.4 The immediate scenario: spaces, places and locality

2.4.1 South / North – Bilbao

It is Sunday and around noon in the districts of Rekalde and Ibaiondo, migrant initiated churches begin their worship service carried on mostly, if not totally, by worshippers from sub-Saharan Africa who are now settled in the city of Bilbao, in the north of Spain. If not by the looks of the believers and the noise coming from the services, one would barely perceive that religious rituals are actually taking place in those spaces. One by one, worshippers dressed in traditional costumes get into old pavilions that were once the symbols of the exceptional regions of an industrial era in Spain. These districts (or neighbourhoods) are mainly composed of warehouses, stockrooms and blocks of apartments once built for regional migrant workers (mainly from southern Spain) who arrived in this region to make a living from that booming industrial scenario.

Nowadays, the same neighbourhoods are also home for immigrants from outside the country who came to Bilbao with that same purpose and chose the area especially due to the cost of living as well as its easy access to the city centre. It is also in those areas where migrants are changing the ways of experiencing and live Christianity, especially considering the surroundings of lands where the Catholic tradition has played a central role in social, cultural and political aspects.

It follows that only after the arrival of democracy in the Spanish State and the Act of Religious Freedom of 1980, religious diversity was allowed to be developed. In addition, during these years two phenomena will enhance the spread and variety of religious beliefs in the country: the first is that of secularisation, both in terms of the separation of the Catholic Church and the State and in terms of a decline its practices and beliefs (Pérez-Agote and Santiago, 2009). Secularisation, among other things, will concentrate on the reduction of the Catholic population and their percentage in society. In this sense, gradually many cultural elements linked to the Catholic Church will be reducing its central presence in society, a fact that will help to reduce Catholicism as a whole. The second phenomenon is that of internal and international migration which affects religious plurality in two ways: first, swelling the existing religious communities with the arrival of an immigrant population that already professes the same faith as well as new believers (*ibid.*). Furthermore, opening-up channels for the arrival of religions related to immigrant's origins and some sort of syncretism founding new religious communities.

The arrival of Pentecostalism in the country dates back to the 1960s introduced by French missionaries from the Church of Filadelfia who mainly developed their work within the Spanish gypsy population (Jiménez Ramírez, 1981). Since then, Pentecostalism has been growing within this community under the aegis of an 'ethnic calling' that has been attracting thousands of Spanish gypsy worshippers who acknowledged the sufferings, marginalisation and diasporic vicissitudes of their community as analogue to the chosen people mentioned in the Bible. Hence, a national congregation was created with the denomination of *Iglesia Evangélica de Filadelfia* with branches all over the country and organised as a national association. However, different denominations can also be found either within the Spanish gypsy community and other Spanish nationals.

According to the 2011 City of Bilbao's Bulletin on Migration, the percentage of immigrants reached 8.5 percent of the total population in the municipality with 11 percent of these migrants being from sub-Saharan Africa. At a regional level (Basque Country), the percentage of migrants stands for 6.4 percent of the population with 8.7 percent of those coming from sub-Saharan countries[21]. While the community of Nigerians and Congolese are not specifically prominent in this Autonomous Community[22] neither in Spain[23], the national origin of the

[21]Source: Ikuspegi - Observatório Vasco de Inmigración. Población Africana en la CAPV, n 51, noviembre 2013.
[22]0.3 percent and 1.6 percent, respectively (*ibid.*)
[23]Less than 1 per cent of migrants come from these countries (*ibid.)*

pastors and worshippers present a different reality. The profiles of pastors and parishioners indicated that all the churches observed were led by Congolese or Nigerian born individuals. Moreover, according to church leaders, the vast majority of the parishioners are also composed of their co-nationals which sustains the premise of giving a 'special' attention to these national origins.

2.4.2 South / South – Johannesburg

On a Sunday morning the noise and the gathering of weekdays move locations from the inner city and uptown suburbs of Johannesburg to the peripheral areas; more specifically in the neighbourhoods of Rosettenville and Yeoville or even in an industrial zone of Randburg. The sound of voices and instruments are announcing the event that is taking place: Pentecostal churches are underway. A loud voice heard inside and outside the churches already indicate the main characters in this study: the pastors. Amongst shouts of joy, prayers and songs, this distinctive figure seems to orchestrate and echo the emotional climate of the religious service. For those who are waiting outside or still arriving, neighbours and pedestrians, the figure of the pastor has already been built from the intonation and power of their voices.

In South Africa, the rise of Pentecostalism played a central part in the history of Christianity in Central and Southern Africa. A first wave of three previous spiritual revivals was performed by missionary evangelisers from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1860, 1874 and 1884 (Kalu, 2008: p.52). By the hands of European and African missionaries, these first charismatic leaders managed to (re)produce a renewed Christianity relating racial, ethnical and migratory dynamics. As explained by Ogbu Kalu (*ibid*.: p. 56), the articulation of a white-black relationship amongst missionaries was important in the future of the first ministries as well as for the story of early Pentecostalism in these African regions

> It served as a nodal point from which black and white missionaries sallied forth into the region. In some cases, white missionaries participated in evangelising in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique and other countries in the region. For the most part, migrant labourers and traders (mutchona) served as the core agency. African agency remained strong either as individual ministries from South Africa, as in the case of Nicolas Benghu, for those Africans who served on behalf of white-founded missions, or others who were suspicious of foreign missionaries, especially white missionaries, and founded their own ministries, as Ezequiel Guti did in Zimbabwe.

Yet the genesis of Pentecostalism in the country is mainly associated with the arrival of the Canadian missionary John G Lake between 1908 and 1913. The growth of the movement was stagnated until the 1950s with the South African evangelist Nicolas Benghu's Campaign 'Back-to-God' being developed throughout southern Africa. Based on a combination of aspects such as personal change or social and racial equality, Benghu promoted the first ideas of pan-Africanism within the Pentecostal worldview. Through the metaphor of Africa as a great sleeping giant, the evangelist provided the religious dimension of Christianity to a pan-African nationalism fostered by the gospel (*ibid:* p.58).

During this time the pan-Africanist Christianity of Nicolas Benghu has evolved under the visions and missions of multiple religious leaders. Movie theatres, office spaces, old warehouses are turned into Pentecostal churches that are often part of a trans-regional and intercontinental matrix of Christian denominations. Following this trend, scholars have been gradually paying more attention to revivalist movements amongst sub-Saharan countries due to their significant internal and external effects on the continent and within the African Diaspora (Adogame, 2005; Daswani, 2008; Levitt, 2001; Marshall, 1998).

The impressive rise of Pentecostals & Charismatic affiliations and their intrinsic relationship with the Christian tradition can be observed precisely in the DRC, Nigeria and South Africa. With respect to emigration, 1.3 million Nigerians as well as 1.1 million Congolese nationals are settled in North America, Europe and Africa; 60 percent of the former and 90 percent of the latter are Christians (Pew Forum, 2012). When it comes to Christian immigrants, South Africa stands out as the largest hub on the continent (*ibid.*) located in the province of Gauteng and the City of Johannesburg as the nation's economic pole. In 2007, the Province counted 5.6 percent (578,387) foreign-born people (Landau and Gindrey, 2008) as in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality they made up 7.9 percent (304,353) of the total population. However, the percentage and visibility of African migrants may also vary according to the location. The suburbs of Yeoville and Rosettenvile, for instance, are popularly known for their international neighbourhoods where several migrant initiated churches are found.

Although thousands of international migrants are attracted by the region, the magnitude of this phenomenon is not statistically remarkable if compared with other major cities on the continent and throughout the world. In 2007, the Province counted 5.6 percent (578,387) foreign-born

people as in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality they made up 7.9 percent (304,353) of the total population (Landau and Gindrey, 2008). However, in some suburbs, the foreign-born population may comprise the majority and that's where Pentecostal leaders may find fertile ground for expansion.

Within their very own migrant community, even considering national and ethnic differences, their names are usually well known and their image respected; but these leaders are also continuously under surveillance and exposed to the evaluation of worshippers that often may be affiliated to more than one denomination. In this sense, a rich combination of institutional aspects such as the, charismatic skills of leaders, language, discursive techniques and cultural background decide varied ways of doing Pentecostalism under a shared range of feelings and emotional experiences, despite its different social-cultural contexts.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ONTOLOGY OF A LEADER

Preamble

Known by their dramatic forms of expression, dynamic body language and powerful rhetoric, pastors often have 'lived' the Pentecostal-Charismatic narratives of transformation in their own life stories. Their biographical account revealed dynamic and multi-sited religious experiences conveyed to the congregation as a particular psychosocial and cognitive *modus operandi*. From the educational background and family life to the development of the religious vocation and establishment in the churches, they have become the trademark of Pentecostalism all over the word. Throughout the becoming of a leader, African traits within the Christian worldview are reworked by spiritual maturity, gifts of the Holy Ghost and migratory vicissitudes. As especially gifted worshippers, Pastors carry within an emotional framework for migratory realities facilitated by such a spiritual-experiential background. The following sections look at their biographical accounts, religious and migratory trajectories, in order to trace and explore this source of psychosocial and cognitive *modus operandi*. The chapter focuses on the drawing of the main lines in the biographical picture of church leaders by shedding light into their ontological repertoires *glocally* recognisable and legitimised.

3.1 The profiles of our protagonists

In order to better understand the social and cultural nature of the church leaders observed an introductory profile is hereby presented that indicates the core of their migratory and religious journeys. The first six stories are related to those respondents settled in Bilbao while the following introduce migrant leaders in Johannesburg. These briefs are thematically balanced in a way that each paragraph presents similar key descriptors of each Pastor apart from their particularities.

Pastor Ellis (RV1) was born in Benin City, Nigeria, and grew up in a Christian family with three brothers. He lost his father in 1993 and started to look for jobs around the city. His professional skills lead him to become a car mechanic. Later on, in 2003, Ellis became born again and left his job to start evangelising and preaching in the streets and in several occasions he mentioned that he had been rejected by other pastors when trying to minister in churches.

Pastor Ellis tried to travel to Europe for the first time by going to Morocco and crossing the Mediterranean but when arriving on Spanish soil Ellis was caught by officials and deported back to Nigeria. A second attempt took place in 2006 when he was able to stay in Morocco for two years. In August 2008 after two years living and preaching in Morocco he was then able to arrive in Spain. During this journey Ellis also got married and became a father.

Pastor Edward (RV2) was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and mentioned an early conversion to Christianity around seven years old when in 1981 he was baptised in the Holy Spirit. After being involved with different Pentecostal denominations throughout his life Edward ended up as a follower and training leader at ChristCo, a church with branches in different African countries. While studying Economics he decides to try a new life in Kenya where he took his first formal courses on religious matters. After that, Edward moved to Windhoek, Namibia to work at the Congolese embassy where he also served in Pentecostal churches. From there Pastor Edward arrives in Spain and starts preaching as a resident pastor at a migrant initiated church in Bilbao. He and his wife, who also serve at the church, speak English, French, Spanish, Lingala and some dialects and their children speak at least three of these languages. In 2014, together with his wife, Sister Nina, Pastor Edward founds his own ministry with the mission to teach and engage with other local pastors about the word of God.

Prophetess Ingrid (RV3) was born in Benin City, southern Nigeria within a family of mixed Baptist and traditional religious background. In 1997 aged seventeen years old she immigrated to Turin in Italy encouraged by some relatives who were already living there. After some time she moved with a friend to Valencia, Spain, stimulated by the possibilities of getting proper documents in this country. She then met her husband, Apostle Daniel, with whom she started a church in Bilbao and began to get involved in leading religious activities as well as preaching and developing spiritual gifts. In this regard, she is also known as the Prophetess within the community due to her spiritual gifts of having prophetic dreams. Currently, Pastor Ingrid speaks English and Spanish apart from her home languages and she currently studies at a professional school of nursery, sharing also her time between households and motherhood duties through having two children.

Nigerian Apostle Daniel (RV4) is from Benin City and together with his wife, Prophetess Ingrid he leads the largest Pentecostal church in Bilbao founded in 2001. His church in Bilbao is the headquarters of another two other Spanish branches, one in Valencia and one in

Pamplona, and a Nigerian branch located in Benin City. Born in a Christian family, the Pastor studied business administration at a college and afterwards worked in a bank. He was ordained a pastor in 1992 and, sponsored by his aunt, moved to Spain to try for a better life. Apart from the Spanish-based ministries, he also leads the Omoruguwa Outreach ministries through which he evangelises in other churches around Nigeria and also throughout Europe. In twenty-two years of consecration as a Pastor Daniel has preached in several congregations around Nigeria, as well as in Spain, Italy, and France. Apostle Daniel is a father of two children.

Evangelist Dennis (RV5) was born in Nigeria and mentioned that he had visited Pentecostal churches a couple of times while living and working as a businessman there. He became born-again later in 2008 after immigrating to Spain. Back then, Dennis was working in Madrid and a woman, who is now his wife, showed him the programme of a Pentecostal church service in Madrid. During the service he accepted Jesus as his lord and personal saviour. Serving either as an interpreter or through preaching the word, Evangelist has been ministering in different churches in Madrid and Barcelona where he lived before settling in Bilbao. In 2014 he inaugurated a ministry together with his wife who sings in the quire and with whom he recently became a father. The church is located in the neighbourhood of Cruces in the metropolitan area of Bilbao although he can often be found preaching in other churches as an invited Pastor.

Congolese Pastor Kevin (RV6) grew up in Kinshasa surrounded by a protestant family while finishing his studies at the secondary level. Afterwards, Kevin immigrated to Angola trying to find his way to Europe and started to assist services and training courses in a Pentecostal church founded by U.S. missionaries. The Pastor moved to Portugal where he continued his duties within the Pentecostal movement by preaching and participating in several church events. From 1992 to 1996 he mentioned that he had fallen on the temptations of a sinful life but after this period, God visited him again and brought him back to a church life. In 1999 he was consecrated ‘elder’ of an Assembly of God church assisted by South Americans where he served for ten years before being ordained pastor. Since 2009 pastor Kevin has been leading his own church located in the District of Rekalde.

Congolese Pastor Shaun (RV7) grew up in a Christian family with a catholic background. His parents got divorced while he was quite young so being the eldest son he was responsible for taking care of his brothers and sisters. His father was a teacher in a Catholic school which later in life he managed to attend for free. Shaun learned to be a cook in a professional school and

worked for an airline catering company before starting to serve God in the year 1990. As a missionary he 'planted' churches in several places in the DRC as well as in Zimbabwe where he initiated four churches and trained church leaders. Together with his wife he decided to move to South Africa to try for a better life for his daughters in a country with a good education system. In 2006 he launched his first church in the province of Mpumalanga characterised as a Christian foundation. Later on, a French branch of the church was founded in Yeoville and in 2010 a third branch in an industrial area of Randburg.

Pastor Ray (RV8) was born in the province of Kasai Oriental, in the DRC, as the seventh son of eleven siblings. After finishing his secondary studies he studied for two years at university but due to a lack of funding he dropped out of the course at the age of twenty three. Back then, aged nineteen years old, Ray started 'serving' God doing small activities in a Catholic church. One day, attracted by the street buzz caused by a Pentecostal service he decided to get inside and hear the preaching. That day, he 'received Jesus for the first time and became 'born-again'. From participating in the choir to deliverance and intercession, Ray gradually developed himself as a servant of God. In December 2006, after seven years in that church he moved to South Africa and founded a branch of the same Congolese denomination to attend. Meanwhile, he was invited to fellowship at Pastor Shaun's church and at the same time felt a calling to find his spiritual 'land' as a born-again. Ray attended both churches for some time and later decided to stay at Pastor Shaun's branch. Within four years of training he was consecrated a pastor; his wife and child are also attending the same church.

Pastor Adam (RV9) first started professing his faith in the Catholic church of Congo, DRC. Born in Lubumbashi, from a young age he had the ambition to become a priest and followed his goal by serving the church as a priest's assistant and a sacristan. His interest in Pentecostal churches began firstly as dissatisfaction with the various positions the Catholic Church held regarding idolatry and doctrine. Later, Adam started a relationship with a born-again woman who subsequently became his wife. In 1986, he had a dream that showed him the way to a new religious life and decided to attend Pentecostal services in a church based in Kinshasa. The church was from the same denomination where Adam is now preaching. In the year 2000 he began serving as an intercessor for the church and in 2005 he was consecrated a pastor. He later moved to South Africa. Pastor Adam immigrated to find new professional opportunities after studying finance and economics in the Congo and having lived in Zambia. His wife is a prominent intercessor and women's leader in the same church, his older son leads the choir.

Sister Ellen (RV10) was born in Katanga, DRC, when she was twelve years old she moved to Kinshasa. Although coming from a Catholic family and participating in church activities from a young age, it was only in 1992 that she 'gave her life to Jesus' as a born-again. After completing her studies in Pedagogy, Sister Ellen worked as a teacher. Inspired by a church leader's prophetic prayer, she decided to change her first name in celebration of the Christian life that she chose. In 2002 Ellen and her brother, who arranged for their papers, moved to South Africa following their father who had already lived in that country for around fifteen years. After trying different churches she eventually found a branch of the church she used to attend back in the Congo. Sister Ellen is also a mother of three boys and two girls and combines some sporadic jobs as a decorator with being a training pastor in the church together with the leading of other activities such as the women's fellowship, hard prayer sessions and visiting other branches around the country.

Nigerian Pastor Hector (RV11) grew up in the capital of Rivers State, Port Harcourt, attending the Orthodox Church through the influence of his parents. He mentions having known the Holy Spirit at a young age, from around nine or eleven years old and, later on, after graduated from secondary school, Hector had his born-again experience. While studying for a university degree he started to serve in different departments of a Pentecostal church such as music, media and sound production. It was not until the elders of the church recognised in him spiritual gifts and leadership skills that Hector trusted in his future vocation. While serving the church, Hector has been on outreach missions in Niger republic, Benin Republic and other West African countries. His migration to South Africa was also the result of a mission set by his superior and spiritually confirmed during prayers. Before this journey, Hector had started and was running a successful company with his brother and mentioned how difficult the decision-making process to move out was. Pastor Hector married a woman that initially helped him to establish the church; all his brothers are also pastors nowadays.

Pastor Emmet (RV12) from Nigeria remembers his first experiences of religious environments coming from his parents when he was around eleven years old. His initial religious experiences come from an Anglican background although his parents eventually became born-again. At the age of fifteen he was taken to a Pentecostal church by his older brother where he was told by a pastor to accept Jesus as his only option to be saved. Emmet continued his Christian life as an Anglican but later while studying electronic engineering at the university he started visiting

Pentecostal fellowships on campus and gradually developing maturity in the spirit. In 1992, a vision brought on by a dream led him to focus on a deep study of the bible as well as encouraging him to start a ministry in Port Harcourt after being invited to minister in other churches and fellowships in Nigeria and the UK. In 2009, Pastor Emmet launched another branch of his church in Johannesburg and is also committed to developing and expanding radio and internet broadcasts of his preaching. During his journey he married a Nigerian woman and became a father.

3.2 Becoming a pastor

> You know that this is a dream, I wasn't conscious that this was happening…that was in the night vision you would call it. So they were all falling down, people were falling, falling everywhere. The cloud went and went knocking everybody that was in the auditorium and it came all the way to the front where I was on the pulpit and meant to knock me off. So I grabbed the pulpit so I didn't get knocked over and then I lost consciousness. The cloud came all over me. Now that was the first time in my life, I would say, when I felt the glory of God. It's hard to describe it in words. It's like being plugged into a high voltage of electrical current. All through my body, it was an indescribable experience (…) and after this occurrence I became to receive the power of God in my life, I mean, I would be leading people, they would follow this power, miracles began to happen, healings, so many things that happened. From that time I started preaching. Don't forget that I was a student. People started inviting me in churches, it was a lot of power! There was a lot of anointing. [24]

Nigerian-born Pastor Emmet is the founder of a Pentecostal church in Johannesburg where I attended services for around one month. The church was the largest and the most structured church amongst all of the congregations visited by me but according to his words it was not always like that. In a long talk about his religious and migrant life journey, Emmet detailed to me dreams, prophecies, migratory struggles and miracles that helped to shape his successful development into being the founder as well as an experienced Pentecostal leader in South Africa. The fragment above described what was framed as one of the most special moments of this trajectory, a turning point that impacted not only his religious beliefs previously influenced by being raised as a devoted Anglican. Beyond his born-again process, Pastor Emmet narrated the ups and downs, doubts and choices on his quest to acknowledge and accept his 'calling'.

From the point of view of our interviewees the calling was, always, the first and the indispensable requisite for becoming a pastor. As Pastor Hector stated: 'you cannot wake up

[24] RV 12

one day and say "well, I think I am an Apostle" (…)'[25]; in every encounter, church founders, preachers, experienced or Pastors in training had a saying regarding their calling to serve the church that put the born-again experience as a second plan. This point of inflexion in their stories unveils the beginning of a religious life that implies more than worshipping or a once-a-week attendance at Sunday service. Their calling proved to be more than a single life-changing event but a process, a re-socialisation. Once finding themselves in such a process Pastors recognised that they also have had to create the necessary conditions in order for the call to become a reality. In this vein, and in the same way Pastor Hector followed up by saying: 'As I began to serve God it is just going to show you that this is your calling, this is your purpose. Until you find that purpose you may not be fulfilled. Once you are fulfilled, life can have many facets? , things will make sense (…)'[26].

Therefore, while their first explanation on becoming a pastor revolves around the 'emotional arousal' of the call, leaders also note that to become a pastor is more a question of a process than simply a specific point in time emotional experience. Yet, amidst these similarities, different paths or strategies for learning to become pastors were also noted although they are not necessarily being characterised by the migratory routes of the two cases. Aspects like age or experience in the field of Pentecostalism, family background, social capital and religious approach to leading positions[27], were those of significant influence in this quest. Particularly, the fact of being part of a family of pastors plays a crucial role as these family members are taken as 'role models' and the learning process is done in close cooperation with them. However, for all of them the existence of spiritual 'fathers' that closely followed their processes of becoming pastors was the primary indication of the weaving of a 'spiritual family'; a religio-cultural construct that is transmitted to worshippers throughout the life of a church leader.

In gender terms, only two out of the twelve interviewees presented is a female character portrayed as a source of inspiration (though not the main one) but in all the others the inspiration comes from male figures. Specifically, these male pastors indicated that their wives were responsible for bringing them to the church which made them important figures in the process of discovering gifts later in their lives. In spite of starting 'behind', these two pastors

[25] RV 11
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] At least five central leading positions were categorised by interviewees according to one's spiritual gifts: Teaching, Evangelist, Apostle, Pastor and Prophet.

managed to reach a protagonist role that overshadowed the position of their wives in the church. In any case, it is evidenced that all pastors presented the 'school of life' as being the great influence in their formation and there were several mentions of assisting at biblical schools for some years. Beyond the formal or informal education, pastors stated that in the end, to become a good pastor or not, is a 'matter of feeling', or as Pastor Ellis states:

> (…) when I was die to have the calling of god I didn't believe because I thought "how an uneducated person can preach? How can I minister to people?" so this issue was something that was battling within me and I found a place in John that says 'When you receive it, the Holy Spirit will teach all the things' [28]

Still, only in a few cases was the former educational background of leaders revealed to be low or non-existent with around 80 percent having completed at least secondary school. A primary school teacher, a trainee nurse, an engineer, a n economics student, a chef, such variety of professions declared by respondents also evidenced the levels of instruction that characterised church leadership. Nevertheless, the calling to a religious duty seemed to be significantly related to their migratory journeys; from the lived instabilities of social adjustments in various destinations to the vicissitudes faced in such processes, Pastors' biographical accounts were marked by decision-makings, ambiguities and ontological instabilities. In other words, by developing 'second jobs' or 'parallel activities', the implication of these aspiring leaders in church activities seemed to be regulated alongside the 'ups and downs' of their own migratory circumstances.

Although the life-course narratives presented a dynamic set of vicissitudes, preachers themselves often reframed these fluctuations with religious arguments bringing up a more consistent and ordered version of the stories. Together with the emotional engagement and prophetic turning point there was also the idea of a spiritually-driven gift, a vocation that was naturally found in each one of them. By mentioning experiences in childhood often attributed to other people's perceptions, Prophetess Ingrid presented her vocation as an accomplished prophecy or 'gifted from the womb'.

1. And you started working as a Prophetess more here in Bilbao or you started in Benin City?

[28] RV5

> 2. Well, I would say here because right from when I was a kid I had this gift in me but I wasn't in the word. When I say 'I wasn't in the word' I said I'm an 'unbeliever' but that gift was there...[29]

In other cases, although the unveiling of gifts happened later, the intensity of such talents is what has been justifying their involvement with specific tasks. Either way, it seems imperative to associate life purposes, personal decisions, religious missions or, even, the migratory journey as spiritually driven by these prophetic visions. At the same time, the intensity and duration of such quests frames the reinforcement of one's authority over these choices as well as may inspire self-confidence and control under the exposure of an unstable context.

It seems that the narration of the calling constitutes a lifelong repertoire presented either as a teaching for worshippers or as a social and individual leitmotiv in their leading position. Hence, the calling is not necessarily based on a secular knowledge that could be measured by formal education as put by Pastor Edward in a bible school[30] attended by me in Bilbao. When answering a question posed by a worshipper about the requirements of being a Pastor, the church leader assured that God and the Holy Spirit are those who mediate the callings although some formal religious knowledge 'can help'. In this regard, it was noticed that when compared with biographical accounts of male Pastors, gender differences are eclipsed in both cases giving more importance to the magnitude of the calling and its purpose. This same logic is sustained when the confirmation of the calling is made by a spiritual guide, a somewhat spiritual father or mother that counsels aspiring leaders in some sort of cooperativistic spiritual motivation. This confirmation was also mentioned to be essential to define whether the calling is true or just a contextual message and it can also be received in prophetic forms.

A similar finding was elsewhere pointed to by Währisch-Oblau (2012) through the description of how women related themselves to religious callings by remarking the process of deliberation towards acceptance. Although in the visions and dreams the 'subjects' were told to be persistent and assertive, there was also room for adapting them to one's circumstances. However, the free will on choosing to follow the calling seems to be a 'natural non-taken possibility' due to its importance in the narrative of their vocational account. Throughout these twelve biographical

[29] RV3
[30] PO2

narratives the religious legitimacy for assuming a leading position relied solely on the way the message arrived and its tension with accepting it or rejecting it.

3.2.1 Spiritual gifts

As important as the calling, the reception of spiritual gifts is clearly defined as a processual system and no specific event is necessarily associated with it. In fact, the praxis involved in the development of spiritual gifts is precisely what begins to differentiate a 'simple church-goer' from those who will later acquire a leading role or serve in supportive activities. It is also through the spiritual gifts that Pastors captivate worshippers as well as convert new believers. Moreover, the understanding of such gifts presupposes a constant implication within the Pastor (as well as other believers) in order to better translate such knowledge into a powerful tool. The individualisation of the religious praxis is a distinctive aspect of Pentecostals described elsewhere as one of the main reasons for its rapid growth throughout the world (Anderson, 2002; Vasquez, 2003). Such a particular religious framework allows believers to express their own subjectivity in a personalised language through the intimacy of personal prayers (Fancello 2009: 402).

In the case of church leaders, this gradually acquired inner strength is often highlighted to have taken them to a higher level of spirituality, in other words, a more powerful connection with God that allows anyone to develop gifts. As explained by respondents, spiritual gifts are not exclusive to leaders and everybody is able to develop them. Yet, only those who obey the word of God come to identify, interpret and make use of it. The key to finding such gifts in one's life is to deepen the spiritual knowledge and once this is done such gifts will arrive, as put by Pastor Emmet:

> Sometimes you see some man of God and you really know that God is using them and there is a lot of power going through them and that power is real but you don't know how they get it, how does it work, what is the secret…and I discovered that the holy spirit when he comes into us, he comes into our spirits like water (…) that is when miracles begins to happen, that's when healing begin to take place, that's when all types of supernatural aspects happen.[31]

Nevertheless, the sole idea of spiritual gifts attached to an individual was rephrased many times as being the work of the Holy Ghost and not something that can be owned by someone. Pastors

[31] RV12

rejected the idea of holding gifts themselves as if they were responsible for such gifts. From this point, men and women are just the 'this-worldly tools' for the manifestation of the Holy Ghost. Likewise, a 'successful' manifestation depends primarily on the faith of the believer for establishing the communication channel with God or the Holy Ghost being both part of the same entity. The explanation for manifesting such gifts then evolves to the necessity of acknowledging the ways by which the Holy Ghost manifests in you as Pastor Adam explained:

> When you go to a Pentecostal church the pastor takes the place of the Holy Ghost since he is the 'papa' of that church. The pastors starts to say 'here it's me!' and the Holy Ghost is already out, he already left. Because the church is made for Christ, not the church for the men. It's the holy ghost who controls, it's the holy ghost who directs everything but not the men. The men are limited by their intelligence so the work we do is spiritual and not flesh. Its spiritual and you must put yourself at the level of the spirit. You have to leave the spirit of God to conduct us.

For Pastor Adam both religious leaders and congregants are able to embody or receive spiritual gifts of the Holy Ghost. However, the preacher warned me that in each case the manifestations of these gifts are adjusted to the level of personal relationship with God. For instance, on the one hand dreams, visions and other charismatic skills are often seen as the manifestation of the spirit in pastors' lives. On the other hand, healing, social and professional improvements are commonly associated with the manifestation of the Holy Ghost in worshippers' lives. In fact, public testimonies given during most church services illustrate how transformation takes place by explaining the process through which he or she got properly immersed in the biblical words. Yet, in contrast with the idea of a passive receiver or tool for the Holy Ghost, pastors and worshippers have first to be socialised in the language of the spirit by developing their own ways of talking to God.

As argued above, the idea of God using the individual as an instrument for divine interventions is also founded by the same logic abstracted in those with no leading positions. While Pastors are 'called' for developing their leading skills within the community, worshippers tend to stress on private problems and blessings. In other words, the latter is illustrated by miracles and problem-solving evidences declared to be the result of God's will through faith, prayer and obedience or as a 'tool-receiver'; the former is addressed by the Holy Spirit in the form of visions, dreams and organisational skills or as a 'tool-provider'. In both cases the individual is still a tool for the intervention and efficiency at a social and personal level relies on the acknowledgement of the Pentecostal ethos and worldview.

Despite of spiritual gifts being openly accessed by everyone, Pastor's narratives also show some hierarchical differentiations. With regards to the spiritual gift of *glossolalia* or speaking in tongues, a similar outcome was found by Sandra Fancello (2009) and Maria Pia di Bella (1988)

> The gift of *glossolalia* holds both the function of differentiation or, on the contrary, the standardisation, through which an alternated use by pastors is done M.P. di Bella, 'for fostering values of equality amongst members as well as to acquire a dominant position amidst them' (p. 398)[32]

Waldo César (2001) presents an interesting theological and practical explanation for Pentecostalist growth suggesting that narratives originated in the dispersion of languages at Babel and the confusion amongst humans that couldn't understand each other which culminated in segregation. Therefore Pentecostalism comes to reunify men and women and experiencing *glossolalia* is only one aspect of this new world united under a communal 'language' of (and) experience. As framed by Fancello, the practice of *glossolalia* shows clearly how the social perception of some spiritual gifts face the ambiguous nature of being both common and exclusive. Yet, speaking in tongues is also an important tool for binding Pastors and worshippers under a shared manifestation of the gift.

Whereas in the South African context such practice was carried out by three out of the six pastors interviewed, speaking in tongues was not the most usual manifestation observed in both case studies. In spite of *glossolalia* being portrayed as a powerful and popular social-individual tool for enacting emotional arousal, the skill doesn't appear to be a sufficiently strong marker to distinguish church leaders vis-a-vis the public. Alternatively, prophetic visions and healing were constantly framed by Pastors during church services and throughout their biographies; the former being manifested by their callings to leadership as well as throughout decision-making contexts and the latter being highlighted as one of the most, if not the most, desirable and appealing practices. In a similar way, the use of drama during the preaching by the performance of biblical characters – with sporadic changes in their tones of voice and body language – and anecdotes was regularly observed in all cases.

[32] Translated by me from the fragment: "Le don de glossolalie a donc une fonction de démarcation ou, à l'inverse, de 'nivellement', que le pasteur lui-même utilise tour à tour, selon M.P. di Bella, 'pour stimuler l'égalité parmi ses membres ou bien pour acquérir une position dominante en son sein' "

Also attached to the Holy Ghost are the responses of worshippers while being affected by particular rituals or preaching (healing, blessing, deliverance, etc.). By singing, dancing, acting, or healing, church leaders convey a series of roles during Pentecostal activities that significantly shape the cognitive and psychosocial interactions amongst attendants. Pastor Ellis, for instance, shows how the Holy Ghost shapes his work as a preacher in different congregations around Bilbao:

> I may be invited to another place and I ask god what I should teach. He might ask me to preach on obedience then I will prepare a message and he gives me the topic on obedience. He will also give me the scriptures to use these things. I will prepare it and go and preach obedience and we will see god moving because he is the one who said it. So each place that I go maybe to minister I always ask the Holy Spirit to help me to tell me what to say, what they need for the area. Each area there is something that the area, the environment needs.[33]

The fragment above illustrates the multiplicity of uses and understandings of such constructs along the Pentecostal *modi operandi* with its outcomes ranging from social to individual dynamics as well as holding a (de)localised significance. At the psychosocial and cognitive levels, the Holy Ghost through its gifts help to weave an emotional regime that provides a series of feelings and sentiments to be accessed by Pastors and at the same time transmitted to worshippers. On the one hand, church leaders make use of the religious vocation as their individualised power over liminal circumstances in some form of self-regulation or the maintenance of an emotional balance. On the other hand, the works of the Holy Ghost are personified by pastors as living examples of the spiritual power, an inspiration and motivation for transforming worshipper's lives in contexts often marked by emotional and material deprivation. Hence, it is precisely through the consistency and assertiveness found in their discourses that their status as leading role models and providers of security is reinforced within the emotional turmoil throughout migration processes.

3.2.2 Healing

> There is initially the belief of the sorcerer on the efficacy of his techniques followed by the belief of the ill who is cured by him or the victim that he chases under the power of the sorcerer himself; finally, the trust and demands of the collective opinion that in each

[33] RV1

> instant develops a somewhat gravitational field from which the relationships between the sorcerer and those who are affected by him are defined and situated.
>
> Claude Levi-Strauss ([1949] 2008: p. 181–182)

By focusing on traditional practices of healing the anthropologist Levi-Strauss *(ibid.)* evidenced the relationship between stakeholders and the structural dynamics of trust that legitimates the efficacy of such process. The sorcerer and his knowledge are constantly under proof and adjustments of new contexts even though the basic praxis brings back a determinate system of belief. Still, the author points out that before the healing the sorcerer holds (1) the conviction that pathological states have a cause and that this cause can be traced and (2) a system of interpretation where personal creativity plays an important role and organises the different phases of the 'illness', from the diagnosis to the cure.

While in the traditional system observed by Levi-Strauss, the dynamics of culture, community and individual are surrounded by significantly different contexts, the relationships described by the anthropologist seem to be moved by analogous forces. In this regard, Pentecostals are known the world over for promoting miraculous healings and having a powerful discourse based on a theology of health and prosperity. Through the medium of television, radio, phone calls or the internet, Pastors carry out sessions of healing dedicated to those who have a 'heart', mind and body affected by chronic or acute illnesses; they also count on the help of a vast number of tools and products that are personally designed (mostly by themselves) to 'exert' what is often characterised as demons and evils.

The work of Tanya Luhrmann (*cf.* Luhrmann 2012) on Christian charismatics points out that such religious approach is more 'practical' than 'theoretical' or focused on tangible answers and manifestations of spirituality in everyday life. Hence, Pentecostals capture the attention by a striking emotionally-based *modus operandi* that involves a range of bodily and ecstatic experiences able to transform ways of being, manner or habits, traumas and even change the narrative of one's own biographical account (Tankink, 2007). For Pentecostals, the human body (-mind) is evidenced to be a place for knowledge that is in tension with spiritual forces and is represented cognitively in all sorts of physical expressions, gestures, faints, shouts, etc. (Klaver and van de Kamp, 2011).

As previously mentioned, Levi-Strauss's (2008, 181–182) insights on the power of a psychoanalytical approach in healing processes has been extensively evidenced in the literature on Pentecostals through the role of narratives in social transformations (Singleton 2001: 2; Palmary, Hamber, and Núñez 2014; Kalu 2008). Whether the cure was successful, faked or failed cannot be understood in isolation from the whole story perpetrated by the narratives of those healed; the very own act of repeatedly telling the story is what makes it meaningful in one's life (Polkinghorne, 1988). For the cured 'patient' the narrative of healing is what matters and it is by spreading the word that the event gets reinforced amongst believers – and non-believers. However, between healer and healed, doctor and patient, sorcerer and bewitched, there must be a relationship of trust and mutual understanding on how to act accordingly. The healer cannot carry out the work isolated from the healed either in terms of representation or through the post narrative.

In parallel to the notion of spiritual gifts, pastors reject the idea of holding themselves out as the power of healing but aver that such attributes come under the guidance of the Holy Ghost towards both pastors and believers. At this point, Church leaders explain this process more as faith-based healing instead of some sort of instantaneous practice. In this regard, Pastor Ellen in Johannesburg stressed the benefits of deliverance[34] when women face the difficulties of getting pregnant or in cases of abortion. Yet the church leader has portrayed the situation as a failure of a wife's role as a Christian or as a somewhat translated effect of devil's forces (*cf.* Meyer 1999). Moreover, Ellen confessed that she was also a victim of these forces and illustrated how she was guided by a 'deliverer' who taught her what to do in several counselling and prayer sessions. It is through the activities of counselling and deliverance that believers are encouraged by the 'deliverer' to trace their own illness according to the knowledge provided by the bible (Onyinah, 2002). It is the ability of the deliverer in shedding light into the darkness of the unknown that contextually distinguishes healer and healed. In relation to that, Pastor Shaun gave his account on the importance of counselling and prayer:

> We discovered my dear that those who suffer physically sickness sometimes when you guide them well in counselling, in prayer, they recover so quickly physically than the one whom never had anyone in a ministry. They recover so quick, we find the devil and heal quickly; people went from doctor to doctor and they never were healed but they

[34] The practice of deliverance will be explored in Chapter Five.

> come here for counselling and prayer and next day they go to see the doctor and the doctor says that the sickness disappeared.[35]

Pastor Shaun revealed to me that his vocation is to heal the surrounding South African society and the whole of Africa from what he considers to be the moral and social crisis that his fellows are living in; once people are 'healed' there will be mutual reconciliations. This crisis was told to be acknowledged by their own experiences after both, in his words 'thought that we knew how to live in a social life but we discovered that we are another generation living in the city which is far different from our father generations in the village'. At this point, the very own notion of illness is extended to almost every aspect of everyday life not being limited to the physiology of the believer nor circumscribed to the individual domain. The church leader puts side by side social and physiological constructs in a suggestion of what was also evidenced elsewhere as a more complex and extended understanding of sickness.

During one of Shaun's predications he provokes the audience to stand against the evil by shouting 'I am stronger than my poverty, I am stronger than my sickness'. Poverty, homosexuality, alcoholism, divorce, crime, promiscuity, these are also illnesses inflicted by evil spirits. Still, all of these aspects were mentioned to be either found in their surrounding society or the lived consequences of migratory processes faced by worshippers. Hence, the healer as the one who holds a deeper knowledge had also been exposed to the role of the healed. Church leader's themselves admitted to being affected by such illnesses which in a biographical account is presented as a testimony of a powerful faith. From this point, the illnesses narrated can be mirrored on those same migratory vicissitudes lived by their compatriots. The difficulties framed by respondents along their migratory course were not different from those said to be the most common evils found in congregants (family left behind, unemployment, racism, or social-cultural dissonances)

Pastor Kevin, for instance, narrated to me that his migration journey to (in) Europe was marked by successive struggles with alcoholism since that 'was the land of freedom, a place where everything is allowed'. First in Portugal then in Spain (Madrid and Bilbao), Kevin portrayed himself as a drunk who wondered around preaching the wrong words in order to justify his behaviour. Subsequently, after being pushed away from the right way on two occasions, another pastor helped him to be 'cured' of this problem. Almost twenty years later Pastor Kevin

[35] RV7

runs a church that also brings healing to attendants. By his own experience, the sicknesses healed in his church are not helped by the current medicine but through the power of prayer, and he states:

> You must pray before going to the doctor so you will also help the doctor because doctors are also people. There comes a time that they (doctors) don't know what to do since there are some illnesses that are spiritual. Demons are able to inflict illness in people so they can take him or her to the place that they want. That happens because there are not only angels of God. There are also lost angels that are rebelled and they act by inflicting illnesses and even if you go to the doctor he will not be able to trace it. He will not see that you are ill so it will only depend on prayer to go back to normality.[36]

An overview of the examples above shows how Pastors unveiled their notions of healing and sickness by addressing social issues as a main concern. Within the private domain of the interviews, none of the twelve pastors mentioned an obvious relation of healing with actual physical or psychological diseases. More than that, this seems to justify the uniqueness of their special skill over that of a medical doctor and the use of medicines since none of these resources are able to reach the spiritual world. As recommended by Kevin and also highlighted by Ellen, prayers and faith are able to help people with illnesses including medical doctors since 'they are also people'; if that is the case, a medical intervention is not entirely rejected but must be combined with spiritual healing to become completely effective. Furthermore, since the significance of these practices rely on the form and content by which successful stories are narrated, the cases of failed healings or unsuccessful deliverance seemed to be completely ignored. Alternatively, failed attempts at healing may be justified by problems with the referred healer (pastor) or a lack of faith from the believer' side.

As noted by Roswith Gerloff (1995; 1999), African Pentecostalism works through the idea of a living power or a travelling power that goes across continents and throughout the ages healing generations enhancing survival and hope to bring joy, suffering and migration. The church must be a healing community that goes hand by hand with pastors and worshippers' migratory journeys. In every environment, ups and downs, sicknesses and healings, are framed by church leaders as spiritual vicissitudes that can only be solved by a deeper connection to the word of God; in other words, the sane worshipper must keep up with the visits to a spiritual doctor and the spiritual hospital. Yet the church resonates as a healing community by offering a series of

[36] RV6

social and religious resources ranging from shared narratives of healing to a recognisable framework to deal with the multiple illnesses faced along migratory processes.

3.3 The negotiation of roles in public and private spheres

As suggested so far, the know-how of church leaders in interpreting and transmitting biblical words explore aspects of the cognitive-sensorial domain; it is implied from this practice that an adequate performance also helps to legitimise (or reinforce) their leadership as well as set distinctive markers when compared with other leaders (Willems, 1967). From the very first experiences in the field, the goffmanian idea of Pastors as characters in a play in a somewhat poignant drama representing life has influenced my observation of a Sunday service. This weekend celebration is the main platform for approaching believers, curious non-believers, friends of regular church goers as well as the congregation as a whole; from the bible schools and fellowship encounters to weekly services and musical rehearsals observed in both contexts, it is highlighted that the main performative acts are specially empowered on Sunday gatherings.

From this theatrical notion, André Corten (2001) outlines the existence of a 'lieu de spectacle'' that goes beyond the community of reference where individuals present their identities as conscious choices more than representations. Likewise, Ruth Marshal (1998: p. 299), the church services works as a stage for a performance whose audience could be worldwide in parallel with a continuity between global and local in order to maintain the cohesion with everyday lives. Still amongst differences and similarities in body language and styles of personal expression, it was noticed that the methods of preaching are intimately connected with the (in)visibility of social and cultural contexts of Pastors.

Without showing an extreme ethnicisation of language or behaviours and considering typical narrative strategies or tools (videos, music, drama, etc.) their ways of being must lie present as both global and local inspirations; this 'in-between' is precisely what makes them able to be a recognisable character amongst Christians and other religions. Still, all of this happens under the auspices of the complex and ambiguous history of a pan-African identity versus the great cultural diversity found on the continent, especially in the urban scenario. Moreover, African Pastors who were observed also seemed to embody a modern Africanness led by the PC ethos and worldview with outcomes in various aspects of their public and private spheres of life in the Diaspora. In other words, their leadership features must also find a place within social and

cultural domains even though their leading positions in the congregation may contrast with this.

In this regard, both cases have presented evidences of these ambiguities as well as indicated where, when and how certain behaviours are accepted or rejected by the congregation or amongst pastors themselves. Particularly, the different ways in which Congolese and Nigerian Pastors portrayed one another has also confirmed one of my first observations during the fieldwork. During my initial visits to a church in Bilbao, I noted the Nigerian Pastor and founder of the congregation Apostle Daniel as a stereotypical figure through the inspiration of American televangelists. His strong tone of voice and flamboyant dramatisation of theological teachings contrasted with the Congolese-born Pastor Edward whose biblical teachings seemed less influenced through other rhetorical resources than a power point presentation and the scrupulous exploration of theological themes.

In my first interview with Pastor Edward, I was told that different preaching styles are mostly related to the congregation and in that case the church had a significant number of Nigerian goers. While portraying Nigerians as a 'difficult public' with highly energetic demands from the preacher[37]. Such affirmation grasped my attention since some of these behaviours are clearly evidenced during Pentecostal church services. Yet, Edward mentioned that his preaching had to be adapted to a Nigerian style with most of his attendants coming from this country. He followed by explaining that 'Nigerians are hot and that's why you have to entry them speaking with authority'.

Back in 2013 Pastor Edward was a resident pastor of a Pentecostal church in Bilbao founded by a Nigerian leader. Nowadays he is developing his own mission in a ministry founded by him whose main vision is to teach the bible. Pastor Edward made clear that his commitment to God was to change people's minds and his approach to congregant vicissitudes was related to clarifying or interpreting spiritual matters. While working under the Nigerian 'paradigm' of preaching, Edward presented a quite controlled body language with a preaching style that clearly differed from the dramatic performances of his colleague and superior Apostle; the latter often mentioned the Devil's works in day to day life as well as presented prophecies and embodied characters while narrating anecdotes. A year later when I observed him working in

[37] RV2, p. 3

his own ministry Pastor Edward showed a much more energetic approach was perceived in his body language and rhetoric. He then explained to me his methodology:

> There are people that when you are preaching them the word of God if you are just serious speaking sometimes they begin to sleep. Maybe you have sometimes to be like speaking louder to capture the attention. There are people when you put a drama they can get the message out of the drama. There are people that while they watch a movie they believe in it so there are many ways to capture the audience to communicate to them the word of God. And we use it in this way is as like the evidences of what I was preaching to them…but look what I am telling you is this.[38]

Congolese Pastor Adam also remarked on the appealing strategies of Nigerian Pastors in South Africa by promoting miraculous healings and sacred water in order to create sensationalism amongst believers. Such aspects were labelled by him as heritages from African traditional practices and, furthermore, Adam mentioned that some Nigerian Pastors are also traditional healers known as 'Sangomas' in southern African cultures. In this regard he stated:

> (…) the Nigerians bring this evangel of the water, people falling down in the floor by the touch and there is no problem in making people falling down. But what is the spirit that is making these people fall? Is this coming from God or from anywhere else? If this is not coming from God this turns into a dangerous thing

However, when observing Adam's sermons I noticed that they were marked by similar spectacular features to those of 'ungodly manners' used by Nigerians. In a similar way, Sister Ellen mentioned how the use of the English by Nigerian preachers is perceived as a competitive advantage while looking for new converts. She defends the use of French but recognises that eventually she needs to preach in English or Zulu to attract local South Africans. In both cases, the use of certain languages (Spanish, Zulu, Lingala, Broken English or English) has also shown Pastors' necessity to adopt certain strategies in order to expand or delimit their influences towards migrants and wider society[39].

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the social impact of Nigerian Pentecostalism amongst Africans as well as some of its appropriation from West African traditionalisms[40] meets the concerns of Ellen, Adam and Edward. However, in a direct confrontation about their vocational

[38] RV2
[39] A more detailed analysis of such contexts will be presented in Chapter Four.
[40] See for instance the work of Afe Adogame (2004) on the Christian Redeemed Church in the Diaspora where a Yorubá tradition of naming a new-born is translated to the Christian Baptism.

competences preachers seemed to ambiguously adjust the legitimacy of their performances. While no counter-actions from Nigerian pastors was perceived whatsoever, it seems that the hegemony of Nigerian Pentecostalism has a significant influence on the legitimisation of leaders in the public sphere. Although the 'Nigerian way' seems to be personally avoided by these Congolese pastors, these leaders had also embodied such practices in their *modi operandi*.

In this regard, the public *persona* of these pastors must translate the idea of an African modernity without necessarily reproducing the aesthetics of western televangelism. The closeness to a more 'African Pentecostal style' (Nigerian) seems to attract migrants from various African origins, especially if considering the limited number of migrants as potential followers to such smaller and marginalised churches. However, in contexts where the African Pentecostal 'market' is aligned with a greater number and variety of nationalities (Congolese or Ghanaian as popular cases), leaders have fewer reasons for adopting particular styles. From this perspective, some openly 'national churches' have also a clear focus on differentiating from the mainstream style.

In addition, the size and dimension of the institution play an important role on the personal approach of preachers towards the congregation. Again, as close as it gets to a more established situation (stable number of church-goers, financial balance, permanent physical structure, etc), leaders appear to embody the success in their form of appearance and material possessions; a triumphalist image of migration far from a precarious and marginal character within the notions of wider society. In fact, another aspect underlined by Edward is that a pastor should take care of his/her looks and never forget their manners in front of the community. He illustrated such circumstances when one exaggeratedly raises their tone of voice, overacting during a sermon or appearing to be untidy and unkempt to the community. Still, the narratives presented during services must also safeguard personal conflicts and avoid gossiping within the group. In sum, the pastor must present himself or herself with dignity, a role model characterised by self-confidence and integrity.

Nevertheless, taking back Goffman[41] and looking at the front stage and back stage of such contexts, some insights must be made regarding both cases. On the one hand, the powerful expressions and captivating rhetoric of preachers indicated a public vocation with a clear set of

[41] C.f. Erving Goffman (1959), The Presentation of the self in everyday life.

leadership skills capable to evoke laughter and tears during the service. As noted by Ruth Marshal (1998) 'the people are required to participate as an audience, to applaud or to jeer, but be part of the theatre.' (p. 303). On the other hand, off-duty Pastors presented another facet, one substantially different from the church environment with a way more passive and discrete approach. By meeting these church leaders in public spaces as well as in their church offices, I was exposed to simple individuals uncovered by the status of the religious environment. Such a transformation was mostly perceived when looking at the Spanish case whereas in South Africa, pastors seemed to maintain a certain consonance with their status in the church environment. In a similar way, women pastors in both cases presented an even more impressive transformation[42] while being on and off the stage.

This situation occurs due to particular external constrains suffered by pastors in both migratory contexts; social and political aspects that mark the agency of migrants in the public sphere apart from the congregation. In addition, it is evidenced that Pastors' status may vary according to the public acceptance or relevance of Pentecostalism within the surrounding society. In other words, the relationship between the public and private spheres is shaped by the ontological status attributed to Pastors either in Spain or South Africa by both African migrants and the wider society. By (in)visibilising social and cultural attributes church leaders navigate in migratory contexts conciliating multiple roles to keep up with their status as well as the legitimacy of spiritual gifts.

3.3.1 Authority and (self-)legitimisation

The position of authority is legitimated not only by presenting oneself as an outstanding charismatic religious individual but also as a social-familial model that is constantly under communal surveillance. So far, differences between men and women with regards to leadership and its modus operandi are not sufficiently influential on their preaching; in both cases, it is evident the existence of a common discourse on equality regarding the potentials and abilities for preaching and leading. Thus women are pictured in intimacy as a being with strict social roles where motherhood, conjugal and household issues are their most important mission aligned with prayer. Likewise, men have also a clear picture of what model to follow, especially, with regards to those who serve in the church. All male pastors interviewed were

[42] Such cases will be better analysed in the following sections.

married and had at least one child. Throughout sermons in both contexts, I repeatedly heard the idea of being a true 'man of God' attached to that of having a wife and being a father. In fact, more than a correlation of age and hierarchy within the congregations observed, it was noticed that parenthood and marriage were important features in one's vocation.

Although all pastors were roughly between thirty and fifty years old, no mentions of age were made when questioned about the requirements for being a leader. Respect seemed to be more related to one's role in their social life, particularly, if they had – or not – become a man; in some cases, the notion of manhood was also linked to Africa in a way that amongst the specificities of a real 'African man' is having a wife and children. In an interview in Johannesburg, Pastor Ray ended up his interview posing the question of whether I would get married soon or not. According to him, the necessity of marriage was also spiritual since, by his own experiences, the blessings of marriage are multiple:

> It's very important but sometimes there are some blessings that come only after marriage. As long as you are alone there are some blessings that will not come because there is no responsibility on someone. When you become responsible there is something god has to give to you because of that responsibility[43]

Becoming responsible is a matter of having a family to provide for even though pastors circumstances were often financially difficult. Yet it was evidenced that pastors in Spain had relatively more obstacles in the public sphere regards finding stable jobs, especially, due to the economic crisis in the country. At this point, such vicissitudes may play a significant role in differentiating some dynamics within the private sphere in both contexts with a more distinctive discourse found in the European context.

In this regard, African pastors note that the diaspora setting creates a (re) distribution of power in couples mainly based on two issues: (a) first, in most of the cases women are earning an income that makes them more independent – even more so in the cases where the man is unemployed. (b) Second, their social control loses strength (particularly where there is less family surveillance) and control from the state gains ground. In this sense, and in Pastors' words, 'woman know that they can divorce, they can call the police, and they can sue their husbands….all these give them power'. All these issues allow a women to gain a more powerful position within marriage, which may challenge previous gender arrangements. In this situation,

[43] RV8

women pastors redefine the situation by introducing new nuances and complexities' in the biblical narrative. At this point, love appears to be the crucial aspect to take into account along with the re-alignment of everyone's function in the marital agreement.

However, to justify this conservative stance on marriage issues they also need to explain or make sense of men's behaviour or situation in the diaspora since many of them are not working (or need the women's salary to run the house). In this regard, illustrative of their position on this is the following quotation from one of the African pastors: 'unemployment is a global phenomenon. Christians must be happy because God has already given us warning that unemployment and hardship are some of the signs of His second coming'. Likewise, they follow by saying that 'the Bible does not enforce a husband to provide everything in the marriage. This is not Biblical. This is African mentality'. Therefore, she states that women have to become helpers in their marriages, but this does not mean that she has to forget their marital obligations. In order to perform better in this scenario, and in the pastors words' "the couple needs to become a team".

The idea of a team working together to encourage one another through love is the most shared idea among all the women pastors. For them the diaspora has new contextual requirements and conditions that have to make couples aware of the necessity to re-think their roles in their marriages. However, these discursive reformulations of marital agreements in the diaspora, as far as it was observed, do not automatically imply a more 'progressive' or a more 'conservative' stance. They are simply new languages that give meaning to the new situation and help newcomers to deal with the uncertainty, complexity and changes that the diaspora life introduces into their marriage. The pastors play a crucial role in story-telling, justifying, explaining and giving meaning to all these new situations and in providing new rules, new behaviours and new role-models to follow up.

In a certain way, taking Arlie Hochschild's work[44] on emotions, for these women the process of becoming a pastor is characterised by the learning of new rules of sentiment which become embodied in the long run. However, the adoption of new feelings, sentiments and embedded knowledge goes along with the power of the situation, in Goffman terms. They learn to play a role and the stage has a great importance. Still, looking through goffmanian lenses, the

[44] *Cf.* Arlie Hochschild (1979), Emotion Work: Feeling Rules and Social Structure.

importance of the front stage performance and the backstage performance can be outlined with an awareness about the differences between the two.

3.4 A speech community: mobilising missions and visions

The spiritual gifts of the Holy Ghost are often associated with five vocational positions within the organisational structure of a church: teachers, evangelisers, pastors, apostles and prophets. It is by empowering these vocational skills that a church leader develops missions in the Diaspora and eventually comes to found a community with a particular vision to be explored. Such variety of vocations and activities to be developed may often reinforce intra/intergroup dynamics of differentiation and institutional competence. For instance Pastors who founded their own congregations seemed to develop a specific preaching style that may not be challenged by other leading figures within the same congregation. On the contrary, those who follow or share the senior Pastor's visions usually showed some deference towards the superior featuring different spiritual gifts. Still, the alignment of certain spiritual gifts under the same church vision often help to flag cultural and religious differentiation with other African churches.

Again, despite the certain complexity of these dynamics in combination with the socio-cultural diversity in the Pastor's backgrounds, the sharing of an African Pentecostal component seems to establish a consistent framework for the development of a common 'speech'. This is what makes possible for instance a service where an elder Congolese Pastor coherently engaged in a service with a young Nigerian preacher and a female Spanish evangelist in Bilbao. Once sharing enough familiarity with the spiritual knowledge – a vocabulary, ethos and a worldview manner of speaking, biblical understanding – the Pentecostal speech brings the necessary fluidity for pastors to develop their missions and visions throughout religious networks worldwide. In relation to that, young Evangelist Dennis has been trying to create his own Pentecostal church in the metropolitan area of Bilbao. As a recent born-again, only converted after a migration journey that led him to Spain, he explained to me the importance of a vision in order to structure one's purpose while serving God:

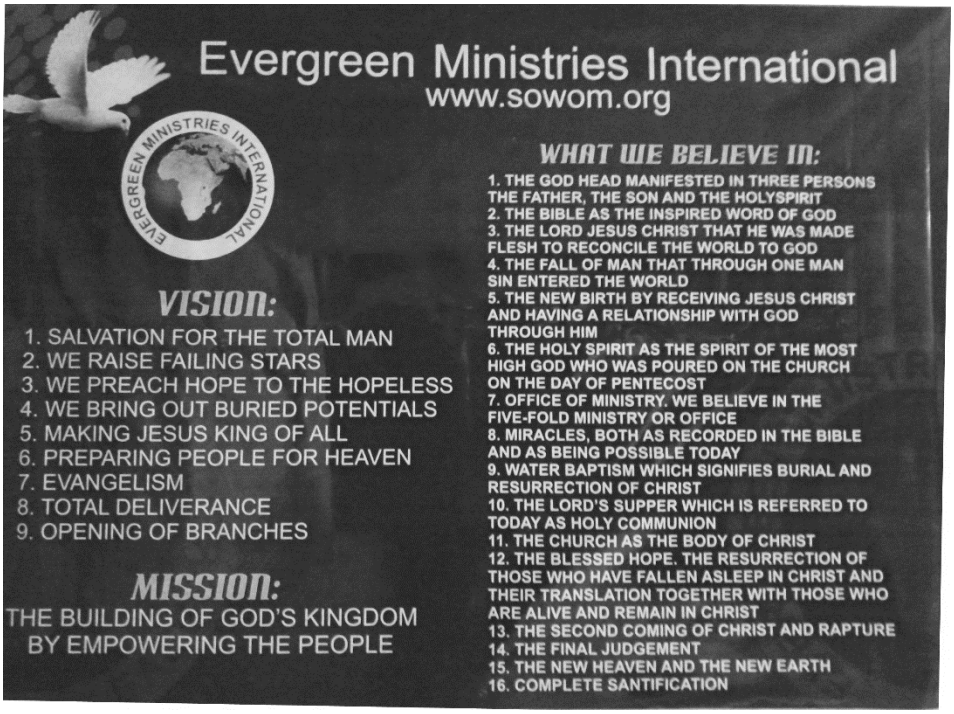
> The vision is responsibility, is to accept the responsibility and every pastor has their own. That's why we do have confluences as pastors, evangelists, bishops, all kinds of Christians joined together. There are confluences at times and also conventions where everybody gathers. So god gives you the vision to one person but he also uses everyone

> since everybody has different gifts. (…) God gives a vision to one person but the fulfilment is for many people. God uses many people to fulfil the vision that he will give to the men of god. The pastor cannot be in Spain and also in Canada. If there is a branch in Canada it will be another pastor who will be there so that is why we train leaders and many people who are also gifted in different areas all at the same body. People who can sing, who can play keyboard, which can play the guitar, all are working in the vineyard of Christ.[45]

Following Evangelist Dennis' explanation, musicians, interpreters, evangelisers or prophets are able to develop their gifts under one vision regardless of geo-cultural distances. The evangelist holds the knowledge of the evangels and a persuasive appealing, a Prophet is often associated with more experienced preachers having a particular ability for designing prophecies, pastors contextualise biblical anecdotes interrelating themes with everyday life, etc. It was also implied that spiritual gifts are not limited to specific leading figures but to others who can contribute to multiply the domains of the visions; periphery – ushers or 'helpers'- and centre – church leaders – get together to expand the spiritual assets of a visionary into the main relevant areas: healing, evangelism, prophecy, fellowships, teaching and music.

Apostle Daniel, for instance, mentioned the genesis of his work in Europe: 'I saw myself preaching to white people, preaching to black people not in my country but outside my country so I knew that I was going to a mission outside my country'. Likewise, Pastor Edward decided to abandon his previous church to found a ministry mainly dedicated to colloquiums and teachings about the bible. Pastor Shaun in Johannesburg and Pastor Kevin in Bilbao highlight their mission to heal and reconcile people and the surrounding society; Pastor Irene had incessant dreams on establishing a women's fellowship in order to guide them over family and conjugal matters. These visions-made-missions indicate a more 'grounded' narrative of their spiritual calling and engender a clear speech within the African Pentecostal umbrella to be unfolded into multilevel discursive mechanisms.

[45] RV5



'Building of God's kingdom'

Poster at a Nigerian-led church in Johannesburg 2013, personal archive

In this regard, the sociolinguist Dell Hymes (1974) and John Gumperz (1968) have developed the term 'speech community' to describe a group of people who not only shared a language and a vocabulary of reference but is also able to distinguish and adjust their own repertoires in different social interactions[46]. In other words, to speak a language correctly, one needs not only to learn its vocabulary and grammar, but also the context in which words are used[47]. The author's definition points out that:

> A speech community is defined, then, tautologically but radically, as a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech. Such sharing comprises knowledge of at least one form of speech, and knowledge also of its patterns of use
>
> Dell Hymes (1974: 51)

[46] See also Gumperz and Hymes (1972)

[47] In this regard, Dell Hymes (*cf.* 1962) developed an analytical frame to assist the identification and labelling of components of linguistic interaction known as the SPEAKING model: S – Setting and scene: the setting refers to the time and place while scene describes the environment of the situation; P – Participant: this refers to who is involved in the speech including the speaker and the audience; E – Ends: the purpose and goals of the speech along with any outcomes of the speech; A – Act Sequence: the order of events that took place during the speech; K – key: the overall tone or manner of the speech; I – Instruments: the form and style of the speech being given; N – Norms: defines: what is socially acceptable at the event; G – Genre: type of speech that is being given.

Yet the concept of a speech community has also been developed in the field of sociolinguistics by the term of 'discourse community' (Duszak, 1998; Omoniyi and Fishman, 2006). According to John Swales (1990; p. 24–27), three aspects are to be highlighted in such communities: (1) the establishment of the group by a set of public goals (2) the existence of discourse forms proper to the community, and (3) the existence of a hierarchical structure based on the gradual competence of the community members. By stressing the importance of mission and vision aligned with the Pastors' spiritual gifts vocation, I was introduced not only to institutional dynamics but what is conveyed to the public in the form of audio-visual and textual narratives. From new and less experienced preachers to church founders, an overview to both cases seems to fit into both speech and discourse community notions. In a parallel to Swales' aspects, it is evidenced that amongst the discursive forms, public goals and vocational 'maturity' of Pastors, they are enrolled as both perpetrators and executers of an emotional community. Moreover, their biblical expertise and life experiences as migrants indicate that the cultivation of certain emotional dispositions is a powerful approach towards symbols and meanings within African Pentecostalism.

In the cases observed, it is precisely through shared discursive structures towards the public that Pastors roles are put in consonance or dissonance throughout the unveiling of particular missions and visions; by keeping up with family and conjugal roles, reconciling and healing a 'broken' society, claiming a certain ethos to save the sinful surroundings or promoting the manifestations of the Holy Ghost, all these must be aligned with one's spiritual gifts and at the same time extended to a worldwide recognisable speech. In a somewhat engendering of a Diasporic consciousness, church leaders constantly construct and deconstruct the African Pentecostal paradigm unfolding their own life experiences into religious and migratory repertoires.

3.4.1 Media and audio-visual techniques

Pentecostalism is historically a transnational phenomenon which in its modern forms is reproduced in its local diversity through a highly accelerated circulation of goods, ideas and people (Van Dijk, 2002). In the task of promoting religious and migratory repertoires, not only the physical mobility plays an important part on enriching a pastor's know-how but the use of media and audio-visual apparatus too. While the centrality of preaching and sermons will be

better explored in the following chapters, the use of cybernetic resources and electronic gadgets deserve particular reflexions to be made. As evidenced by Alan Anderson (2002; 2001), especially from the 1970s until the current times Pentecostals have broken through a puritan liturgy and have been progressing towards a greater compromise with the theologies of health and prosperity. All of that, is permeated by an increasing development in the field of audio-visual production in its contact with media and communication strategies throughout the 1980s and late 1990s (*ibid.*, 2000).

At this point, the literature of the movement has changed as African churches-leaders started to produce their own printed material and expand networks, ministries and fellowships towards a more independent-multilevel approach to the public sphere. Still, Pentecostalism illustrates how Africans have responded to the rapid and untoward changes in their socio-political and economic environment simultaneously engendering pan-African discourses on modernity (Marshall, 1998). But how do these discourses operate with such fluidity in global and local dimensions and which are the mechanisms involved in such a quest?

The use of media and audiovisual productions by Pentecostals has seen a great expansion around the world; this media is continuously concerned with the dissemination of the Pentecostal discourses in a way that stimulates the use of technologies and makes religion an interesting and sensorial experience for people with different cultural backgrounds (Marshall 1998; p. 300). Through television, the internet and radio, songs, prayers and testimonies offer multiple possibilities for interpretation, but the nature of such narratives is mainly characterised by a particular set of emotional and sensorial aspects and important weapons against the evil. Even though the space is not shared, the physical intimacy is projected beyond the place and reaches every individual that may possibly feel connected with this emotional climate. As highlighted by Afe Adogame (2010), massive celebrations take place throughout the world where worshippers share the same locality or church and are connected with a more global focus and linked with worshippers from other churches.

These interdenominational events are usually broadcast, taped and promoted via Pentecostal media in a way of advertising its powerful experiences of change. A vigorous market of audio-visual material is developed and exchanged amongst African Pentecostal churches, its American counter-parts and African-American Pentecostal churches; therefore, local religious events and celebrations may have a more extended influence than the local perimeter. The flow

of Pentecostal media also follows the flow of missionaries engaged in a reverse-mission of evangelising Europe and the US, initially through the African Diaspora but also expanding within the African continent (*ibid.*). The religious discourses and theological interpretations of international politics is also a current – but not new – feature of African Pentecostalism; the message is clear when it comes about overcoming migration barriers imposed by western countries under the idea of working in the name of God to evangelise the world no matter the region or social-economic conditions.

These congregations are composed by a *glocally* interchangeable culture that (re)defines lifestyles, models of behavior and aesthetics according to its public. Such competition between local, regional and global versions of Pentecostalism makes the use of external resources indispensable to achieve success (Marshall 1998). The universal range of the message is also extended to the public where gender or ethnic origins are not obstacles for worshipping. At the same time, the consumerism of Pentecostal media provokes the weakness of a situated community creating a lack of a physically and spatially situated message (*ibid.*); hence, not every media is accepted as a tool for conversion and in the wrong hands the media technology may be used by evil forces. With regards to the cases observed, even when looking at the smaller congregations where their very own church structure was often precarious, preachers or worshippers allegedly made use of various photo and video resources.

In church services led by Pastor Edward for instance he often showed online videos to exemplify the ways in which evil is expanding throughout the world by the very own use of media. From symbols cultivated by sects and promoted by celebrities to lyrics of pop songs and even haircuts, the pastor once described that the devil has a plastic and fluid form to appear in one's life. Behind every appointed sign of the enemy, Edward enacted sentiments of fear raising an awareness towards these suspicious mechanisms used by the devil to affect a less uninformed believer. In some sort of empirical seminar a series of biblical ideas were presented and made sense by scrutinising a certain object of analysis that belonged to the everyday life of worshippers. The preacher explains:

> Because many people don't have this capacity to get into the information and they don't know really what is happening but as I was speaking about something which the facts are really happening in the world so (I) want to bring those elements to make to lift up the evidences after what I said to really see that this is what really is going on in the

> world for that to bring them to be more convinced. So it's very good to use the media. The media is destroying the people in the same way it is building up many people.[48]

After alarming congregants about a world in constant threat, especially with regards to westernised evils disguised in immoralities and 'counter-Christian' practices, Edward made sure to provide the answers for such a chaotic scenario. As in most of the narratives observed, church leaders seem to present a twofold strategy of (1) raising awareness in order to identify evils and (2) provide the security needed by indicating the moral and ethical codes to be used. Both aspects seem to work as emotional dispositions on the breakage or conformation of communal bonds. The first may provoke distrust and isolation while identifying the threats posed by non-believers while bringing together individuals by the sharing of such awareness or fears; likewise, the second aspect puts worshippers under the aegis of a safer or empowered environment as well as demonising the surrounding society in its destination, family members in Africa or any other culture that confronts the Christian code.

In this sense, by physical or virtual evangelisation, the Pentecostal message comes to ordain the chaos, heal hearts and minds, in an intimate way and a language that must be understood by everyone. In a never ending cycle the 'destabilisers' of the world appear to be created by Pentecostal narratives and fed by the 'stabilisers' offered in return to those who are born-again. In such a cyclic process, every single aspect of the human world can be portrayed as a 'stranger' and 'threatening' or 'familiar' and 'safe', respectively ungodly or godly. The challenge for leaders would then be to turn one into another by presenting them as possible choices for the worshipper and at the same time obviating the right way.

Yet when used as a mean to reach congregants and to bring the Pentecostal discourses 'closer' to worshipper's lives, church leaders do not hesitate to promote such tools. Likewise, their own figures as leaders must be recognisable or popular but also in a way that the message arrives with a personalised touch. Their appearance on videos posted online, radio stations or posters throughout the city is a desirable strategy of creating a name or a character that will then be exposed to the public's surveillance. This exposure is also what inspires trust within the congregation and for potential converts, especially, considering the environment marked by suspiciousness found amongst Nigerians and other African migrants in the Diaspora. Reaching

[48] RV2

worshippers by promoting their figures through the mass media was framed by Pastor Hector as follows:

> Certain people would not allow me to have access to them but we can go to their living room through the TV media so the media is powerful. Facebook, all of them are instruments that god has created for us to use. They are not evil (…) Most of the people we have in church came through the media. We advertise and we have a program on radio FM which runs every day. It is five minutes of preaching. Every day in the morning and evening five minutes so we believe in investing in the media.[49]

As put by Hector, such tools are no longer a human thing but also resources integrated in the Kingdom of God and therefore available to be used with a spiritual purpose. Hence, any tool or mechanism that has a material (non-spiritual) nature can be used in the name of God by preachers making their figures the holders of a particular 'license' to deal with materiality over other believers. By taking their roles beyond the ritual place and calling the attention of other congregations and non-believers, Pastors reinforce their public status and play roles in different spheres of society that are often a part of modern life. While participating in the public sphere through the media there are those who carry the voices of congregants back and forth, in origin and destination, along the migratory journey.

Via social networks, ecclesiastical flyers and broadsheets, radio and online channels church leaders circulate religious speeches, announce social celebrations (births, funerals, marriages, etc.) and put in evidence the potential support for mobility between congregations. Moreover, visions are promoted amongst other pastors which makes it possible to establish new ecclesiastical links, missions or even expand the congregation to other regions or countries. Yet not only church services, celebrations and their sermons were recorded by ushers or volunteering congregants but worshippers had also been observed attentively using gadgets of all sorts in trying to capture the highlights. As described in one of the reports of a participant observation:

> Apart from the recordings and photographs made by the institution, the use of digital cameras by worshippers perpetrated the whole celebration although in moments of prayer any other activity but praying ceased. Tablets and Smartphones were some of the gadgets used as tools for recording or capturing the moments. The institution had a photographer and a cameraman on their behalf in order to record the conference although only on the second day the celebration was almost completely recorded. According to our interview, Papa explained that the tapes are used for their own

[49] RV11

> interests on training and teaching skills to other pastors so as he exposed the wish of one day selling these tapes to raise funds for the church, extend networks and broadcast evangelisation to further extents.[50]

Similar experiences were abstracted by visits, in almost all churches and services they were recorded by people with different positions in the congregation; some just worshippers, others from the 'media department' or eventually 'training' Pastors. While the actual circulation of the produced material was not clearly evidenced, as suggested by the fragment, photos and videos of conferences and church services were told to be part of educational material and/or commercial purposes (for worshippers and other preachers). With regard to the institutional domain, a selection of cuts and close-ups of specific moments are edited framing ecstatic experiences together with rhetorical highlights or particular emotional climates (body expressions, heads moving and arms shaking in prayer). The audio-visual editor, and representatives of the institution, are allowed to record throughout the whole service once church leaders are in the scene. At this point, it is evidenced that part of what is seen is peripheral or central[51].

The different audio-visual representations of the services express a hierarchy of situations and establish the relationships established between leaders and worshippers where implicit protocols indicate who and when cameras can be used to record the situation. Therefore, some sort of mutually recognisable 'common sense', a socio-religious ethos cultivated within the Pentecostal congregation is observed and is what perpetrates such practices. Still, the institutional authorities, and church leaders, are the ones who regulate the collective representation towards the public sphere – the wider society and other congregations. The caption of these religious rituals and events is only possible because such images frame mannerisms and behaviours that are socially accepted; collectively agreed norms as parts of protocols that attribute a certain solemnity to the contexts. Only what is 'permitted' is able to be recorded or 'encrypted' to the congregations' history since that is the image through which the congregation intends to represent itself[52]. An image in which social roles emanate a set of meanings according to the interlocutor and the context where it will be presented (Bourdieu and Bourdieu, (1965); a powerful gifted leader, a successful religious entrepreneur, a prosperous migrant, an active born-again Christian, all these roles captured in images become

[50] PO17, at 14/12/2013; and PO18, at 15/12/2013.
[51] For a broader understanding of such phenomenon, see Cazarin and Davila (2014)
[52] See FN7 and FN9 as examples of videos collected from the churches' audio-visual stock

part of a Pentecostal culture that travels through both continents informing fellows in the Diaspora.

3.4.2 The case of posters

While exploring the field I acknowledged that the promotion of the congregation vis-à-vis the public appeared to be particularly relevant through the use of posters and flyers found amongst migrant neighbourhoods. When looking for churches or any space configured for Pentecostal events, several were the cases in which ads and posters were seen attached to walls, windows and doors of ethnic shops frequented by African migrants in Bilbao. Particularly, by walking around the districts of Rekalde and Ibaiondo, announcements of African pastors visiting the city, new congregations being inaugurated, biblical seminars and church services can be easily spotted. In Johannesburg, posters and ads of churches compete for space under viaducts and lamp posts in the CBD area[53] and throughout the busiest points the city. In a country where Pentecostalism shows its presence in an ever growing number and variety of congregations it is evidenced that these religious spaces are not necessarily confined to one specific area. Yet with the churches observed being particularly those initiated by migrants, this material was also largely found around the suburbs of Yeoville and Rosettenville where the migrant population is concentrated.

The location of posters may indicate an overall perception of social dynamics in both urban spaces. If we allocate 'national' and migrant initiated Pentecostal churches in one group, clear differences in quantity and structure of congregations are observed between both cases. The (in)visibility of Pentecostals in Bilbao is way more limited to that of Johannesburg and such differences are analogous at a national level. Pentecostal churches and Pastors are significantly more exposed to the public space in the African cities and not necessarily perceived as a migratory outcome. Nevertheless, migrant initiated churches are still relegated to marginal areas and at this level their limited resources put them side- by-side to those observed in Spain. With scarce assets, church leaders from these congregations put efforts into audio-visual materials to reach a wider audience whereas posters are allocated to the surroundings. In a certain way, this approach coincides with the idea of leaders who 'know' their public which contrasts with their usual narratives of reaching everyone independently of cultural or ethnic background.

[53] Area mostly known for the acronym meaning Central Business District

The prototypical layout[54] is composed by the logo and name of the church as well as names of preachers and, eventually, famous musicians involved. Eventually, some specific gifts of the spirit are highlighted according to the rituals that will be part of the service such as healing, deliverance, focused prayers and advice of all sorts (family, finances, migration, etc.). As noted in the previous sections, the religious titles of preachers are also mentioned and imply a certain set of gifts and skills and expertise. The contact details of Pastors and ushers who organise such events are found together with addresses, themes framed and the pictures of the main figures are evidenced. If compared with posters from non-religious concerts or shows, the similitudes wouldn't be a coincidence; the Pentecostal aesthetics seem to be produced in a parallel to the field of entertainment events where artists – the preachers – are protagonists who often have guests to share the stage with them. Still the messages of the referred events are clearly linked to religious matters mostly inspired by the wonders of the Holy Ghost; in sum, those biblical subjects commonly related to the Pentecostal concern.

In this regard, the design of logotypes and names chosen for the congregations seemed to be inspired by the PC discursive approach on a borderless kingdom of God. Images of the earth and pictures alike are a caricature of the inherent global vocation of Pentecostalism. In addition, words like international, embassy, kingdom, reign and diplomat integrate the institutional representation towards the public. Either in Bilbao or Johannesburg, Europe or Africa, church leaders' meet in a 'half-way' amongst missions and visions, that of projecting the congregation worldwide even though these churches are mostly ignored by the wider society. Moreover, they put in evidence words that create a somewhat impacting emotional imagery calling the attention of a born-again or 'unsaved' observer. Fire, breakthrough, storm, strong, power and awakenings are not seen as simple words but carry a Pentecostal meaning, concepts that are embroidered into the fabric of emotionally-based narratives weaved into church activities.

[54] For more posters see the Appendix

Poster of African migrant initiated churches photographed in murals and walls, Bilbao and Johannesburg (top right) 2013/2014, personal archive

These posters hold the Charismatic speech on change and transformations that can be felt or perceived by living the experience of the announced services. The images on the background of the poster (behind the words) are aligned with the message portrayed by the main

protagonist(s) as well as the words. Although posters show static illustrations, Pastors' figures are often captured in a movement while talking or making a gesture; alternatively, they may indicate the idea of the seriousness, depth and sobriety of an erudite figure. Worshippers are portrayed as multitudes and also with a strong appeal to ecstatic states by images of people crying, praying with their eyes closed, hands and arms in imminent movement.

Regarding the social representation of roles, female and male figures are generally shown in separate spaces maintaining the notion of gender independence attached to the leading character. Despite Pastor's wives inheriting a certain status from the leading role through their relationship with a church leader, they are often entitled to have their own space in order for the church to reach the required facets of a typical Pentecostal congregation – fellowships of women, elders, youth, children. By showing them separately, women detach their figures from the general, the male dominance that is found in the Pentecostal *habitus.* However, such 'independent' roles are also contrasted by posters in which the leading couple is evoked as the head of the congregation. In both locations, depending on the message that is transmitted, Pastors and their wives appear together reproducing the essence of the Christian family; wife and husband united and leading transformations across amongst family issues and society. Since all respondents in leading positions were married, these pictorial variations were frequently observed in posters.

Bringing back the analytical traditions of John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (1972), posters are the materialisation of the speech community engendered simultaneously by a global culture of an African Pentecostalism and the local dynamics of congregations at a social level. A naturalised way of sharing knowledge, evidencing social status, roles and social relationships; a communication tool that speaks for the congregation as well as for other African Pentecostal fellows. Through these images, church leaders invite the observer to experience emotional states accessed by a Pentecostal 'stock of knowledge' and at the same time communicate its structures to the public; a taste of what it is may happen by showing what had already happened or is re-drawn from an African Pentecostal imaginary.

.

CHAPTER FOUR - Emotionally-based dynamics: the architecture of be(ing)-longing

Preamble

As per its formal definition, 'architecture' means (1) the structure or design of something; (2) the character or design of buildings. 'Belonging' is described as a '(1) secure relationship or affinity, (2) a feeling of being accepted'. While the first expression denotes the materiality, a tangible construct, it's undeniable that the second expression carries a certain immaterial nature, an emotional 'charge'. In the following chapter, I present an account on how the notion of belonging through the analysis of the organizational structures observed in both case studies. By acknowledging the social and cultural diversity in these spaces, the church is divided in groups where social roles are established in accordance to distinctive discourses (gender, healing, deliverance, age, etc.). Such institutional system perpetrate notions of belonging while articulated by emotionally-based dynamics where a somewhat 'layered integration' takes place. From this point, pastors promote PC narratives focused on particular social roles under the aegis of a Diasporic consciousness mediated by local and global dimensions.

4.1 A Sunday encounter

On a Sunday morning, most of the migrant initiated churches located in the districts of Rekalde and Ibaiondo are attended mainly, if not totally, by worshippers from Central and West Africa now settled in the city of Bilbao, north of Spain. If not for the worshipers holding bibles in their hands, and the faint noise coming from the services, one could barely tell that there were religious services actually taking place in those spaces. One by one, either dressed in traditional costumes or suits and elegant dresses, several worshippers would go into the old pavilions that were once the symbols of a flourishing era in the Spanish mining industry.

These districts (or neighbourhoods) are still mainly composed by warehouses, stockrooms and blocks of apartments which were once built for immigrant workers who came to the region from other parts of Spain to make a living. Nowadays, these neighbourhoods are also home for immigrants from outside the country who came to Bilbao with that same purpose. They chose the area especially due to the cost of living and the easy access to the city centre but, as mentioned by a Nigerian pastor, also because the previous neighbourhoods they had been in were disturbed by the noise of the church.

I had the opportunity to attend a few services, as a first time visitor. Right upon arrival, the ushers of the church receive the new visitor, normally, showing a big smile and a quite warm hand shake. For those who are in a foreign land, often exposed to the vicissitudes of social, cultural and linguistic differences, these warmth expressions are here easily interpreted as positive and welcoming attitudes, a sense of intimacy arises. Few reminiscences of a cold impersonal space are only perceived behind the colourful and shiny fabrics that cover the white walls. The name of the church, an eventual special theme for the service and the faces of the main figures are stamped in flyers and posters that can be obtained in the entrance. Biblical passages together with the mission and values of the church are written on the walls remarking the distinctive *ethos* of this institution within the Pentecostal worldview.

A pulpit is decorated with flowers but curiously with no icons on display, which meets the idea of an environment that only remarks the leading figure in that space: the pastor. This set-up seems to be (re)produced in a major or minor scale amongst four African migrant churches visited in the region. Once the congregation started to flow in, they were greeted with a compelling emotional atmosphere that seemed instantly to transport participants into a mood of joy. They joined in a swelling chorus of extempore prayer and praise, swaying, clapping, and smiling. Although presenting analogous structures, it's clear that each church is led by specific missions and values normally related to the pastor's spiritual gifts and personal background: miracles, translations, healing, visions, music, dancing, all that is orchestrated by leaders in relation to congregants' profiles. Yet the figure of the pastor pervades all church activities as a somewhat spiritual maestro who orchestrates biblical lessons, fellowships, marriage counselling, etc.

A similar scenario is observed eleven thousand kilometres from northern Spain, more specifically around the outskirts of Johannesburg. On the way to the church one could see a drastic change from the bustling commercial office blocks, and malls on the main road to the much quieter, 'heavy industry' offices and workshops along the winding road that finally led us to the church. The large poster that hung in the front of the church building stood out from the business sign posts along the street. The poster had modern pictures of various mundane scenes of people in contemplative gazes, listening to music, talking on a cellular phone and children watching a preacher on television, evidently the use of these images projected ideas of the modern, connected Christian that this church alluded to provide.

The building was typical of an industrial area which was an expected location for a Pentecostal church as far as it has been observed in the Spanish cases as well as in other experiences in Johannesburg. The steel crater like structure of the church darkened the main hall substantially, only a few beams of natural light made it in through cracks in between the black curtains that covered the walls. The arrangement of the space was familiar (reminiscent of basic elements of the Catholic Church) but with hints of a more abstract aesthetic. The alter like stage had a multi-coloured cubic installation evocative of the Picassian cubist movement, beside it were a number of music instruments and flowers decorating the space, a pulpit and in front of it rows of chairs.

4.2 Spatial interstices and organization: the integrative structures of a community

In the social sciences the conceptualization of nation, culture and society has been for long coined through the precepts of discontinuity with breaks, ruptures and disjunctions marking the differentiation of spaces, territories and places. Along this 'discontinuous way', theories of contact and conflict have been developed as well as described the diverse and ambiguous notions of belonging between cultures and societies (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). By looking to the world map or listening to the daily news it becomes clear how space and culture are marked by static divisions, frontiers that are mainly seen as interactive but not necessarily integrative. American movies, African dances, Thai food, Brazilian music, nation-state frontiers seem to simultaneously compose and be composed by cultures and societies in multiple forms.

However, as put by Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1992) such 'assumed isomorphism of space, place and culture' raises problematic points when for instance looking at those who live in between borders or in that 'narrow strip along steep edges'. Seasonal labourers, displaced groups, religious diasporas, etc., those who are continuously crossing borders or permanently settled in a different culture-space are often seen as not from 'here' while not entirely feeling from 'there' (Stephen Hunt, 2002). Either conformed by numerous or small numbers of individuals, their spaces of encounter often subsist in the interstices of the nation-sate 'legalised' reality, at the margins of wider society. Throughout neighbourhoods, churches, bars, restaurants, parks, migrant groups make ambiguous uses of space promoting a 'global ecumenism' (Hannerz, 1996), reinforcing cultural roots and reviewing its present relationship with the immediate surrounding.

For Hommi Bhabha (1998) 'it is in the emergence of the interstices - the overlap and displacement of domains of difference - that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' (p. 20). Yet, by combining religious, political or cultural symbols into new collective experiences, this *creolization* (see Cohen, 2007) of social spaces is often portrayed by the public sphere as too chaotic or emotional. However, what is abstracted at a first glance as subjective, unruly, or obscure realities can be also understood by its coherence and consistency. In this regard, migrant initiated churches may offer a distinctive account on the social dynamics of such interstitial spaces; marked by cognitive and emotional dispositions (Tankink, 2007) they create networks, institutional structures, transnational links and social support within the margins of wider society.

From an inclusive and exclusive worldview, Pentecostals set up a fertile land for the flourishing of social interstices and its fast growth in Africa as well as within the African Diaspora is a substantial evidence for that. As per its historical account, Pentecostalism has been intrinsically related to mobility, belonging and identity construction of minority groups and the presented cases in Johannesburg and Bilbao are selected illustrations of this relationship. Moreover, I suggest that the growth and influence of this religious movement at the global level, and particularly relevant amongst Africans, is fostered by a '*creolised modus operandi'* weaved in interstitial spaces.

This discursive *modus operandi* forges a distinctive social reality that invokes shared emotions and morals in everyday life guided by African and Pentecostal ethos and worldviews. From the 'right' way of educating children to the reinforcement or review of gender roles, conflicts and consonances are articulated with migrant's social surroundings; love, hope, stability, fear, and sufferance are just some of the emotional aspects involved in 'healing' social and familial bonds constantly threatened to be broken by a precarious environment. By the 'callings', visions and missions framed in pastors' narratives, spaces of encounter for negotiating morals, culture and identities integrate migrants in a new community.

As put by some church leaders, the novelty is not necessarily based on juxtaposing the ways of building the church in origin nor inventing a complete different strategy. Placed along the line of 'here' and 'there', these religious spaces integrate precarious circumstances with limited resources available, materially (amount collected in tithes, cost of rental and bills, media

equipment, etc.) and immaterially (church assistance, status in wider society, xenophobia, etc.). In this regard, Pastor Hector's interview revealed his views on the difficulties of initiating a church in South Africa in comparison to his home country, Nigeria. He stressed how Nigerian worshippers understand better the importance of a church and may offer all kinds of support to its establishment. In his words: 'It's easy to start a church in Nigeria, much easier. You are going to get the support, the community will support, people want to donate things but it's not that easy in South Africa'.

Yet, the discourse of innovation and hybridized approaches was framed by Pastors as outputs of what they have learnt throughout the migratory processes. Such 'innovative' perspective was for instance suggested by Pastor Ingrid who recalled the idea of 'civilisation' when explaining to me how origin and destination experiences are combined:

> Yes, there are some differences. When I went to Africa, I went to preach in our church and I also told them things that are good here which they have to apply. Everywhere we are in the world we must see something good in the place where you might not have that good thing. Maybe you are not seeing anything good but there are things and you pick them! Do you know the civilisation? You go and pick those good things and add it to your own and you will get richer than before. So I also took things from here (Bilbao) that are good and told them.[55]

However, within these spatial interstices 'the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical but profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable' (Bhabha, 1998: 20). In order to alleviate such dissonances, sermons, prayers, songs and testimonies reinterpret, relocate or divide problems into particular domains of worshippers' lives: individual, familial, social, local, global, etc. In doing so, migrant Pastors make sure that the experience of congregants in such marginal spaces must be powerful enough to involve the community in a transformational crusade in all aspects of their lives.

Through the development of narratives on evil spiritual battles, redemption and emotional regulation, these industrial pavilions, warehouses and office spaces turn out to be the main bridge to a spiritual land; this land is simultaneously the background scenario and the social-cultural utopia where worshippers are integrated under the guidance of a body of preachers. Each Sunday service, fellowship encounter, prayer group session, is organised around the

[55] RV3

dissemination of a Pentecostal ethos and worldview often portraying migratory issues. Still the life changes longed by worshippers can only happen after systematic commitment with learning and practicing the word of God through the church.

4.2.1 The organizational scheme: micro-diversity and layered integration

> The first preaching we should make it in French and somebody will interpret it to English. Then it will pass and the pray is in English with translation to Suthus, so everybody can feel at home
>
> Pastor Steven (DRC) in Johannesburg

The development of multiple tasks is carried out by Pastors and other leading figures within an equally specialized structure of groups. In both case studies, the division of the church into groups often present similar cohort variables such as gender, age and spiritual gifts associated to individuals. Although there was not a significant variation on the scale of the churches observed (i.e. building dimensions and number of attendants), the role of these groups within the organizational structure presented the same relevance. While teaching worshippers African Pentecostal values, the breakdown of the church community into assemblies provides a specialised social capital for worshippers. Whereas each group (re)produce its Christian role in the community (mother, father, youth, man, women, elder, etc.), everyday experiences and problem-solving situations, identity traits and emotional dispositions are exchanged amongst members.

In this way, generational and gender roles seem to determinate important marks in such divisions but also distinctive skills acquired or offered by worshippers indicate their integration into respective groups such as prayer, music or protocol. Still, conjugal and family matters were addressed as church leaders and attendants main concerns discussed in the fellowships. Similarly to what was described by other church leaders, Pastor Ellis gives a general account on the gendered and generational groups in relation to their purposes:

> The men is to let them know how to live as a married man. When you are married there are principles you need to follow. The principles of Christ you need to follow. The organization of women is to teach them how to live as a married woman. What do they need to do and the responsibility as a Christian married woman. The youth you teach them what to do as a youth and the life they need to live, the kind of lifestyle you need to live as a Christian. That's why these groups are organized; for them to know their part to play as a Christian.

In addition to these fellowships the existence of an 'elders' group was also underlined. However, more than an assembly of elder fellows such group attributes a certain status to the individual in the congregation. An elder is not a simple worshipper as an adult woman or a young boy can be but a wise worshiper that may often preach in determinate services and church activities. Moreover, such organizational 'layers' within Pentecostal-Charismatic congregations not only appeared to be oriented towards the several roles of Christians no matter where they settle but also attained to social values and moral codes in amplified notions of origin; that is being African and Christian, together or separately. In other words, considering the variety of ethnic backgrounds, nationalities, languages, Pastors deal with a cultural diversity in the church space that seems to be englobed by Africanized Christian roles worked in the groups.

When located in Bilbao, values and morals are articulated under the auspices of stereotyped European and African 'forms of being'. In several occasions, pastors have stressed what means to be a 'real African men', or opposed a 'we' Africans to a 'them' Europeans. In Johannesburg cases the premises for comparison were linked to a secularised African society in comparison to more traditional counter-parts. Still, the notion of hybridization of cultures combining origin and destination experiences mentioned by Pastor Ingrid in Bilbao was not evident in Johannesburg. Instead, the wider society[56] was broadly framed as violent, xenophobic, inefficient and materialist whereas its positive points were mostly related to work, educational and business opportunities.

As noted by Loren Landau (2009: 5) religion is able to bind communities in a stable way and at the same time defines them by offering channels of inclusion and mechanisms of exclusion. Moreover, it's when dealing with unbelievers or other believers' new arrivals that religion's ability to enhance cohesion and resistance is particularly verified *(ibid.)*. By recalling what Friederick Barth (1969) had suggested in previous studies, the author explains:

> '(…) engagements of different proto-groups can invest subjective and ascriptive markers with the necessary value to generate mutually understood (and felt) forms of

[56] By wider society I mean Basques, South Africans, non-congregants or other migrant groups. However, it is acknowledged that a 'wider society' is not a unified construct by which social and cultural recognition amongst its members is monolithic. For our purpose, the notions of 'host' or 'wider societies' are just discursive efforts to frame 'otherness' along the social construction of 'us'.

> difference and solidarity. In as much as religion serves to mark and define other forms of identity, it too plays a critical role in these interactions. (Landau 2009: 5)

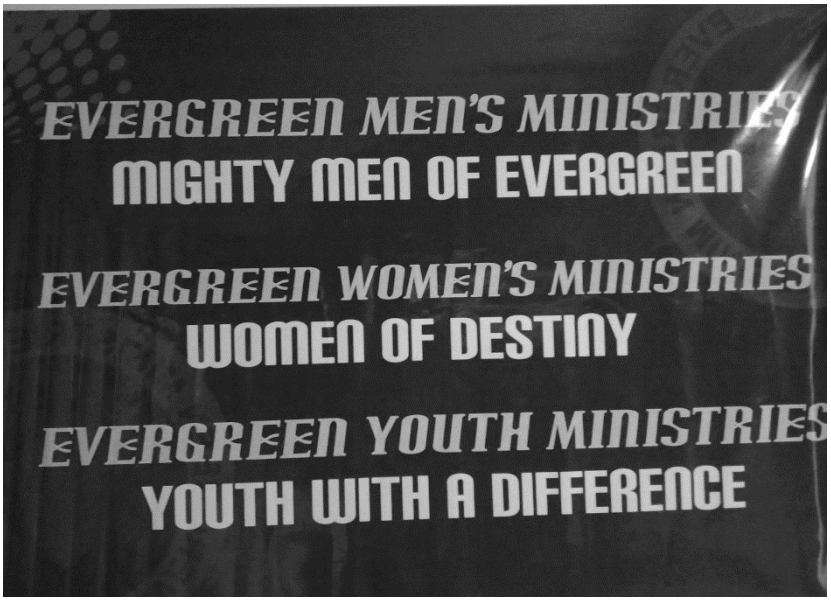
Moreover, Landau's work point out that religious organisations are capable to bridge host and migrant's communities as well as may offer a fertile ground to preserve 'a touch of the familiar amidst an identifiable other' (ibid.). In the churches observed, the micro-diversity within an interstitial space in relation to the super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) of migrant's neighbourhoods and cities involved[57] is 'stabilised' through 'layered social channels' while working their respective Christian roles. Belonging to the religious community requires not only a compromise with worshipping but also with a related group of affinities previously defined by the organizational structure.

The process of 'group breakdown' enhance as well as multiply the opportunities for migrants to develop a sense of belonging amongst those who resonate similar migratory struggles not only in the community of reference but also in other African PC congregation. It's not surprising, for instance, to participate in encounters of fellowships within church networks or even to attend a fellowship outside the organisation environment of the church. As illustrated by Pastor Emmet in Johannesburg, for instance, it was through the students fellowship at the University he attended that he was progressively introduced to the world of preaching: 'We got into the fellowships and we got to know so many things that we didn't know ad got exposed to Pentecostal preachers, and then the more we knew, the more our mind opened up the more I've found myself preaching more, talking to more people.', affirmed the Pastor.

In a similar experience, I attended the youth fellowship of Pastor Daniel's congregation where we were supposed to visit the youth fellowship of another church. That intergroup reunion was my first experience outside the church I was observing back then and introduced me a different congregation. The same logic was observed in interdenominational Women's or Men's conferences[58] attended by me in the following years where usually fellowships from other churches are invited.

[57] The idea of super-diversity attached to migrant's neighbourhoods would be mainly associated to the Spanish case and inspired by a growing literature of this concept framing the inner city of Johannesburg (see Mbembe, 2004)

[58] The content and logics of networking and institutional activities will be better explained in Chapter five.



Fellowships in a Nigerian-led church in Johannesburg, 2013, personal archive

By selectively amplifying and reducing culture into Africanized Christian roles, values and morals involved become the stabilising variables for binding individuals while forging a new culture. 'Integrity is the father of dignity' said Apostle Daniel in one of his Sunday service' speeches summarizing what was a usual subject of discussion during several encounters observed by me. This concern with integrity and dignity was constantly addressed to face existing cases of worshippers related to negative matters such as prostitution, crime or begging in the streets. Although the Sunday service preaching allocate the most important happenings of the past days and matters to be reflect in the immediate future, weekly fellowships relocate these subjects by reviewing specific practices of their fellows.

In the case of gendered fellowships, the values of dignity and integrity illustrate these top-down and bottom-up approaches: when stressed by women fellowships, these values are pursued in order to avoid rumours of prostitution or the sacrilege of rupturing with family traditions; for men fellowships, the same values are threatened when a fellow (co-national, African, or from the church community) is caught begging in the streets. These thematic group discussions are then reintegrated to the community by Pastors during main celebrations, especially Sunday services where the assemblies are dissolved into general worshippers.

It is also highlighted that not only intra-group issues are discussed but also inter-group[59] conflicts are unveiled making explicit their exposure to threats and instabilities of Christian everyday life. In contrast to the interviews, Sunday service discourses were less dedicated to cultural comparisons and more about empowering worshippers in coping with day to day life; a statement of Apostle Daniel, for instance, mentions that 'One of the stages of the life of a Christian is to be fulfilled or empowered by the Holy Spirit with courage, confidence, boldness, abilities and authority'. In sum, while focusing in determinate emotions, aspects of personality and weaving a distinctive ethos, church leaders alleviate the cultural differences perceived amongst migrant groups attending the same congregation. As I have argued in this section, from its interstitial space and along the ups and downs of 'here' and 'there', migrant initiated PC churches make sure that attendants are re-socialised into this new and 'stabilised' community.

4.2.2 Forging an emotional regime

As argued in the past sections, the architecture a PC congregation is not only a mediator of the institutional *apparatus* but it has a strong relationship with integrating of migrants into the PC modus operandi, the church community and wider society. From the assistance of weekly Sunday encounters, fellowships or bible schools to the establishment of relationships with migrants of other congregations, the interstitial space expands towards an interstitial network. However, the development of religious links and organizational structures cannot rely exclusively over a functional demand; they are designed with, and by the significance of the experiences lived in such places. With fellowships being carried out in garages, PC conferences in offices or church services in warehouses, these encounters are only sustainable across time if individuals are emotionally connected with the lived experience; in other words, under the auspices of a shared emotional regime.

In consonance with this notion, Randall Collins (2005) explains that the maintenance of collective rituals is greatly influenced by an emotional mood shared by individuals which is able to either crack or establish meaningful religious experiences. The author takes both the durkheimnian concept of 'sacrality' and the goffmanian ritual chains of interaction to point out four necessary 'ingredients' for a successful or failed collective rites. The first would be the

[59] By inter group, it is understood between different congregations and the wider society.

physical/body presence of one or more participants, or a 'situational copresence'; as it follows, the physical copresence becomes converted into a full-scale encounter by becoming a '*focused interaction*' on specific symbols or events; furthermore, the peer pressure to maintain social solidarity and a shared 'emotional mood' play a relevant part in signifying rituals. The author follows by explaining that traditional formalities are not essential to rites since it mainly helps to maintain the group focused in reproducing a determinate activity or, in a reference to Durkheim (1912/1965)'echoing the same voice'.

However, it's the last aspect, a shared emotional mood, which is argued to distinguish some rituals amongst others. When a certain emotional regime is cultivated and individuals are found to be in 'tune' with it, the community is reinforced by its dimensions or even expanded towards those who meet similar experiences. In sum, Randal Collins (2004) explains:

> The central mechanism of interaction ritual theory is that occasions that combine a high degree of mutual focus of attention, that is, a high degree of intersubjectivity, together with a high degree of emotional entrainment – through bodily synchronization, mutual arousal of participants' nervous systems – result in feelings of membership that are attached to cognitive symbols; and result also in the emotional energy of individual participants, giving them feelings of confidence, enthusiasm, and desire for action in what they consider a morally proper path. These moments of high degree of ritual intensity are high points of experience. They are high points of collective experience, the key moments of history, the times when significant things happen. These are moments that tear up old social structures or leave them behind, and shape new social structures

Collins' association between emotions and social structure is also illustrated by Olee Riis & Lind Woodhead's (2010) when pointing out that those in dependent positions are more often expected to demonstrate humility, fear, gratitude, and obedience; in the same manner, racial, status, class and gender matters are important formative components of such regimes. As I suggested in Chapter One, the idea of emotional regimes is central in this thesis by its integrative role exerted in PC experiences throughout migratory processes. Moreover, it's upon the exceptionality of such spaces and networks, that an amalgam of subjects, conflicts and claims forges the emotional ground that bind African PC fellows around the world.

As highlighted within organizational dynamics, such emotional regime interacts with past and present experiences of worshippers' migratory journeys while framed by church leaders' discourses. As put by Olee Riis & Linda Woodhead (*ibid.*), such regimes hold emotional patterns across space and time either echoing individuals' experiences and by times reacting to

them; as a inherent aspects of rituals, these regimes are equally influent in the restoring the sense of social order (Durkheim, 1912/1965); furthermore, whatever operates on the large scale, can also be found in the small (Goffman, E, 1967).

Such phenomenon can be illustrated, for instance, by contrasting emotions narrated by interviewees during their migration journeys with the discourses pronounced by these leaders in church services. While the former may imply the living of religious experiences as individuals (migrant worshippers) with a diachronic approach, the latter is marked by a more synchronised discourse that enforces an emotional pattern. In other words, a personalised framework allows migrants (church leaders) a certain reaction to the emotional regime that is later retransmitted in a 'collective' and more consistent version. By offering to order emotional lives not just differently, but in accordance with a truer, more foundational, more satisfying pattern, religion proposes a new structuring of relationships and with it an emotional restructuring (Riis & Woodhead, 2010)

In this regard, Sister Ellen's experience with powerful prayers led her way to lead the women's fellowship as well preaching the word of God in church services. Ellen presented to me her account on how spirituality has shaped her the decision to remain in South Africa even with all the difficulties faced during all this time.

> South Africa in that time, 2002, was not easy you know! It was not easy! When I came, from the first day, I saw so many things that I got scared. I thought to myself that I should go back to Congo but it was not depending on me. Since I like to be with God I started to pray by night and God said 'No, you have a mission to accomplish here. You have to wait.' This is why today I'm still here.

Her confidence on presenting the fruitful outputs of a close relationship to God is similarly observed when preaching in a church service record[60]. However, her preach on receiving blesses out from obedience to God and openness to the Holy Ghost were transmitted with a convincing coherence that contrasted with her personal account in the same matter. Either way the emotional mood abstracted form her discourse seemed to be particularly encouraging towards interlocutors' responses of resilience and boldness. Frustration, pain, and anger were then transformed into love and hope to face everyday life. The service ended with songs reaffirming trust, joy, confidence, and pride; an emotional range inspired by her personal

[60] FN4 and FN8

experience with God but reworked in consonance with the main PC narratives on the benefits of the spirit.

In the same manner, Apostle Daniel told me that his speciality on Demonology circumscribes his preaching to the notions of fear and evils, threats that may affect one's life which by following the Christian ethos could be avoided. Daniel's case is marked by his long experience as a church leader in comparison to Ellen's trajectory and the religious views along his migratory process were presented in a less conflictive or ambiguous way. Yet, he is also the founder of the church and holds a more formalised theological knowledge which I believed had a significant influence in his biographical account as well as in the 'retransmission' of an emotional regime. Daniel's perpetrate striking discourses on effective 'tracking' strategies of evil threats that characterises most of his church services.

If we look at both styles of approach, a bottom-up comparison indicates that the forging of such regime is developed under the aegis of major narratives within the PC worldview. By highlighting his vocational trajectory Apostle Daniel narrates a more condensed life story presenting arguments that are closer to the mainstream PC narratives of inter/intra group evils and threats to the *status quo*. Sister Ellen's leading role is marked by coping with migratory matters and self-taught theology which orientates her framework towards overcoming obstacles and bringing hope. Preacher's theological framework for interpreting the emotional fluctuations along their migratory processes seems to (re)produce a Pentecostal-Charismatic emotional regime; a set of emotionally-based discourses inspired by distinctive emotions – repentance, redemption, fear, courage, hope, love, etc – verified in most PC narratives.

A parallel with these arguments can be made through the work of Ole Riis and Linda Woodhead (2010). The authors illustrated two cases of evangelical congregations in which perceived emotional scales were characterised by different core emotions. On the one hand, sorrow was seen as the dominant note while the forgiving of sins presented relief and gratitude as its counterpoint. On the other, joy was framed as a core emotion with repentance as its counterpart. As highlighted which in terms of its teachings was virtually identical, had a scale in which joy was the dominant note and repentance its counterpoint.

It is abstracted by preacher's discourses in personalised interactions or group encounters as well as along the several church dynamics that an emotional regime is engendered during each

encounter. The views transmitted by the leader interact with those of congregants but not only in a communal scale. Individual experiences lived as migrants and worshippers may also shape the construction of emotional regimes. The emotional transcendence of some church encounters allows people rework quotidian emotional pressures and 'enter a familiar space in which few explicit emotional demands were made, yet which nevertheless served to reinforce and anchor a distinctive sensibility' (Riis & Woodhead, 2010: 19). In spite of Pastors' ability to foster certain 'collective moods' during rituals, an African and PC emotional regime is the point of inflexion amidst dissonances caused by individual, communal or contextual variables.

4.3 The rise of a diasporic consciousness

Moreover, migratory journeys are as plural as individuals and contexts involved where a compendium of aspects such as national background, religion, class, race, citizenship or legal status may indicate different degrees of social cohesion. The influence of each aspect is mediated by constraints and opportunities often shaped by migration policies that can help to 'glue' or 'break' social bonds of the minorities involved. In this regard, Robin Cohen's work 'Diasporas' (Clifford, 1997: 3) gives an extensive account on the importance of understanding the subject by acknowledging its contemporary nuances. The author introduces the book by stating that:

> The assumption that minorities and migrants will demonstrate an exclusive loyalty to the nation-state is now questionable. Scholars of nationalism, international migration and ethnic relations need new conceptual maps and fresh case studies to understand the growth of complex transnational identities.

Moreover, Cohen rescues the 'old' notion of Diaspora through the examination of transnational bonds that are 'no longer cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims'. In a modern world that deals with cyberspaces, mass media and multinationals, a diaspora can subsist or be reinforced and renewed through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination' (Cohen, 1997: 516) Likewise, James Clifford (1997) goes beyond the notion of real or symbolic ancestral homes in traditional Diasporas and explores its transnational core at the emotional ground; the author suggests that 'Diaspora consciousness lives loss and hope as a defining tension' (312). Yet, he explains that 'shared histories of continuous displacement, suffering, adaptation and resistance can be as important as the projection of a specific home land' (1997: 285-286).

In this regard, the dynamics of structural exclusion faced by religious minorities can also reinforce or help to establish a common idea of diasporic consciousness (ibid.; Levitt, 2001). By facing multiple experiences of marginalization in different contexts, Diasporic communities (re)produce continuous and changing representations that offer a framework of 'imaginary coherence' for a set of malleable identities (Hall, 1990). Still, the idea of a Diaspora consciousness is relatively new in migration studies. As described by Vertovec (1999), it is built as a variety of experience, a state of mind and sense of identity particularly marked by a dual or paradoxical nature. On the one hand, experiences of discrimination and exclusion conform shared 'pathogens of poverty'(Chesnut, 1997) as well as collective responses on class and inequality[61]. On the other hand, the positive identification with a historical heritage transformed by contemporary forces help to construct allegiance under the auspices of an imagined community (Anderson, 2003).

The notion of diaspora consciousness seems to be useful on understanding African Pentecostalism if we consider that experiencing Pentecostalism and African features are also possible from a decentralised, psychosocial and cognitive point of view. Hence, Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2007: 4) suggests that the popularity of PC churches amongst African resides in successfully matching core features of both constructs:

> Christians in Africa have found the categories of power, dominion and alleviation of suffering by the power of the Spirit relevant in the general struggle with fears and insecurities within a universe in which supernatural evil is considered hyperactive. Thus, classical Pentecostal spirituality, including its contemporary neo-Pentecostal or charismatic forms, is popular in Africa because its interpretation of and responses to evil are continuous with traditional religious ideas in which evil is believed to be mystically caused. In this worldview, belief and experience always belong together.

From the author's perspective, the juxtaposition of geo-cultural (Africa) and religious (Christianity) worldviews engenders a powerful bridge between belief and experience; two dimensions that carry within emotionally-based dynamics of belonging. This emotional 'melting pot' defragments ecstatic concepts of culture, nation-state and ethnicity into comprehensive and fluid identity marks like Christianity or 'African'. The narratives of Pentecostal Christianity frames never-ending battle of evil and good spirits, flesh and soul; a human materially-like world constantly shaped by ones' decisions that take as reference an idyllic land, the kingdom of god (Corten & Marshall, 2001: 5). Similarly, African narratives of

[61] See also Chesnut (2003)

social economic deprivations, systemic violence, and sufferings of the real world are counter-balanced by an African scenario of stable family and moral values, strength and resilience (*ibid*.).

Furthermore, it called my attention that despite of their 'ruling' styles, church leader's narratives tended to float around a particular set of emotions. Such emotional range involved longings, fears, stability and control on one side counter-balanced by love, joy, hope and happiness on the other. Hence, the framing of the former often appears to be the starting point of the arguments discussed throughout the services. Sufferings, pain, illness, darkness, the threats presented from evil forces seem to conform a common ground for these Christian migrants. United by the struggles against systematic inequalities, violence and xenophobia, the sorrows and pleads mentioned in prayers were dramatically expressed as this-worldly burdens only alleviated for those who seek the kingdom of God; an utopia where worshippers can feel the security and stability out of a broken reality.

In sum, such extensively inclusive geo-cultural and religious identity marks mediate a sense of belonging amongst migrant believers by establishing a common emotional ground, a delocalised scenario orchestrated by preachers. During this process, born-agains are encouraged to reframe migratory vicissitudes with a somewhat Pentecostal emotional codification. Certain ways of transposing feelings, senses and cognitive perceptions of the surroundings throughout migration processes. From this scenario, I highlight in the following sections some particular nuances that engender a 'diasporic consciousness' where emotions play a constitutive part. An amalgam of African and PC discursive approaches towards communal, family and cultural constructs that help to glue (as well as break) identities' bonds. In this way, it is argued that an African PC emotional ground remains as a collective reference constantly accessed during church activities.

4.3.1 Ancestral curse, race and ethnicity

A current theme abstracted in this fieldwork was the rejection of African traditions and ancestries within the church leader's speeches, preaching and prayers. Still, the relationship between Christianity and other beliefs' systems has been ambiguous throughout the history as well as its praxis has been often suffered a variety of social and cultural appropriations along the times. In the case of Pentecostals, the 'foundational trait' relies on the bible's New Testament as the one and only truth to be evangelised. Nevertheless, the social-anthropological

account on the PC movement in Africa shows how Charismatic Christians developed a variety of interpretations that culminated in different 'ways of doing church' (Anderson, 2001; Kalu, 2003)

In the Chapter two, some of these ways were examined through the historical account of Pentecostalism in Africa: the Aladura church in Nigeria (Peel, 1980), Kimbaguists in DRC (Ndung'u, 2009), African Independent Churches (Meyer, 2004) and Zionists all over African are just some examples noted[62]. However, from traditional beliefs to Charismatics, the dominant discourse of Pentecostals in the continent represents a challenge on the coexistence of these various religious forms. As put by Birgit Meyer (*ibid.*), it would be too simple to assume that PC churches as the newest from of Christianity revealed have just replaced the others in the African context (2004: 448). The author offers an alternative approach in which the emergence of PC churches is seen as the newest form appropriating Christianity in Africa (*ibid.*).

From the similarities observed within PC churches' organizational structures in Johannesburg and Bilbao the rejection of Africa traditional cosmologies was also shared at heart of leader's discourses in every community observed. Considering the ethno-cultural diversity presented in the churches as well as the popular narratives of converted/born-again Christians, the African marker is perhaps the most coherent construct shared by worshippers. This identification with modern (Christian) Africanity by rejection to traditional (indigenous) Africanities can be unfolded in at least three perspectives: (1) Amongst the several forms of evils and threats affecting one's everyday life, the common enemy of having African ancestors appears to hold a unique feeling of unity amongst migrants. Hence, (2) within this geo-cultural reference it is also implied the universalisation 'blackness' and its racialized nuances upon moral, values and behaviours. Finally, (3) language and ethnicity are related to the previous aspects both as circumstantial markers of differentiation and identity.

These three points are articulated in preachers' narratives by what it seems to be a Weberian process of elective affinity that portrays tradition and modernity with several paradoxes. In this regard, Paul Freston's (2001) shows that either adopting pan-Protestant identities or

[62] In this regard, an interesting approach was made by Birgit Meyer (2004) who details the social and historical circumstances in which PC churches and AICs have developed throughout the continent..

indigenized versions of the Pentecostal cosmology a meso-approach to Pentecostalism reveals that power is intimately related to the adoption of a 'strong elective affinity to triumphalistic neo-liberal capitalism' (Freston *apud* Vasquez, 2003: 4). In our cases, the claims of Africanity and 'blackness' as well as the uses given to ethnicity and language are negotiated in a meso-approach between local strategies and global inclusion. Moreover, the *meso* negotiation of such perspectives appear to play a constitutive role in the conformation of a pan-African PC delocalised identity, therefore, giving room for the notion of a Diaspora consciousness.

Inflicting fear or an awareness of the occult, for instance, was a common thread when dealing with ancestors of African traditions. In several occasions I was told of the consequences of such curse in one's life: night visits of shadows, sudden deaths, illnesses, miscarriage of pregnant women and poverty or violence as 'spiritual bondages'; all that was portrayed by pastors as evil outputs of those whose ascendants carried out rituals of African traditions. In some sort of chronological chain, African worshippers elsewhere are threatened either by known or unknown relations with indigenous traditions. Prophetess Ingrid narrated the consequences of this perilous common ground that is able to particularly affect Africans all over the world:

> There are some acts that our parents impose on us like those things connected with fetish or pacts with Satan and Satan asks something in return. You can sacrifice a whole generation and say "give me the power, give me the money, I sacrifice four generations on my descendants". And the children who are born on the second or third generation are sacrifice by their grandparents who made a pact with Satan. And the person forgets about the consequences. When the person goes to ask for these powers they will also sacrifice all their children that will bear in a generation. They will not get married for example or they will not be able to have children

Furthermore, a social-individual awareness towards the occult was also presented on Pastor's biblical ontological description of evil in the world. Here, evils are not only circumscribed to the Africa curse but are globally spread since the beginning of times. As similar logic was detailed by Pastor Kando who presented to me the genesis of a spiritual battle that started when God pushed the Devil out of heaven. During his fall the Devil brought evil to every corner of the earth. Still according to Kando this anecdote must also be understood together with the Christian idea of the original sin marked by Adam and Eve's betrayal. The combination of both biblical narratives resonates into the global exposure of Christians on imminent threats and established evils. In relation to that, the African ancestrality mentioned by Ingrid is seen as an *ad hoc* risk, an added stressor that makes the situation of African-born worshippers distinctive

if compared to others. It is precisely because of this timeless 'curse', or at least the exposure to this risk, that Africans altogether are set to be specially committed with the Holy Ghost.

A closer look at the emotional dynamics engendered within these theological perspectives seems to unveil the role of feelings and sentiments in the establishment of social allegiance. While contextualised evils interpreted along migratory vicissitudes may show particularised universalities of the PC worldview, the distinctive universal particularities such as Africanity and blackness indicate the other face of a similar process. In this regard, Sister Francoise who organises the women's fellowship of Congolese church in Johannesburg gives her perspective on the dynamics of race and culture in relation to a neighbouring Christian church attended by white people:

> There is a different way of making the prayers because the whites, in their homes… well, I know that there are white people who are also poor; but it's not like the Africans. When the Africans have to pray to God they also have to consider things like poverty, illnesses, problems for paying the school fee and for the whites this is something difficult to happen. Often these things happen in our homes so that's why we pray so much (…) you need to see that people who have many difficulties are those who generally pray a lot. That's why we claim to God: 'Please help me, help me, I don't want to stay in this situation'. If you are really sincere then God will respond. For instance, in a white people church if you are a woman and you are not married you at least have a job and a car but we (African women) who have children as well as those who are older and are not married, we don't have good jobs, cars, etc., so we need to pray a lot for these things.

Likewise, several were the mentions of a necessary break through freedom as a response for those who are 'known' for being always in sufferance or predestined to be marginalized. Freedom from these evil feelings and circumstances seemed to be a shared goal but the difficulties faced by African migrants are then adapted to each reality. For Pastor Eddy who is from DRC and preached at different congregations in Bilbao, the vicissitudes faced by some congregants were caused by a low level of spirituality or a life dominated by the demons of immorality.

> There are all sorts of demons. When you look at Africa and you look at here, basing myself in deliverance, I used to say that in Europe there is this demon of immorality making people to walk in immorality but they find it normal and maybe if I go to Africa they say that there is this demon of witchcraft. (…) So when people get here they automatically are under the control of those demons that are controlling this environment and make many people to become cold in serving God and other people are here to look for money so they forget all these things. But if someone was really

> born again in Africa, when he comes here he will continue the same. But that is a fact that the way people serve God in Africa here is different.

In this case, the adversities faced by worshippers are related to a change of moral values instead of a racial condition; the exposure to demons is a threat that affects the souls of worshippers worldwide although the context dictates the outcomes that will affect their flesh (everyday life) as well as their religious experiences. The South African case exposes the ontology of structural racial inequality faced in that country which is the used to reinforce the need of a meaningful spiritual experience often measured by its emotional arousal. Alternatively, the Spanish context is marked by its carnal and individualised expressions of a more material being, the 'European demon', which reflects a 'cold' relationship with God.

In this regard, Hunt (2000) presents the case of African churches in British society where members are distanced from the undesired aspects once pointed out to other migrants (specifically other African migrants who are not engaged in the churches) and wider society considered as bad influences; inspired by the pastors' words, the community often flags up their 'differentness' showing a more self-esteemed version in comparison to a 'cursed' and 'chaotic' past society they once belonged in Africa. Actions, behaviours or practices in the past that are characterised by African traditional features must be now rejected in order to achieve a new life in the kingdom of God. In Hunt's perspective, the British society and the African heritages are used either as holder of important desirable values or destructive undesirable influences.

Discourses abstracted from leaders in both cases underlined Africa with desirable and undesirable features and the same dualism was articulated regards blackness. Such discourses apprehended during interviews were better understood when contrasted with the preaching and speeches given in church services. Contrasting narratives in these different momentum helped to unfold the elective affinity described by Paul Freston (2001) into individual and collective-oriented discourses well as identify the emotions involved in both levels. Furthermore, no matter where they settle, a discursive adjustment in church activities is developed by evoking familiar idiosyncrasies and mediating identity markers through the particular or the universal to coherently accommodate the PC worldview.

4.3.2 Breaking-open: spiritual battle and delocalised evils

Perhaps one of the most distinctive aspects within the PC worldview is the idea of being born-again, a moment where individuals must take a conscious choice of stepping in the way of righteousness and salvation. Yet this process marks not only a religious conversion towards new morals and behaviours. It also represents a transformation of biographical accounts as well as one's integration into a modern spirituality that is contemporaneous to actual models of consumerism, media and political engagement (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000; *cf.* Van der Veer, 1996). Beyond the establishment of life as a continuous course of combined traditions, the born-again conforms to the temporal sense of modernity by focusing on 'an elusive present that has to be renewed continuously by breaking with the past and are to draw normativity from the present' (Habermas, 1986 *apud* Meyer, 1998: 2).

As described in the previous section, the construction of a certain collective consciousness based on race, Africanity and the rejection of tradition implies a break with old forms of being. Different authors pointed out that the process of breaking with the past has been developed in different ways within African Pentecostalism. In this regard, Birgit Meyer's (Meyer, 1998) work deeply explored the complete break with the past promoted by Ghanain Pentecostalism by constantly mentioning the evils caused by the ancestors. In addition, Meyer stresses on how 'the notion of rupture only becomes meaningful, because it urges people to remember what links them with their past in order to forget.' (*ibid*; see also Núñez, 2015). Alternatively, Van Djik (1998) experience with the Abdwa Mwatsopano Pentecostal movement in Malawi presents a total refusal on matters of the past in a form of 'cultural amnesia'.

Breaking with the past in the cases observed was usually illustrated by rejecting all a set of generalised group characteristics seen as aligned with a non-Christian world. This goes from all sorts of 'African traditions' or ethnic practices, (witchcraft, polytheistic beliefs, traditional rituals, etc.) to immoral behaviours and an overly-material life; moreover, it may also imply the break with family and social relationships often related to marriages between born-again Christians whose families are non-Christian or religiously discordant. This separation is evidenced in Pastor Ray's view as it follows:

> All the people god blessed have separated them or from the land, form their own activity, from a relative. God cannot give you something if he sees that blessing he gave you is running risk to be lost in that environment. There is a need of separation and that

> separation is not only for the life but there is some separation god allows you to be separated to become strong.

In spite of engendering group divisions or even individual isolation as an extreme, the deep engagement of a born-again with church activities and the community of worshippers from one or a network of churches also bring new relationships. Hence, it is imperative that migratory process are responsible for damaging or weakening relationship ties. In such circumstances one's conversion means also being welcomed into a new community where new opportunities for social, sentimental or professional ties are offered. Moreover, the expectations on these ties are characterised by the reliable nature of their source: the bible and the pastor; in what is described by scholars as well as informants as contexts of mistrust, inter-ethic competence and informality, migrants expect to find in church 'safer' relationships.

In this regard, the opening to a new form of being also seems to play an important part in the operationalisation of the born-again process. The idea of shutting the doors of the past and starting from a new life would miss to grasp the phenomenological construction of the present by acknowledging the past (Núñez, 2015). Furthermore, I suggest that by sharing such experiences of 'openness' in constant negotiation with the past, born-agains find an emotional field to belonging. A Diasporic consciousness arises from a landscape of sufferings and darkness as well as towards the realm of light and security. Interpreted elsewhere as a breaking-open (Van Dijk & Blanes, 2014) such dynamic orientates migrants towards a new account on the development social allegiance, self-awareness and collective identity in relation to the wider society.

The powerful nature of this transformational process is particularly demonstrated during deliverance practices. Deliverance can be illustrated as repertoire of tasks, teachings and activities, a praxis that involves emotional experiences that break into tangible changes in one's life. Such compendium of psychosocial inputs and outputs presents its most visible part in both the intimate lives of individuals as well as the most prominent aspect of public performance and recognition. Moreover, it is also represents a crucial proof of the divine power through the guiding of church leaders in which radical changes in a born-again life will confirm the effectiveness of actors involved.

While the process of deliverance itself will be better explained in the next chapter, it is evidenced that such praxis is a distinctive mark for the social-individual closure and openness aforementioned. Namely, it mediates 'the past of engagement with ancestral, generational and demonic powers' and 'a disclosing of what was hidden, concealed and obscured in the powers that were controlling the person's life' (Van Dijk & Blanes, 2014). By its turn, this process is inherently focused on the individual and it is the foundational pillar of an intimate relationship between god and the worshipper. From this point, the believer must acquire a level of self-awareness towards the spiritual battle of flesh and soul with the consequences associated: illness, healing, curses, blessings, faillures, success, etc.

In this regard, Ogbu Kalu (2002) and Agrippa Khathide (2003) present interesting descriptions on how the individualisation process of Pentecostalism is adjusted by an African worldview. These works explain the uniqueness of deliverance processes operated by African Pentecostals which contributes to shared notions of agency. Likewise, Opoku Onyinah (2002) shows how worldviews may interact in Africa when deliverance is understood in terms of an alternate worldview positioning the 'deliverer' as a somewhat Christian shaman. By comparison, church leaders and worshippers are attributed individually with the power of the Holy Ghost in order to conduct or be conducted towards the desired blessings.

In a parallel with such insights, the work of Robert Thornton (2014) on the material logic of evil in southern African cultural systems illustrates how the individual understood as an 'augmented self' is responsible for inflicting and receiving evilness in its forms. The author explains:

> While social gatherings the focused on ritual performance might be called a 'congregation', in southern African context the very notion of a set of people all of whom are beneficiaries of a magical, ritual or sacred intervention of any kind is simply unthinkable. All such gatherings focus entirely on 'healing' or benefication of only one person at a time. In trance dances, and healing ceremonies involving dance and drumming – that is, the essence and central meaning of 'ngoma' – it is the supplicant, the sufferer, the patient or client that receive the power (emandla) of the ceremony – or 'work', sebento. (Thornton, 2014: 8)

Although a number of considerations must be made when comparing such notions on certain logics of these African cultural systems and the Pentecostal *modus operandi,* the fragment indicates the individual power being evidenced in similar ways; good and evil are the expressions of one's relationship with the enacted powers. In fact, during a Pentecostal service

it is usual to hear about the battle of good and evil initiated in the preambles of human existence in this planet; a battle that shapes our existence until the current days. This spiritual world is able to reflect its constitutive forces – good and evil – in our living world often referred as instable and under risk of being 'attacked'.

This battle is portrayed by narratives on materiality and immateriality, body and mind, flesh and soul, as paradoxes that are constantly mediating congregants' experience of reality. The spiritual consequences, either negative and positive, are also mentioned to be emotionally perceived and embodied by a born-again that is not enough spiritually 'educated' to deal with such matters. Furthermore, this education seems to be intrinsically related to the domain of consciousness, the dealing with one's politics of desire. In other words, the socialization of congregants in a 'safe' ethos and maintaining the 'control' over his or her life, body and emotions, starts in a place that is not necessarily mobile. Independently of your home country, vital journey, or social-economic condition the mind is understood as the most powerful tool against the multiple ever-changing menaces of a migrant's surrounding. Since the mind is always carried within oneself wherever you go, it is also the domain that we can truly 'stabilise' with a spiritual code of reference despite the fluctuations of everyday life.

In this way, Pastor Edward, a missionary from DRC that has been preaching in Pentecostal churches throughout Spain and several African countries, framed to me the importance of integrating body and mind for a born-again. He explained in several occasions his concern with the interconnection body and mind by describing a situation where a worshipper questioned him about committing sins or having sinful thoughts:

> Then I said look, for you to fight sin, to stop sin, I want to tell you where and how the sin manifests. For someone to commit sin, for example, fornication, for somebody to fornicate it does not come just like this and will begin to fornicate. It is going to develop first in his mind so when that sin is already born in his mind and when sin is in his mind what is the second step? It is going to generate the desires. All is going to be filled with the same desire which is according to his mind. When the mind is set up for that, the sin is in the mind, the desires are there, the temptation comes and there is no way you can run away from it. If you want to stop sin you have to first of all start it from your mind. If you win the battle in your mind you have to fight your desires.

A similar perspective was observed in east Johannesburg when Congolese Evangelist Alfred, presented an analogous explanation that explored the spiritual plan of day to day actions. The Pastor remarked a 'this-worldly' transformational effect of the Holy Ghost and invited me to

understand that the changes perceived in the flesh, individuals in their everyday life, only happen through the powers of that Spiritual entity, a non-human force. Such phenomenon, engages with Pastor Edward's previous notion a 'sinful' mind in a sense that the powers of the Holy Ghost are only featured as (de)localised because of its particular approach to a worshipper's mind. A mind that is aware of its existence only after being delivered from the evil in a spiritual world that, therefore, resonates in the material world.

Here, a human world and a spiritual world are (dis)continuous by the tasks reserved for each part, Holy Ghost and believers, being clearly defined. A reality sustains the coexistence of spiritual and material worlds. The goal of leaders is then to integrate worshippers into an emotional landscape of freedom understood as a place free from hazards. Yet life for those who are in the world-system tends to be constantly constrained by demons and evil spirits. This landscape of freedom would them that integrate emotional states of security, safety, certainty, liberation in way that worshippers wouldn't be inhibited by 'darl' forces anymore. This division is universal and inherent to reality no matter where worshippers reside. In other words, the omniscience – and consequently omnipresence – of the Kingdom of God ensures that its counter-part, evil, is also featured with the same powers; those of tempting mind, body as well as everyday life.

These dynamics can be contrasted with African worldviews when looking to what Ghanaian philosopher Kwame Gyekeye argued to be the African Universe (known as 'Akan') as 'a spiritual universe, one in which supernatural beings play significant roles in the thought and action of the people' (p. 69). Likewise, Christian G. Baëta (1967) shed light on the construction of such universe :

> On a worldview which assumes the effective presence of numberless spirits, and regards all life as one, with no clear distinctions between the material and the non-material, the natural and supernatural, let alone the secular and the religious, or even between man and other created beings, this could hardly be otherwise (p. 19)

Such aspects were also observed anecdotally on my previous research experiences in African-Brazilian religions where ancestors continually play a role in one's life. The idea of supernatural ascendants in the lineage of a family is explored by the Yorubá mythology where the creation of the world goes back to a series of acts carried out by the Orishas, godly-like entities. From this point, the habit of accessing supernatural beings to get this-wordly results is practiced amongst believers with no hesitance about their effectiveness. This *modus operandi*

defined by Thorton (2014) as sorts of magic (MAterial- loGIC) that involve the natural and supernatural in the same world defies the dualist notion of flesh and soul brought by western philosophies. However, in what seems to be another ambiguous response amongst others highlighted elsewhere, African Pentecostal explore such dualism by through the acknowledgement of monistic nuances.

The tangibility of the spiritual world was explained to me by Congolese Pastor Kevin through the 'true' sense of healing for a born-again and how the accountability of a spiritual battle of angels is translated to the human world in form of diseases and sickness, amongst other consequences. After being a preacher in several other congregations and countries such as Angola and Portugal, Pastor Kevin founded his own church in Bilbao in which congregants from DRC, Cameroon, Angola and other eventual African fellows attend. In one of our meetings, he mentions:

> The demons are capable of inflict illnesses in someone to take this person to the place they want it. From the teachings of the word (bible) there are not just angels from God; there are also angels that are lost. When Satan rebelled himself, he took one third of the angels with him. These angels were also rebelled and they act in our lives. They can go to someone and make them sick and this sickness cannot be cured by medical doctors because he can't see it. He can't see that you are sick so it will only depend on your prayers to go back to normality. That's why we always have counselling for those who need prayers.

During our conversation, the church leader highlighted the continuous need of spiritual counselling and enlightenment for a born-again in order to better identify good and evil spirits as well as examine their consequences in day to day life. As aforementioned, André Droogers presents the existence of a general tendency in evangelical Christians on narrating several aspects of everyday life with a quite ambiguous and even contradictory approach depending on the contextual status quo (Corten and Marshall, 2001). These paradoxes also indicate how Pentecostals are also able to expand their geo-cultural scope by stressing certain aspects of an *ethos* simultaneously adjusting them to social and individual constraints (Vasquez, 2003).
The work of Marleen de Witte (2005) presents the concern of Ghanaian Pentecostals with the academic studies on religion that stress the distinctions of body and mind associating the former to the senses and emotions or the latter with the domain of intellect and knowledge. The author points out that Pentecostals adjust the senses towards spiritual experiences that mutually inform and shape cognitive and embodied knowledge of conversion (Klaver and van de Kamp, 2011, p.423). In this sense, society and its vicissitudes are also a (re)production of the spiritual world

and vice-versa. No matter where a born-again resides, spiritual and human forces are constantly engaging within a cosmological Manichean battle generating 'ways' that must be avoided (sin) or pursued (blessings, gifts). Aligned with De Witte's perspective, each 'way' can be identified either in social or personal domains, in a way that materiality (body, flesh) is not opposed but intrinsic to the immaterial (soul, mind); thus, the battle is only 'alive' if the coexistence of both sides is constantly reinforced by a proper engagement with the Kingdom of God.

4.4 Reaching a global kingdom: self, community and a spiritual nation

The Sunday worship is the main platform for expression of desires, pains and joys experienced in biographies often marked by problematic migration journeys. One can feel and observe in this ritual a series of moments that exalt and exploit the most varied emotions ranging from those of a cheerful celebration to the very sorrows of silenced traumas. The Sunday service invites believers to experience a close psychosocial and cognitive connection with the known and personalized; reinforces the mitigation of nostalgic feelings for those who arrive in an unknown land, another nation, a wider society that can often can be presented as hostile. For a newcomer, each attendance to a church service appears to progressively foster an intimacy with the self as well as the community by the recalls of pastors on introspective moments intertwined by collective practices.

Religion engenders an alternative, ultimately more satisfying space, because it successfully synthesizes self and community (Levitt, 2001). As constantly framed by church leaders, once a powerful connection with the Kingdom of God is made by the believer a harmonious spiritual fraternity is established with all the others who followed this same path. Power related aspects are constantly on the surface of Pentecostal theology but specifically highlighted in its African version by the idea of a living power that crosses continents and throughout the times healing generations enhancing survival and hope to joys, sufferings and migration; the church must be a healing community in to do so congregants must acknowledge and know how to use their power (Gerloff, 1995). Therefore, African Pentecostalism is transposed elsewhere not only by a consciousness of what is rejected, fragmented and broken. It is also reinvented by an ideal collectiveness that enacts healed, stable, solid 'ways of being and feeling' independently from nation-states and societies.

As conceptualised by Anderson (1991), the formation of a community is largely influenced by imagination in a sense of symbolic roots built upon sentiments of belonging. In this sense, a 'horizontal fraternity' is established through a common experience of distresses and adversities. For the author the concept inspires the idea of nation originated under the aegis of a Mother land, in other words, a community of brothers and sisters united by a sole bond, an unique feeling of mutual recognisance. Anderson coined this concept as an embryogenesis of the Nation, one of the most significant constructs of the contemporary world and an essential pillar in the modern notion of the State.

Moreover, this concept admits both a bottom-up and a top-down conformation presupposes a compendium of symbols, historical accounts and a somewhat emotional basis by which national allegiance is inspired. While such notion may comfortably be adjusted to the welfare states of the developed world some Nation-States have no emotional and symbolic basis to structure this allegiance and unity, specially, in the case of African societies. In this regard, Ruth Marshal (1998) points out that in such recent and complex contexts national identities were never sufficiently matured or not even considered as an important identification on the public sphere; in consequence, anti-colonial nationalism cannot support a new sense of belonging to an identity with a fragmented ontological formation and a weak influence on the intimacy of nationals' everyday life (*ibid.*).

As a counterbalance to what Marshal described, African Pentecostal leaders elsewhere present to co-national migrants the possibility of restoring such social-individual nuances of belonging in multiple levels. As discussed in the previous section, such discourses engender relationships of trust and allegiance while articulating emotionally-based Diasporic dynamics. From the living room where a prayer group is gathered to the cybernetic space in which videos, images and narratives featured by fellow Christians are in continuous update turning worshippers and congregations into stakeholders in the wholeness of a global kingdom. In other words, a cosmopolitan *modus operandi*[63] (*cf*. Krause, 2011) that makes every corner of the planet possible to be experienced by a worshipper in engagement with the holy ghost.

[63] This concept was adjusted to the Pentecostal phenomenon by Peter Van der Veer (2002) as a somewhat 'cosmopolitanism with a moral mission' (p. 167). Kristine Krause (2001) presents an alternative frame by stating that 'among members and pastors in their local environments moments of cosmopolitan sociability arise' (p. 12).

Hence, many authors look at the predominance of ethnic composition of a church's membership as definers of whether a church is international or not without paying sufficient attention to the self-definition of the churches as being cosmopolitan and having international outreach (Glick Schiller, Caglar and Guldbransen, 2006). The focus on the country of birth of the members obscures the diversity of migrants' relationships to their place of settlement and to other localities around the world (ibid., p. 613). While some have their headquarters in Africa and focus on other African countries and Europe, others are founded in Europe and build branches within Europe and back in Africa. Although the five churches observed in Bilbao were attended by migrants from various African countries some of them were assisted by co-nationals of their leaders (Nigeria and DRC). A similar scenario was observed in Johannesburg but with a more remarking presence of pastors' co-nationals. However, in both cases the language seemed to play an important role on define who goes where.

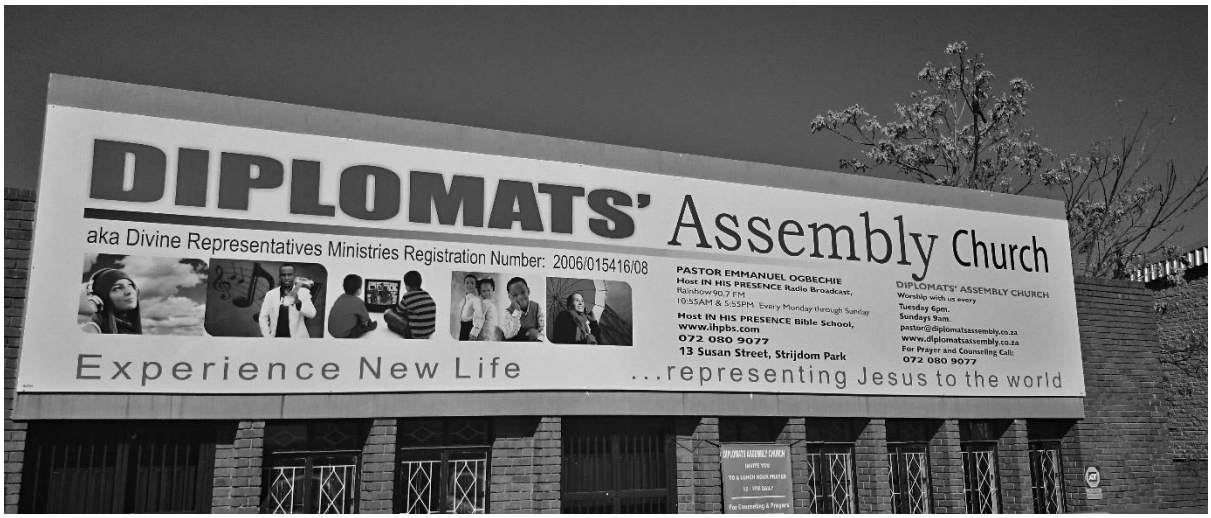
More than just a cognitive skill, the use of language during church services can indicate how the self, the communal and the global are negotiated by church leaders by integrating the particularities of migratory processes lived as individuals and community. Sister Ellen gave me her perspective on the linguistic issues that she faces as a preacher in a predominantly Francophone congregation in contrast to the surrounding churches and the wider society:

> We pray in French because when we transmit the word of God, we need to transmit it in a language that you feel comfortable with. I feel comfortable when I preach in French. With the time the lord will help us to start praying in English. When you preach in English, there is someone who knows Xhosa or Zulu and will be able to transmit it directly. We are not an Anglophone country but the Nigerian are Anglophones. They learn the language since they started school but we learned French. Even with our families when we go abroad and talk to them, we speak French because we don't want them to lose this culture, we want to keep it French language. Even if they (children) learn English at school, French is our language at home.

As suggested, the linguistic diversity of the congregations observed are a direct consequence of such fluid articulation of belonging in multiple levels. In spite of Ellen's ethnic language being Lingala, her linguistic socialization in French, a more globalised language, turned into a current symbol of her origins as a response to the actual dynamics of an Anglophone globalised world. This context indicates the struggles of emotions and feelings of nostalgia, the longing for a Francophone home, with the reality of a competitive religious market in which Nigerian and South African Anglophones may present an advantage. Moreover, emotions and feelings

inspired by worshippers' forms of being and longings presented in the church are significantly connected to preachers' ability to orchestrate multiple levels of belonging.

As decentralised, flexible yet connected with networks, these churches provide customized services and goods as adaptive modes of production that are better suited to meet the challenges of globalization (Castells, 2008; Vasquez, Marquardt, & Gómez, 2001). In a network society (*cf.* Castells 2008), flexible production and dissemination of religious goods does better at meeting the needs of contemporary religious consumers. Hence, smaller models are more adaptable and more responsive and, therefore, more likely to endure (Levine & Stoll, 1997).



'Diplomats of the kingdom'
Outdoor of a Nigerian-led church in Johannesburg 2013, personal archive

Behind its rapid growth worldwide Evangelical Christianity develops a link personal renewal with a universal eschatological message operating either in local or global levels via networks of churches, leaders, worshippers and the exploitation of mass media resources. At the heart of their missionizing efforts lies the vision of incorporating their converts into a global community of Christians (Glick Schiller & Caglar, 2008); by deconstructing social categories such as 'migrant' they aim to become a 'producer of institutional power [by] skilfully using globalisation to create a global rel igious empire' (Knibbe, 2009: 156). Nevertheless, a de-territorialization (Diaspora consciousness / global kingdom) is combined with a reterritorialization by re-centering the self and community (Vasquez, Marquardt, & Gómez, 2001: 34). As it follows, amongst other

factors this process has shown to be significantly influenced by the negotiation of gender and family traits in the church community.

4.4.1 Kinship and social bonds: the negotiation of gender and familial traits

By describing the architecture of belonging within the PC *modus operandi,* our efforts engage with either top-down or bottom-up discursive and organizational approaches. Moreover, it's imperative the emotional biases fostered by Pentecostal pastors in Bilbao and Johannesburg is bridged by individual and communal levels; but how does this 'bridging' operates? Which aspects are recalled in such process? In this regard, the everyday presence within these churches' circles indicated a constant recall for the rescue of family values and the maintenance of its ontological security for the sustainability of such global kingdom. The development of a relationships amongst worshippers under the aegis of a 'new family' where kinship and social bonds are rearranged by harmonious discourses on control and stability. This family englobes the notions of biological nuclear as well as it is extended to those spiritual, brothers, sisters, papas and mammas as they are known amongst African PC communities.

Hence, by taking a closer look at this proposition, it is evidenced that a somewhat renegotiation of gender roles in a combined Christian and African notions of kinship takes place. Beyond attained religious titles[64] church leaders are often referred as spiritual Papa or Mamma of the community as worshippers refer to themselves brothers and sisters in Christ. Age, marriage, maternity and paternity are then reflected at the spiritual level in order to recall the pillars of a Christian congregation. Maturity is then a combination of spiritual knowledge acquired so far with one's position in the social realm as being single or married, a father or a wife. As noted in Chapter Three the common discursive stress on marriage and parenthood indicates that the combination of spiritual knowledge and family-driven maturity is prerequisite for leadership as well as, according to Pastor Edward, the 'passport for righteousness'[65]. Therefore, it's mainly through these frameworks that preaching and prayer are made significant in migrant's private sphere.

[64] For instance (Evangelist, Apostle, Pastor, Intercessor, Prophetess, etc.)
[65] RV2

The most quoted fragment of the bible that come across as the foundational truth of gender roles in the nuclear family indicates the positions of wives and husbands with general but clearly divided orientations. The quote goes as follows:

> Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be their own husbands in everything. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; (...) for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and the two shall be one flesh. (Ephesians 5: 22-25, 28, 31)

This quotation was for instance summarised by Apostle Daniel in the following statement:

> Rafael: How do you advise men and women Christians to make their environment better? How do you advise them?
>
> Apostle Daniel: The man and women as Christians they have rules to play. The men are fathers where the women are the mothers. As a man you have to take care of your house hood, let it be in peace, love your wife; and the women as Christians must submit to the husband, respect her husband.[66]

As noted by Cazarin and Griera (2013), differences on how such rules apply may vary according to the hierarchical position in the church environment, namely, by the existence of women as head pastors or co-leading congregations with their husbands. By aiming constantly towards a Patriarchal conformation of migrant's families, pastors are rather advocating for continuities than ruptures with past experiences. In this system, the pastor can be a women and this do not interfere with the gender system in the domestic sphere. In what appears to contradict the PC spirit-flesh discourse, both worlds are organized through a different and autonomous logic and what happens in one world does not seem to have consequences into the other (Cazarin and Griera, 2013). Nevertheless, such contradiction ends when the actual environment is criticized by an excessive materiality which can be solved by pursuing a spiritual maturity.

In the cases studied, such discourse acknowledges the social realm of surrounding society as problematic by their lack of Christian beliefs as well as some sort of mistake from modernity. Preachers in Johannesburg and Bilbao saw the maintenance of the Patriarchal family as an inherited behaviour; eventually such familial values were characterised as 'more African

[66] RV4

cultures' or those of their countries of origin – Nigeria and DRC also apprehended here as 'more Christian' once compared with the South African or Spanish society. In several occasions, migrant pastors mentioned problems related to the conformation of a family in worshippers' day to day life. In this regard, when asked to compare the primary evils within Congolese and South African societies, Pastor Ellen states:

> In South Africa there are many couples that like to divorce. That thing is not from God. It is dreadful because certain women do not like marriage. That is one of the strange things in South Africa. Many women do not like to have marriage. They prefer to have a baby, single, to be a single mother. This is a big issue. We have to pray also because it is not normal. The marriage is something that is a blessing from God. If someone do reject this blessing, is not normal.[67]

While divorce and the 'modern' devotion for a single life were both considered negative points of their respective societies, women were often portrayed as protagonists and victims of such contexts. In a women's conference[68] attended by me in Johannesburg male and female pastors presented a series of biblical anecdotes as reasons why women need a specific attention in prayers. Using the spelling of the word 'woman', Papa Shaun mentioned what would be his main teaching tool towards the understanding of women engagement and leadership. Five words out of the spelling came out: wise, organiser, manager, advisor, nurse. Based on these words-concepts, the discourses, predications and praying were interconnected during the conference. On his first words, Papa Shaun also constructed a short theological narrative about women's duties in family, in society and claimed for the 'natural' aspect of purity and cleanness present on femininity. Later on some invited speakers from other churches also presented their insights on the subject.

Amongst the views presented, one of them was particularly echoed by pastors other communities from both case studies; a woman Pastor, mentioned that 'women are the mystery of God' and the idea of a non-understood being commonly justified by a feminine-emotional appeal instead of a male-rational strategies is either used as a tool for enacting or mediating changes and awareness rising towards the women's natural weaknesses'. The idea followed by the association of the women with snakes, symbol of evil and temptation. The conference promised to empower women to fight against their weaknesses, namely, defying man' authority at home, materialism, divorce, leaving their children unattended, not getting married, etc. In

[67] RV10
[68] PO 17 and PO 18 (14/12/2013)

both cases it was abstracted that pastors present the empowerment of women as a capacity of dealing with family issues and maintaining her role as wife and mother, in other words, having the ability to maintain the harmony in amongst family members and conjugal lives. Fundamentally, this role is also perpetrated when it comes to women's roles in society where nurturing, providing love and care was mentioned to be their key contribution in a broken environment. Still, other pastors mentioned to be concerned with women's roles being more and more materialised which leads to their involvement with prostitution or relationships without love.

For the Christian man (or African man as they referred eventually), God's wills inspired the sense of same protection, safety and stability often associated with the kingdom of god. Yet, as cited in the biblical fragment mentioned above, love was the feeling that most referred as gender-crossing. Presented as an overall concept to be cultivated where conflict appears, loving the wife and loving the husband is the primary enactment of a born-again towards intimate relationships, family and society that also reaches a global notion. Likewise, the union of men and women through love was commonly represented with pastors and their wives starring churches' posters as well as through narratives of their conjugal lives often presented in church services.

Inspired by a kinship in God, African Pastors symbolically legitimise social boundaries and collective imagination of familial feelings; on rejecting the past by adopting a new family with its intrinsic morals, the church rises as symbol of one harmonious 'family' over the others which often imply the adoption of defensive strategies from the evils of modernity that threaten such sacred bonds. By addressing failures and success of a married life portrayed by Pastor's own conjugal experiences, moral lessons or sacred formulas, concrete purposes framed in order to cope with emotional distresses of migrant's private sphere. The spiritual kinship, discursively founded by harmony and love, is to be extended throughout those who remain faithful and pursue the spiritual maturity. All that is seen as the primary step for reaching the larger task of restoring the community.

4.4.2 Restoring communality in a broken society: the Christian Ubuntu[69]

> So we take the root in a spiritually area from the bible usually but there is no spirit without social life. Because you have a body, you have me, you have people around and you are not spiritually 24 hours. Without your body you are spiritual every time but with your body together, with people around together, so you are spiritual and you are also social. You can't take social life out so we discovered that society is dying socially due to a lack of preparation. The crisis is weakening...parents without children, children without parents, people without friends; we are more involved in living with animals than human beings. You find people giving more to dogs so it's a crisis! Only when you can bring lessons and teachings like this that we see wisdom and people can come together as a society. We may not save everybody but we will save a few but it is fine (…) we don't give them money. If we can raise leaders like that who can feel morally and socially with our society life would be better. You can distribute money and that money can create more problems but when you heal people they will reconcile. They will forgive each other, they will forgive themselves. You shall see that this society lacks in Africa. We need leaders who can continue that work that was already started about others, socially and morally. Of course we need jobs and we need money and this will come but if you can't heal people in their hearts it will be tough.

The conversation above took place in one of Pastor Shaun's churches, a denomination with branches in Yeoville, Randburg, suburbs of Johannesburg as well as in the north-eastern South African province of Mpumalanga. He and his wife were also the organisers of the women's leadership conference mentioned in the past section in which lessons portrayed with morals and behaviours were offered to women. When questioned about the history of the church, he presented his goals and values on creating a church-foundation to train new leaders as well as promote the word of God in order to solve the adversities that he witnessed in South Africa. Failed family values (divorce and conjugal issues) and corruption were, particularly, framed as consequences of weak spiritual values to be restored.

More than simply avoiding the brokenness of South African society, Papa Shaun justified his mission by social and individual matters to make sense of a society in crisis, a fragmented reality that he proposes to 'glue' or heal both socially and morally. Nevertheless, this crisis portrayed by the church leader seemed be particularly significant in South Africa where his

[69] I suggest here a parallel with the southern African word that derives a philosophy described by Michael Eze (2010) as 'a person is a person through other people' strikes an affirmation of one's humanity through recognition of an 'other' in his or her uniqueness and difference. It is a demand for a creative intersubjective formation in which the 'other' becomes a mirror (but only a mirror) for one's subjectivity. This idealism suggests that humanity is not embedded in one person solely as an individual; humanity is co-substantively bestowed upon the other and one's self. The 'I am' is not a rigid subject, but a dynamic self-constitution dependent on this otherness creation of relation and distance.' (p. 190-191)

family and congregants are settled. In fact, Shaun calls his project a 'social foundation' and not just a church. This institution is meant to serve as a school of training worshippers to 'fix' their environment in various areas of society like education and business. All that should start by the role of believers in their homes, in their hearts, within the family, wives and husbands and then evolve to society. The importance of family values and traditional gender roles as a way to rescue African worshippers from the chaos of fragmented societies was also framed by Prophetess Ingrid. In a similar approach to Shaun in Johannesburg, the Nigerian Prophetess framed this fragmentation in the Spanish context on the youth's lack of respect and obedience towards the elders which is seen as important aspects of an Africanity that is being lost:

> Where we are now it's really difficult, it's really dangerous the environment. It's quite different from what we have back there in Africa. So here you can see easily that the child is exposed to dangers, exposed to things and even if you are a parent you are also scared. I was scared sometimes some years back because what I'm seen around me I don't really like it, it is ugly...and I had this in mind 'Oh should I send my daughter back to Africa?' because there you have what is called respect.

A similar 'dangerous' environment that makes wider society broken or fragmented was characterised by Pastor Edward in his mission of bringing to the congregation the cure to the disease of prostitution. He mentioned how African women were falling into prostitution when he just arrived to preach in a church in Bilbao whereas after years of hard work the profile of attendants had changed. For him, the dangerous context lived by these women (marginalisation, trafficking, etc.) is what brings these diseases and the coming to the church is the answer that shows the right way. Likewise, Pastor Victor in Johannesburg showed concern with divorces and the amount of single young people that he have seen in the country. For him, the youth is being raised broken so that's why he invests most of his time in counselling the young people as well as couples.

The idea of restoring socially and morally the surrounding society starts in the church community as well as with every single worshipper; pastor's discourses must attain the mission of bringing the kingdom of god to the world-system and to do so, tangible purposes focus primarily at intimate and familiar domains. Yet, the importance of addressing certain values beyond the church community seems to be equally important for church leaders as such approach revealed particular dynamics towards migratory processes. Firstly, (1) a recall for a forgotten (African) communality and Christian ethos that would alleviate psychosocial and emotional dissonances between migrants' religio-culture and those of the wider society;

secondly, (2) it attributes a distinctive value to social bonds within the congregation reinforcing its collective self-esteem in detriment of undesirable characteristics of other groups.

Regards the former approach, the transposition of an African communality to the everyday can be observed in several cultural nuances such as language, architecture, mythologies and spirituality. (Adogame, 2004; Bondarenko, 2014; Sow et al., 1977). Humpfrey Waweru (2011: 8) suggests, for instance, that this communality is reflected in several West African languages when one mentions his or her home by the expressions 'our house' or 'our land'. Still, the author illustrates that to enforce morality, parents or the elderly are then entitled to discipline everybody's child, as explains the proverb 'It takes a village to bring up a child'. Therefore, not only the biological parents but the whole community is responsible for their child with each gender role being applied accordingly in such task. In relation to that, Dimitri Bondarenko (2014) explain communality in African continent:

> The principle of communality in whatever it is manifested – religion, politics, social or economic relations, is based on the interplay of the individual and the collective, and the interests of the latter, though do not suppress those of the former, are regarded as superior in relation to them (Sow et al., 1977: 158-161). Indeed, communality as a social-cultural principle is directly related to the fact that community in a great variety of forms has been remaining the essential, fundamental social institution throughout the whole African history. But communality is wider that community in the sense that as a principle of social life organization and a basis of culture, it can well manifest itself in complex societies, far beyond the community, that is when the community served either as a true matrix for a complex society's building or as at least an ideological metaphor, a pillar for its construction (Bondarenko, 2008: 26-30) (p. 7)

From this point, the transmission of communality within and beyond the borders of these congregations is twofolded in restoring those who are 'close' or 'far' from the referred congregation. Even by its utopic notion of accomplishment, such 'mission' – as put by several pastors – implies that this African communality aligned with Christian ethos creates a this-worldly simulacrum of the kingdom of God in which dissonances are 'solved'. In other words, it's the 'spiritual education' or 'maturity' of the congregation within an African-Pentecostal framework that make sense out of group dissonances and pose to the wider society the task to be restored by the true societal matrix. This notion shifts the position of marginalised minority to a group that holds desirable features or the 'right' formulas for dealing with the distresses in the current world.

Such dynamics of boundary maintenance (Barth, 1969) and 'ethinicization' (Sarna, 1978) are the main processes by which solidarity and cohesion are developed within a group and delineates a culture to be distinct from the wider society. By drawing up strategies to combat the devil's influence, these leaders are purposefully arming them with tools for a life of spiritual and social success. Yet, pastors play an essential role in the dissemination of this knowledge: meanings are introduced and reiterated through preaching, reading materials and, most importantly, bible references that creates a particular notion of society; a somewhat Christian *Ubuntu*, where 'one has internalized a sense of connectedness with the cultural group to which one belongs, which will hopefully be extended to universal others' (Waghid & Smeyers, 2012: 12). Furthermore, the church scenario turns up into a 'trigger for restoring the social fabric and making this quest a source of empowerment and collective self-esteem to be universally followed with a desirable sense of belonging.

CHAPTER FIVE - Emotionally-based dynamics: Ritual and praxis

Preamble

As counter-part of a speech community in which a series of discourses find common ground in biographical points of inflection in the lives of born-agains, Pastors seemed to constantly encourage the conformation of a community of practice to perpetrate such narratives. As previously evidenced, organizational and structural aspects of such communities engender tactical forms of belonging that attribute to worshippers the power of integrate or exclude themselves to multiple but simultaneous 'worlds'. Yet the content of what is simultaneously learned and conveyed amidst discourse and practice conforms a certain Pentecostal 'stock of knowledge' particularly attained by emotional dispositions. The present chapter deepens in the perpetration of what was put by preachers as the 'spiritual knowledge'; a concept that integrates social, spiritual and emotional dispositions while framing social transformations. The concept, abstracted in pastors' discourses from their own life experiences as well as a religious construct, is conveyed to the congregations through a series of church interactions. In other words, the spiritual knowledge represents the 'common ground' through which the Pentecostal paradoxes, Manichean and dialectical quests are negotiated.

5.1 Spiritual Knowledge

While observing church dynamics and the Pentecostal modes of operations carried on in each congregation I evidenced that the church at a first glance was a place where church leaders and worshipper interact and produce meaningful spiritual experiences in worshippers' everyday lives. Yet going deeper in curiosity and visiting other church activities, it became clear that we had to go beyond the walls of individual and collective ecstatic experiences of the moments observed. Particularly, I perceived that an accountability of a 'spiritual knowledge' seems to precede and integrate those experiences; in other words, a phenomenological exercise that re-produce a church language.

In a Nigerian-led congregation in Johannesburg I noticed that behind the seating area there was a media station with computers, sound mixers, microphones and cameras. According to one of the Pastors, that material assisted in recording of the services and transforming them into DVD copies that could be purchased or streamed on the churches' website. Right next to the entrance

was the large shelved structure where all the books and DVDs were on display for sale. This was the first thing one could see when entering the church, the contents of the cabinet were Christian publications; books on different subjects such as adolescence, discovering the bible, financial, family and social matters, bellow the books were DVDs of the church conferences and teaching series. This shelf was an ode to knowledge, the thing that has, to my amazement, became entrenched in the values of this church. Beyond this experience, it was evidenced that the material and discursive aspects of spiritual knowledge were commonly presented in other churches by books, posters and audiovisual tools addressed to congregants as some sort of *ad hoc* resources to 'educating the spirit'.

Christian books to be purchased in Johannesburg 2014, personal archive

The observed Congolese and Nigerian-led churches in Spain and South Africa are parallel in that they were initiated in the diaspora, they share similar socioeconomic conditions broadly characterized by low income families, cases of undocumented migration, architectural and hierarchical structures, etc. As noted throughout the previous chapters, the location of the churches are also found in similar areas in both cities and far from the grandiosity of mega-churches; marginalized neighborhoods where economic migration is a well-documented occurrence as well as the experience of local insecurities and the socio-economic instability implied. By looking at church leader's engagement with such vicissitudes, Spiritual knowledge has been alluded as being an intrinsic part of countering the uncertainties of parishioners. This 'spiritual language school' is here translated to fellowships, prayer groups bible lessons, counselling sessions and even throughout Sunday services in which the familiarity with the word of God and the community circumstances are, socially and spiritually, signified. By the

organization of training courses, conferences and seminars the need of updates on how one must behave, react or deal with daily vicissitudes is narrated through biblical lessons and materials produced or exchanged by church leaders and congregants.

Since one of the clear purposes of this thesis had been to take a look at religious rituals and praxis, I was initially confronted with the notions of embodiment and habitus. Both aspects seemed to permeate what was observed but a closer examination of the Pentecostal modes of operation indicate a more complex scenario. As pointed out in Chapter Two, Pentecostalism's theological tradition presents itself with the purpose of integrating the body to the Christian experience as its central pillar. Therefore, the idea of connecting with the supernatural is more of a non-textual experience or at least not only through words since 'what was needed was not new arguments for heads but new experiences for hearts'(Hollenweger 2004:133). This can be observed for instance in moments of silent prayers, in terms of consciousness, hearing, adoration with hands and body expressions, in sum, the full use of the body with its cognitive nuances. However, as evidenced by the very own focus of this thesis, words are still important in Pentecostalism and the construction of social as well as individual narratives aligned with spirituality is in the core of this religious praxis. Hence, the idea of focusing on words in isolation from the body seemed to obscure a framework of analysis. But how to understand the conflation of body and words?

As put by Caroline Jeannerat (2009:9) the importance of words involves the body 'not as something that needs to be denied in order to gain access to the ultimate, but as object or tool, as conduit in itself, to gain access to the ultimate: as expression of the connection with the ultimate.' The centrality of the body in consonance with that of the words is probably what in part shaped the feelings of familiarity or the sense of mutually recognisable landscapes that emerged in my participant observations in Spain and South Africa. The relevance of this insight is made clear when acknowledging that Pentecostalism is not composed by unilateral theology. Instead, different streams of interpretation or approaches contrasts with the idea of a sole system of doctrine guided by a particular logic (Hollenweger 2004:129; Pinnock 2000). Pentecostal's theological notions find a common ground in the experience of the supernatural, the manifestations of the Holy Ghost embedded within and emerged out of the body.

In consonance with pastor Hector's words, religious doctrines are considering 'empty', useless, as the preacher kept rejecting the concept of 'religion' to talk about his work in a Pentecostal

congregation in Johannesburg. Indeed, Simon Coleman (Coleman 2000:25) points out that the Pentecostal tradition often accuse doctrines of obscuring the access to a true spiritual experience of the body. Moreover, the Pentecostal tradition is made through the constant revival of physically experiencing Christianity; a channel of communication and connection that needs to be perpetrated, experienced and accessed by everyone. In this way, it implies the conformation of certain praxis where emotional, cognitive and physical states are perpetrated while integrating community and individual identities.

5.1.1 Transferring interactions: a social learning system

Every Sunday Apostle Daniel preaches in Bilbao together with his wife Pastor Ingrid and a team of Pastors in a church where nationals from different African countries are weekly attending. The church includes branches in his home town Benin City, Nigeria, as well as in the Spanish cities of Valencia and Pamplona[70]. From 2006 to the current time, its headquarters in Bilbao has expanded both in space and number of attendants as well as it has been developing several social-religious activities. In what happens to reflect an archetypical case amongst the congregations analysed, pastor Daniel detailed to me the weekly agenda of his church:

> Every Friday the intercessors come together to intercede for the church. They intercede for our people, we intercede even for the Basque Country, and we intercede for Spain so we pray all around. We pray for the city, we pray for the state, we pray for the mission. We have another group here called the women's group. At the women's group my wife is the one that is taking care of them, Pastor I.; So she pull them together on how women need to behave in the church and in their homes and even in the society. We have also men groups and they have also the responsibility on how to behave in the church and in their homes and in the society. We have the youth, the singles who are not married, so they also have a meeting. In their meetings one of these days I saw the way they organise themselves on how to behave in the society and behave in the church so there will be any violence. We also have children group too. We teach them about Christianity and how to read what they learned in school, how to read the bible and study the bible. How to respect their father and their mother; because most of the children in the society today, especially the Spanish children, they don't know how to respect. We have to teach our children how to respect their parents.[71]

I spent over two years visiting Pastor Daniel's church but it took me some time to realise the importance of the church religious agenda other than the Sunday service. Impressed by the number of activities organised in that congregation, later I came to understand that these

[70] See RV3 and RV4
[71] RV4

satellite encounters are significant constitutive parts of Pentecostal organisations, specially, from the perspective of Pastors who wanted to ensure their mission of promoting the word of God. Also known as the 'spread of the gospel', it is evidenced that these evangelizers engender a multi-faceted process of transferring the Pentecostal ethos and worldview. Still, such process allows preachers to unfold their own missions and visions without losing the track of the 'basics' or a more global spiritual knowledge. In this sense, the structure and scale of church activities can be mainly divided in three aspects:

The first range (1) is normally intra-church oriented or to worshippers who are willing to get a deeper understanding of the bible as well as those who are involved in a specific field of the church organisation; ushers, teachers, single women, married men, teenagers, etc. At this level are included personalised practices such as deliverance, counselling and prayer consultations with the pastors. These 'micro' interactions are often developed by leading figures of the church or those who carry special gifts such as intercessors, women's leader, and youth's leader. In a face to face approach, pastors and leading figures develop interpersonal relationships of trust and social-individual surveillance is established. On knowing more about worshippers' claims, leaders are able to present narratives that (re)generate social bonds within the community and wider society. Moreover, the accountancy of these experiences seems to compose a resourceful guide for pastors in the diffusion of applied spiritual knowledge.

A second range (2) of interactions can be exemplified by 'camps', 'revivals', prayer marathons or major Sunday services constituting a meso-level capacity of reaching worshipers. During these events we witnessed the expression of several charismatic through narratives related to spiritual empowerment and gifts of the spirit (healing, visions, testimonies, etc.) together with biblical fragments in which behaviours, purposes and morals are reinterpreted. In our case studies, these religious events didn't reach massive attendances as those organised by mega churches but their structure was reproduced in minor scale. As mentioned above, the themes of such events usually relate particular needs of the community, of which worshippers commonly share within the church environment, combined with Pastor's expertise in a determinate religious field. In this sense, anecdotes and testimonies are normally told throughout these sessions in accordance to biblical passages as some sort of condensed ethos guide. Here, the resourceful guide originated previously in 'face to face' practices returns to the public sphere as an elaborated narrative-feedback featured with pastors' charismatic skills.

For those who are familiar with Pentecostal 'world' it is not unusual to hear business expressions to illustrate events and visions of the congregation. In this regard, a third set of interactions (3) are those related to inter/intra-denominational congresses, conferences, trainings sessions and courses arranged by leaders' religious networks; in other words, the development of macro-level activity, in terms of expansion of the interactions amongst worshippers. While most of the events observed were also open to the public, the focus of transferring the knowledge is mostly adapted to those who received the spiritual calling for a specific purpose; or any individual who might receive it during the session. Thus, it's by empowering vocational skills alike that those activities enhance unified missions and visions amongst denominations as well as create divisions on diverging spiritual knowledge approaches.

The idea of learning and teaching a kind of knowledge that is both bodily and spiritually sensed has emerged in almost every experience in the field. For preachers, worshippers' lack of spiritual knowledge appears to be one of the main reasons through which the devil inflicts evil in one's life. At the same time, pastor's themselves are the living example of how a matured spiritual knowledge can lead an individual to develop his or her own life against all odds. As mentioned elsewhere, beyond doctrinal lessons the teachings transmitted by church leaders are embedded with ways of behaving, feeling or reacting in quotidian situations specially addressed in migratory contexts. In this way, from the first experiences of a born-again to that of a compromised worshipper or, as per the cases observed, church leaders, the spiritual evolvement is obtained through a process of becoming; a somewhat transformation that is individually apprehended and socially recognisable while bodily and emotionally pervaded (Luhrmann 2004:3). It's about the becoming of a certain person – particularly significant in the cases of leading figures – 'a knower in a context where what it means to know is negotiated with respect to the regime of competence of a community'(Wenger 1998:3).

By framing such process of becoming through social learning practices, the activities developed in the churches observed seemed to integrate not only spaces of social encounter and networking. Furthermore, such activities are responsible for the re-socialization of individuals towards a particular regime of competences and emotional dispositions; a place where belonging and identities are negotiated throughout shared migratory and religious experiences. In this regard, Etienne Wenger (*ibid*.) explains:

> Learning can be viewed as a process of realignment between socially defined competence and personal experience – whichever is leading the other. In both cases, each moment of learning is a claim to competence, which may or may not be embraced by the community. This process can cause identification as well as dis-identification with the community. (p. 3)

As noted by the author, the quest of identification is central when it comes to portraying learners' relationship with the community. It is by orchestrating this 'transfer' of competences – institutionalising religious activities, materials and sermons - that church leaders offer a common ground for aligning the dissonances between personal experiences and the socially defined competences of a born-again. The weaving of this shared landscape, spaces and places made 'of' and 'for' practices, 'is dynamic and communities emerge, merge, split, compete, complement each other, and disappear throughout' (*ibid*. p. 4). Hence, individuals who are 'becoming' in such landscapes are gifted with a habitus of a particular field that integrates knowledge and recognition; hence, they 'develop a distinctive *illusio*, a disposition to «play the game» which points out «the relationship of ontological complicity» between the habitus (i.e. mental structures) and the field (i.e. the objective structures of the social space)' (Bourdieu 1994:151–154 a*pud* Fer 2010). As noted by Yannick Fer (2010), through this multilevel set of activities the Pentecostal socialisation engenders a somewhat '«enchanted» individualism through a complex – and fragile – combination of subjective individualisation and institutional control' (p. 160).

Taking back the three dimensions of religious interactions aforementioned, the following sections explain the different levels and scales through which the spiritual knowledge is transferred. Furthermore, in each dimension I selected a specific practice to be better analysed and described according to the relevance of its psychosocial and emotional outputs engendered. In this way, the first dimension privileges micro interactions where pastors and worshippers would exchange particular ways of learning how to feel where deliverance and counselling sessions seemed to portray the particularities of individualised interactions. The second dimension is associated with the 'feeling the experience', by pointing out the PC reinterpretation of emotions as spiritual constructs and vice-versa; the translation of spiritual aspects into emotional dispositions. All that addressing the role of music and its scenography as variables of influence in meso-level transferring activities mediating both their micro and macro counter-parts. Finally, the third level of interactions frame the conveying of the spiritual knowledge as an institutionalised expertise through special teachings on how to feel according to the PC regime. In these contexts, the attendance of bible schools exemplify themes and

subjects involved on the creation of manuals, guides, or materialised resources that formalise this unique *savoir faire*.

5.2 Learning how to feel: the dynamics of individualized interactions

The first range of interactions is composed by those activities focused on worshippers who are willing to trace or identify problems and mistakes caused by a lack of spiritual knowledge and a close relationship with God; a Manichean guide to migrants' social reality marked by (dis)continuous distresses in aspects such as interpersonal relations, health, identity or finances. As argued elsewhere, this process is gradually integrated into one's and pervades the experiences throughout 'social becoming' of a born-again by the identification of bodily and emotional states as signs of God's presence in their lives. At this level, I include a set of micro and personalised interactions such as deliverance, counselling and prayer consultations given by Pastors and others who carry specific spiritual gifts: intercessors, prayer warriors or fellowships' leaders. In a one-to-one approach, pastors and the team of leading figures develop relationships of trust and mutual surveillance with congregants, in other words, an intimate share of spirituality in a somewhat psychoanalytical exercise. By discussing personal matters, presenting testimonies and narrating transformations, church leaders enrich their 'stock of knowledge' about the migratory processes and worshippers' everyday life. In several occasions, I witnessed the discussion of topics such as: congregants' status of citizenship, issues with residence permits, alternative travelling routes to the home country, jobs offering, flats and rooms available for rent, conjugal problems, access to health care and sicknesses, the stress on dealing with prejudice and xenophobia, etc. In this way, the constant practice of giving counselling and advices integrate either social-economic vicissitudes as well as psychosocial and cognitive aspects. At the same time, these interactions 'inform' church leaders about the target evils to be combatted in the community under the aegis of a spiritual knowledge.

At this point, the acknowledgements of such personalised interactions do not remain ascribed to the individual nor to these specific activities but are extended and reworked in others. The accountancy of these experiences seems to compose a resourceful guide for pastors in the diffusion of an applied spiritual knowledge framing failed or successful transformations that is later transferred at meso and macro level interactions. In this way, by knowing more about worshippers' particular claims, leaders are able to present narratives that (re)generate social bonds within the community and wider society. After being a preacher in several other

congregations and countries such as Angola and Portugal, Pastor Kevin founded his own church in Bilbao in which congregants from DRC, Cameroon, Angola and other eventual African fellows attend. In relation to his counselling sessions, he mentions:

> When the person come to receive Jesus Christ in his life and you expect him to walk in a new life but things are not working from what we are expecting from him. They are pulling him back, the old is pulling him back for maybe not be a Christian and this is a big problem. The second problem we are facing also is about social life. When the people come, either they come as a Christian but things are not working in their life: they don't have food, they don't have work, and they don't have stability in their lives. After praying for them to be a Christian you must pray for them also for that goal and help them to live according to their needs.[72]

As remarked by Pastor Kevin in a context where social economical and psychological stability are the main claims of migrant congregants, the outputs of prayers tend to be particularly experienced as failed or successful consequences. When mentioning that 'the old is pulling him back', the preacher alludes to a previous way of life, a form of being that is not anymore congruent to the worshipper actual situation. The second aspect framed by the leader ends up by reassuring that he helps believers 'to live according to their needs'. Both arguments leads to the notion of cognitive adjustments to be made in order to stabilise the dissonances between different conjunctures of past and present.

This approach evidence that the vicissitudes lived along the processes of conversion and migration are acknowledged and reworked by Pastors under the same premise: that of regaining the control of the 'surroundings' by a cognitive learning to self-regulate dissonances; all that, through activities of guidance and counselling. If the believer falling in this task, the sentiments of anxiety, frustration and disappointment felt by worshippers would be framed as a lack of proper knowledge, faith or eventually attribute to the approach of the counsellors. In the last case scenario, the believer has the freedom to move to another congregation where the amalgam of church leader's preaching styles and biographical experiences may be better adjusted to such needs. In other words, Pastors must present meaningful interactions framed by hope and resilience in order to attract congregants back as well as maintain the legitimization of their role.

[72] RV6

In this conveyance of alternatives for the believer to regain control and stability in their everyday life, both cases had several aspects portrayed in a similar way. An overview of these similitudes can be observed for instance in Pastor Adam's description:

> Within all areas you can find problems. Someone may come to the church because after getting married they cannot have children, the woman can't get pregnant and this is already a problem. So you come to the lord and pray for him to give her children. Someone may come because one is getting old and marriage doesn't arrive. Someone can come because he finished his studies and he has no job. He needs to live so he needs a job in order to get married. He can't get married because he has no job and this is a problem. Others might come because after getting married with his wife, day to day life is not going well.

While looking at the congruencies amongst difficulties, the notion of 'evils', 'dissonances' and 'problems' seem to fit into an amalgam of Pentecostal and African frames. Furthermore, as presented in Chapter four, old and new lives, married and gender issues, are interpreted not only through religious dispositions but also by norms cultivated in the African Diaspora either as part of national (i.e. Nigerian or Congolese) or a Pan-African culture. In addition, these broad – or more 'global' – issues are analysed in accordance to what is locally causing them; in this way, on the one hand the roots of the problems presented by worshippers in the Spanish or the South African contexts are ultimately justified by the same code (African Pentecostal). On the other, the forces that cause these problems must be contextualised under social and political dynamics to which congregants are exposed. Amidst this complex set of variables, preachers show up as the personified sources of the African Pentecostal 'stock knowledge'; their counsels and advices are points of inflexion produced by their multiple facets – migrants, Africans, Christians, husbands or wives and religious leaders, all-in-one.

Moreover, pastors' own experiences of learning the spiritual knowledge were said to be gained from the lessons of counselling along their religious – and migration – journeys. These individualised interactions offer a place of encounter between preachers and congregants' life experiences that essentially relates two aspects: (1) the individualisation of 'goods' and 'evils' – or blesses and curses – observed in the world as well as throughout their religious-migratory processes; (2) the reaffirmation of a self-conscious beings which inspires a sense of pride and confidence at the individual level by portraying him or her as a choice-maker in contexts where both leaders and congregants have few other opportunities to decide.

5.2.1 Deliverance

One of the most significant 'personalised' interactions selected by me to be analysed is that of the deliverance lived by a born-again and monitored by church leaders. As some sort of one-to-one counselling and spiritual socialisation, an individual is 'delivered' from his or her problems by identifying and pushing away past and present evils. Moreover, deliverance is associated with an expanded notion of healing that covers social, cognitive and physical vicissitudes often traced by church leaders within the equally expanded notion of spiritual sickness. Hence, the interpretation for sickness is addressed by its relationship with evilness and vice-versa in such a way that in several occasions I could hardly identify if the pastor was talking about one or the other. The mediator of a delivered person is also known as an 'intercessor' or the person who identifies evils and present the spiritual solutions by the manifestation of their particular gift.[73] At this points, leading roles may overlap since what is determinant in church interactions is the gift required for the activity. Yet pastors, evangelists, apostles, and others may assume the role of intercession but an intercessor is not necessarily able to act as a pastor, evangelist or apostle.

This process of deliverance also introduces congregants in their first steps of interpreting the bible and finding effective prayers while identifying spiritual needs in relation to their the biographical account. As put by pastors in both cases, the new Christian is someone spiritually immature, weak, like 'babies that need to be nurtured'[74] in a process that reminds 'mamma eagle that feeds her new-borns'[75]; it implies the relearning of vocabulary, behaviours, in sum, relearn how to 'be' in the world. In some cases the achievements of the delivered person are also portrayed as a walk towards freedom from evil and the finding of the real truth (see also Jeannerat 2009). Hence, in order to construct this 'being' these personalised interactions help to build a 'shared elementary language' (Harding 2000:19); phrases, words, feelings and sentiments along plotlines that align one's story with the others. In this regard, deliverance was explained to me in Johannesburg by Congolese Pastor Adam as a work involving biblical lessons, discipline and prayer. He explains:

> Throughout the process of deliverance there are the teachings that we give: there are teachings about the sins, often there are teachings where the person is led to discover

[73] Pastor Ingrid (RV2) in Bilbao characterised this gift as the power of 'designation'
[74] RV6
[75] RV7

> oneself and think 'Am I in connection with God?' (…)When the person commits a sin there is lack of communication with good, the person can't be in communion with God because the sin works as an obstacle. The bible says that 'when the person who commits a sin starts to pray that is just noise of my ears'. God tries to conduct the person to regret himself from that. Reconnect the relationship before you speak with him. If you are sinful you can't speak to God. And the sins leave consequences to the heart, the soul and the spirit.[76]

As an agreement in constant feedback by both parts, the solution for evils and, therefore, sickness, is attributed to God's intervention but it is simultaneously mediated by the perseverance and discipline on praying and faith. However, if the born-again doesn't know how to designate what is wrong, God will not be able to intervene. As above mentioned, the consequences for this lack of knowledge affects individuals not only spiritually but also emotionally or 'in the heart'. This acquired spiritual knowledge is essential to 'stamp' the convert's conversion and equip worshippers with the necessary body, emotional and cognitive training (Lambek 1981; Csordas 1994).

The cases of deliverance are publicly acknowledged by exposing the transformations obtained in form of testimonies in church services or major collective gatherings. These public testimonies bring to the congregation a diversity and range of wonders attributed to those who were delivered: ex-criminals that are now regretted, a drug addicted who became sober or women who had once worked as prostitute, etc.; these narratives of transformation often become the life-time *leitmotiv* of the born-again. In this process, the spiritual empowerment takes the place of any other 'unauthorized' power, the evils inflicted when the individual was not 'in the word' or disconnected from God. Beyond the idea of instantaneous miracles resultants of magical powers, the narratives of transformation cultivated during deliverance indicate a gradual acknowledgment of the word of God.

The role of a church leader is then (1) to designate where are the evils, (2) to shed light on biblical passages that are aligned with the cases presented and in relation to that (3) point towards appropriate prayers. From this point, the believer will learn how to identify the 'Pentecostal battle' in her or his own life; a this-worldly evil and good confrontation where the born-again is challenged to follow the patterns of a sacred kingdom or fall into the temptations of non- born-again life. This combat with oneself acknowledged during deliverance is portrayed by Congolese Pastor Ray in the following statement:

[76] RV9

> (…) that is why you need deliverance and that is when the need for deliverance comes: the things of the past that we have been for a long time, those things you refuse it but those things exist. You refuse beer but beer exists, you can feel the smell of beer but if you are not strong you will find yourself drinking again but if you present is good without the beer, you can take the beer in the present. Your decisions, your responsibility, your discipline can help you to be separated from your past and to live in your present.[77]

Likewise, Nigerian Pastor Ingrid gave me a 'practical' example of how deliverance empowers worshippers in the everyday life, specifically, regarding conjugal issues:

> When you sometimes see some woman so attractive, don't mind if the woman is married or not, they will go and do some diabolical fetish things to make sure he capture that woman on the moment she is married he just does this to have her life or destroy it. So if the woman fall victim because she is not strong in the Lord, if she fall victim of that fetish thing then you know that the devil is at her because it's taking her, he captured her spiritually, he captured her spiritually and since she is no strong in the Lord she has been captured already. That why we need deliverance and she now needs deliverance, from that spear that has been put upon her.[78]

Through both fragments the 'focused counselling' of deliverance is framed by pastors as a matter of empowerment of the individual. For the female preacher, the woman is characterised as the victim of a man's desire which seems to be a matter of spiritual weakness. In order to empower women affected by this evil desire, Pastor Ingrid suggests a deliverance process in which a self-awareness of her spiritual weakness shall arise. Not being 'strong in the lord' means the person have not been enough socialised in the Christian faith and still keeps mundane behaviours; in other words, the woman is captured by the Devil and, therefore, unprotected by God. In the former case, Pastor Ray reinforces the idea of a past that is spiritually 'unprotected', a period in which the worshipper was exposed to curses and evils whose consequences were socially, emotionally and physically destructive.

A worshipper mature in his or her spiritual knowledge is able to resist to temptations while avoiding to be 'captured' or 'fall' in the state of uncertainty of non-believers. The failure of deliverance goes back to the worshipper's indiscipline or even lack of spiritual knowledge; either way, the responsibility relies on the individual and he or she can only change the circumstances of life or avoid evil influences by acknowledging pastor's spiritual guidance and

[77] RV8
[78] RV3

'learning how to pray'. Hence, the life of a spiritually 'empowered' and 'disciplined' born-again is characterised by control and stability whereas that of the past (or an unfaithful present) is marked by fragility and risks.

5.3 Feeling the experience: spiritualizing emotions and emotionalizing spirituality

A second category would be mostly characterised by intra-church interactions such as fellowships encounters, week and Sunday services. During these events, the expression of several charismatic skills through narratives related to spiritual empowerment and gifts of the spirit (healing, visions, testimonies, etc.) are specially invoked by those who orchestrate the celebration. While variables like race and cultural proximity must also be taken into account, the sharing of similar visions, preaching styles and biblical interpretations play a distinctive part in these church encounters. These interactions are extremely focused on ecstatic experiences and can be distinctively observed through the embodiment of emotional states that goes from positive to negative sensorial outcomes – laughs, clapping, crying, shouting, etc. All that, in accordance to the call of the pastor who is the one who triggers the collective arousal. As pointed out by Simpson (1978: 257), such communicational practices put Pentecostals in between a pre or post literary systematic and logical line where parables, associations, dancing, singing or theatrical representations are privileged.

Still the articulation of sufferings and joys presented in these interactions are previously summarised in theme of the ritual previously announced in posters, radio, church murals or mostly amongst congregants through other channels of socialization. As argued in the last section, the topics selected to be interpreted in these services are aligned to those of counselling and deliverance. In other words, the themes of such events are usually related to the particular needs of the African Pentecostals combined with Pastor's expertise in a determinate religious field. Preacher's focus in demonology, eschatology, prophecies or healing are then associate to congregant's claims on papers for residence and citizenship, family and conjugal matters, etc. Still, an overview to these selected themes evidenced some differences in relation to the 'nature' of the problems discussed: the observations in Johannesburg unveiled discourses particularly concerned with physical illnesses and social problems such as HIV, abortions, violence against foreigners, access to public goods and services – education, hospitals, housing, etc.

At this point, it was evidenced the localized side of Pentecostal discourses in which the socio-economic scenario is marked by a deficitary welfare state as well as a significant incidents of violence against foreigners. Alternatively, the Spanish context, pastor's narratives regards moral issues, resilience and the maintenance of social or family bonds seems to conform another discursive ground. In contrast to the African case, the better access to public services and lower rates of crime displace migrant's concerns to the coping with their marginalised status in society; racial dynamics, the dangers of secularism, cultural gaps between African and European cultures, in sum, the maintenance of social cohesion in a context where these particularly distinctive minority groups develop their everyday life. The following fragment selected from a participant observation in a Congolese-led church in Bilbao illustrates a church service:

> The environment is taken by some words said in a microphone by a woman (I guess she is the pastor's wife) and at the same time the loud music is still on the background. The songs are sung in Spanish, French and Lingala as well as the languages used throughout the service. Last time that I've been to this church the translation was from French to Spanish mostly but this time it was from Spanish to Lingala. As mentioned, the first part is focused on music and prayer by worshippers; it happens quite often that during this part someone from the quire – normally a woman, a young preacher or MC – leads the act by reciting sentences of encouragement, claiming the presence of God and interconnecting these claims with different songs. This moment ends with a joyful song where people dance and change the expressions in their faces; from a moment of mentioning the sufferings, claims and prayers the worshippers go to joy, dance and emotional arousal that creates an environment of interaction amongst all, including the pastor who is also taken by the moment. Pastor Kevin warns worshippers that the devil can be sitting right beside you as a neighbour or a friend; in this sense, the devil is brought to everyday life, something that exists not only on biblical stories but a live creature with human features and feelings. He also links friendship and fidelity as an analogy to the type of relationship that a Christian has with God stating: 'You have to be loyal to friends in the way you are loyal to God and but the example comes from your relationship with God.' By times, the leader encourages the public to repeat after him some sentences or, on the contrary, worshippers give shouts of encouragement when the pastor makes a strong statement 'The owner of my life is God', 'With Him I am able to cross the desert and not get tired' (…) matters of race come up when the Diasporic idea of going back to the homeland was mentioned: 'We are foreigners in this land and one day we will go back to our countries. One day we will go back.', 'nowadays there are Spanish people of colour but only in the papers. There is a French soccer player that they always say he is from Congo'[79]

The services attended would begin with prayers and sermons followed by several musical interludes in which everyone sang or moments where instrumental music accompanied the

[79] PO16, 29/06/2014

prayers. As portrayed throughout Pastor Kando's church service, nuances of collective identity, interpersonal trust and the Diasporic notion of returning to the homeland pervaded the sermon and were aligned with the prayers of that day. The narratives of hope and resilience brought up by songs and prayers were 'answered' by congregants in a similar tune. A tune that by times integrated all parts involved into an 'emotional stream'.

It was clear that music played an essential role in the congregant's emotional experience of the services, for people would spontaneously cry, or show signs of great satisfaction. Those experiences were rarely individualised, at times the whole room would be compelled within a common energetic core, pervaded by a sense of togetherness and intimacy. Furthermore, the knowledge stocked from the micro interactions is opened up to the congregation as an elaborated feedback presented in highly energetic sermons, preaching and prayers. At this point, anecdotes performed by pastors portray the reality lived by congregants in a compendium examples of the power of the Holy Ghost with a focus in its cause-effect logic. During sermons and prayers, there is always a spiritual explanation for the circumstances in a way that every problem has its cause(s) and ways of preventing or avoiding. Key expressions are constantly repeated in a somewhat 'moto' for the preaching often embedding words that encourage the response of congregants.

During some specific encounters such as fellowships or Saturday and Friday services, other church leaders have the opportunity to step in and explore their own discourses on the subjects of the day. Still, considering the size of congregations observed few of these 'secondary' gatherings were attended and experienced by congregants as that of a Sunday service. It is also mostly during the Sunday events that all church leaders, ushers and quire are 'in the stage' which makes these celebration the main recorded activities either by photo or video.

The regular attending of worshippers also conforms a certain control amongst the community that in the Spanish context is particularly distinctive and small; I remember for instance observing Pastors talking to other congregants in the end of the church and asking for someone's absence. During the observations in Bilbao, I also acknowledged the presence of worshippers from other congregations in the area and even the presence of some leaders from other churches.

5.3.1 Music: 'singing on the same tune'

Beyond a combination of sounds that create a melody, music expresses ideas and emotions and we add that music of the Pentecostal church promotes closeness to God and the congregants, intimacy and spiritual bonds. Music is another portion of the church language mentioned earlier and directly relates to the production of meaningful spiritual experiences. Thusly, gospel music can serve as platform for social and individual expression and it pervades all the interactions carried out in the Pentecostal culture; from notions of Pan-Africanism, collective self-esteem and identity restoration to healing and emotional arousal (Mapuranga and Chitando 2006). Moreover, the message communicated by gospel music receives wide circulation throughout the African Diaspora with worshippers often carrying audio and video cassettes with them to their new places of settlement (*ibid.*: 17)

Musical expression is deeply rooted in the Pentecostal church, and history tells us that the church adopted the use of music from the very beginning. William Menzies (1971) describes the earliest forms of Pentecostal musical expression as participatory, enthusiastic, and spontaneous. The mid 1900s saw a divergence between gospel song and hymn, the beginnings of congregational singing and adoption and rejection of certain styles of music such a Jazz and Rhythm and Blues (R&B) by the different Pentecostal groups. Over time it became evident that there was an exchange between music from popular culture and Pentecostal music in the Americas which reverberated in the Pentecostal atmosphere to this day.

In the previous section is was evidenced that the observed church service was largely orchestrated by music as well as in all other congregations visited where music seemed to play a big part in the composition of rituals. Some Pastors have shown special inclination for music, as either musicians or admirers of the art. Their services consisted of singing songs that especially suited the moment during the services, whether it was praising or worshiping. The services attended would begin with prayers and sermons followed by several musical interludes in which everyone sang or moments where instrumental music accompanied the prayers. It was clear that music played an essential role in the congregant's emotional experience of the services, for people would spontaneously cry, or show signs of great satisfaction. Those experiences were rarely individualised, at times the whole room would be compelled by the same sentiment, giving the impression of incredible cohesion and a sense of togetherness. The whole service was normally an interactive experience, for the pastor would preach the word of

God and constantly invited responses from the congregation. The relationship was such that the congregant's responses were a natural consequence of what was being said, a bonding, and in sync moment as it were. Moreover it was interesting to observe the interaction between the pastors and their congregants, particularly in terms of leading the musical intermissions during the services. Moments of reflection and prayer, accompanied by singing got even more emotionally charged.

Furthermore, pastors recounted their connections to music and its importance in their religious journeys. Pastor Edward[80] (in Spain) explained how as a musician he felt that music was a vital aspect of his church, 'music communicates with soul' he said, when asked about its' relevance in his church. He also makes an interesting comparative where the film industry uses music in order to set a particular tone, 'when the scene that you are watching in a movie is a sad, they put on a sad melody. What you are watching and what you are hearing is combined to capture your mind'. Pastor Edward believed that he should use the same formula to 'capture' the minds of his own congregants, so if he gave a message of repentance he would therefore have to combine it with a melody that represented repentance.

Pastor Edward's logic is that, as he explained that 'the melody will accompany the scene…it is going to touch their souls'. Further, he wanted to use the background of music in order to reach the congregants. Interestingly, the pastor also believed that in those moments his words were not only his own, they were the words of the spirit, using his words to reach the congregants. As I have exposed, music is used as a sort of language, therefore a mode of communication. It can be used to communicate the churches ethos, the pastor's ideals, and themes for reflection in and out of the church. This sense of cohesion only created or limited to the physical spaces as it might have seen throughout this thesis so far.

Another pivotal feature of the Pentecostal church that enhance the experience of the congregants attending services and brings closer those who do not, are the internet and the media. Much like transferring activities we have discussed above, the musical records, radio, television, podcasts, filmed services all contribute to the spread of God's word, and the churches principles outside of the physical church influencing people in everyday life. Here and as discussed in Chapter Three, the use of the internet was referred as a method for extending

[80] RV2

this production of meaningful spiritual experiences while dispensing particular messages. Most leading figures were in one way or another connected to the web, and sold material that aided in establishing and maintaining this feeling of connectedness that the music fosters.

While the use of internet and media resources were often understood products for religious consumption either in the intimacy of worshippers' homes or as 'teaching' tools, the engendering of a musical culture amongst African Pentecostals indicated several linguistic and ethnic dynamics. In a certain way, the experience of pastors in orchestrating the music scene is also embedded with managing which songs to sing, the languages used and even the rhythms used. Each one of these decisions seemed to come not just from 'the heat of the moment' as some preachers described. The spiritual knowledge that I have been conceptualising may also include in its 'archive' the ability to designate what makes worshippers feel in a given moment according to particular use of the musical language. In this way, the role of music as a bridge between individual and collective religious experiences might also 'access' emotional and cognitive dispositions from a cultural-linguistic point of view. In sum, it refers to both the experience in 'the heat of the moment' but also brings a sense of togetherness and intimacy in a more social-anthropological level.

In relation to that, pastor Emmet[81] in South Africa explained that he had to accommodate the local members of his congregation by 'learning to allow' local songs to be sung, claiming that this act promoted the feeling of belonging and let people express their love for God in the most meaningful way for them. It was abstracted that allowing such negotiations to occur, opens the doors for common ground where people are able to express themselves, echo each other's joys, sufferings or claims and, in doing that, also (re)producing a particular emotional regime; in sum, this means that familiarity can be found in musical expression. The following extract from a church visit in Spain reiterates the importance of music in fostering a collective spiritual connection:

> Pastor Ingrid[82] began to sing a compelling slow song with some words in English and others in an African language. It was the first time that I saw Pastor Ingrid singing or talking in a different language, which may also be related to the speciality of the event and its profile of attendants since several people were visiting from other churches (mainly Nigerian). It was as also during this time that I realised that songs and prayers seemed to be quite interactive. For some of the prayers would begin with songs while other songs began after prayers, in some sort of continuum where individuality and

[81] RV12
[82] RV3

> collectiveness was articulated. In other words, after moments of personal experience with the Holy Ghost, individuals were taken by the collective experience with the same entity in order to reaffirm the previous prayer and its focus – since each prayer is clearly directed to an end – on the other hand, the music raised collective awareness of sufferings, joy, hope and happiness that were reinforced by individual prayers done after the singing. It is interesting to note the continued use of music throughout the whole service either as a background or central.

The pastors are well aware that music is a mechanism that triggers human emotion. So far it was evidenced how pastors use music as a means to communicate certain messages, and produce a spirit of togetherness through meaning spiritual experiences. All that conveyed through expressions and words that are recognisable amongst congregants no matter where they reside. Church leaders made clear that music integrates the ecstatic divine-human encounter and permeates the church worship as an 'antidote' against sorrow or illness (Jennings 2008:1). In this regard, I witnessed the singing of one song in Lingala brought up by Congolese pastors Edward in Bilbao and Shaun in Johannesburg entitled 'Olokotaka na Se otomboli linkolo'. According to fellow congregants, the title (and refrain) roughly translated to English as 'when you are down, he lifts you up'. In both cases, worshippers repeatedly sang the refrain with gestures that represented this expression by raising their hands in an upward motion.

As noted elsewhere, the Pentecostal musical culture is particularly focused on the reinforcement of collective narratives and a sense of unity through which identity is also forged (Blanes 2008:17).Migrant initiated churches are demographically interesting because they may be frequented by migrants but also by the locals, creating a melting pot of languages and cultures. From the use of certain rhythms and instruments to the dances and song lyrics, both African cultures and the Pentecostal worldview are interwoven. These songs also bring to a common ground the ambiguities of Pentecostal discourses by portraying evil and good, suffering and hope, past and present. Moreover, the singing helped to give a certain rhythm to the church service that ranges from musical notes to dance and tones of voice (Kalu 2010; 2008).

With that said creating a feeling of familiarity becomes somewhat of a special skill as it were. Although, apparently all members of the church recognise it for its 'universal vision', the participating pastors have mentioned that there is a degree of adaptation and negotiation that occurs in order to create balance. Meaning that things like what songs should be sung and in which language, become significant. The analysis of musical moments in both cases point to a

pattern of learning and repetition where, congregants and the pastors alike learn songs, break them down, internalise their meanings, and sing the songs on countless accounts. Collectively they repeat this pattern and experience similar emotions.

5.4 Teaching how to feel: networks and tools of knowledge diffusion

At a first glance, a striking characteristic of African Pentecostals is the variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds of actual congregants. While some institutions are founded by immigrants in the Diaspora some others are connected to African counter parts or may even be associated to church networks all over the world. According to Ojo (2007; 380) African churches have moved from the periphery to the centre once dominated by Western missionary agencies. In other words, this work is not anymore unilateral but multi-faceted and horizontal with a much broader understanding of Christianity and its cross-cultural nuances. In relation to that, the capacity of opening up channels of communication with other denominations and addressing themes to local and global matters often characterise the discourses of pastors (Adogame, 2004). These networks are above all responsible for stimulating connections between those preachers with missions alike and therefore reinforcing particular visions within a range of institutions; but not only missions and visons of church leaders are conveyed in these contexts. As argued before, the multi-level set of interactions that feeds an African Pentecostal 'stock of knowledge' also finds room for expansion within networks. From emotional dispositions to socio-political views, relationships are articulated amongst preachers and congregants from different churches who may even come from different regions or countries.

The third range of transferring interactions conceptualised by me are those related to inter/intra-denominational encounters, thematic services and conferences arranged for transferring the spiritual knowledge amidst those who are particularly committed to the church. The target public in such interactions tends reach a larger public – in numbers and diversity – to an amalgam of locals and visiting congregants, training leaders, pastors and invited speakers. These events present an important room for institutionalising the mission of a certain congregation by the constantly contrasting with the missions, visions or values of other churches transmitted between leaders. In other words, the content of the spiritual knowledge conveyed at this level is presented in a more compact and systematic form in a somewhat masterclass related to local vicissitudes. Therefore, a discursive 'us' – the congregation or

African Pentecostals – and 'them' – non-believers, host society, different migrant groups – unveil tactical debates on framing 'otherness'.

From gender roles to the economic crisis or the understanding of the Holy Ghost, the selection of biblical texts to be analysed and applied to the current world is not necessarily regulated by a fixed Christian calendar. In fact, most interactions discussed so far were not regulated by a liturgical year. In this way, pastors reaffirmed their vocation and maturity spiritual knowledge by mentioning that a divine inspiration associated with their own abstractions of the surroundings is responsible for such selection. In this regard and based on his experience in West African countries and now South Africa, Pastor Emmet explained to me that 'as a leader you have to conceptualise your challenges and define your ministry, your product which is going to be given to the society based on what do you perceive as a need'[83] Still, preachers in both cases have also remarked the universality of the gospel in the kingdom of God which would root their *modus operandi* in a particular vision that are not exposed to the influences of the public; in pastor Ellis' words 'the gospel of Jesus Christ is strict, it is one. You don't preach by the people around you. What I preach for black is what I preach for white.'[84]

Women's Conference in Bilbao, 2014, Personal Archive

[83] RV12
[84] RV1

A brief description of a two-day Women's Conference at a Nigerian led church in Bilbao present a general overview of some observed social dynamics:

> The women's conference continues on second day with games, debates and preaching related to gender issues in day to day life for a Christian. The structure of the service is quite similar to the men's conference that I visited last year: theatre, quizzes and talk shows were intertwined by several dancing and singing moments presented during a whole weekend of celebration. Today, even more than yesterday, women seem to be united under the lead of Pastor Ingrid and all of them are dressed in the same way to symbolise this unity symbolising the aesthetics of a spiritual and social fellowship. Some men were also dressed with a 'uniform' showing their collective counter-part to the celebrated part.

Transferring spiritual knowledge in these interactions means that several aspects of human behaviour are addressed in relation to the bible and in this case gender-based problems were constantly analysed by the speakers. Yet, the specificities of the themed course, conference or training sessions are articulated with the transformational aspect inscribed in Pentecostals worldview. This logics is illustrated in a certain moment of this event when congregants were invited to the stage to answer a question 'how to build an ideal home or what do you understand by ideal home?' which was followed by the answer 'unity'. Pastor Ingrid then argued: 'The first family to be considered by the men is his mother, father, brothers and sisters. The second family is his wife and kids but it shouldn't be like this!' The role of a man was then contested by a traditional understanding in origin followed by its reinterpretation in a migrant milieu. Pastor Ingrid kept highlighting difficulties on the understanding of conjugal relationships by framing sentiments of love, jealousy and care as well as claiming for men's engagement with households and family issues. In the same conference other women leaders from the congregation as well as those coming from different churches seemed to weave a common discursive fabric towards. Problems, arguments and explanations were discussed amongst leaders in a way that worshippers could empathise in a somewhat emotional 'guide' out of that experience.

On expanding the 'surface of contact' – by the celebration and establishment of these networks amongst churches, other leading figures and congregants – the organizational structure expands to towards a multiple sensorial socialization of its emotional regime. From the experience of discussing sentimental dynamics on relationships to boosting the development of personal skills, intra/inter church events offer spaces for sharing communal symbols emotions and practices that encourage group identification. Therefore, such gatherings work with high

capacity for socializing key emotions on social processes of integration and transformation, mainly related to self-esteem, interpersonal trust and loyalty. These three social emotions are essential triggers for the social construction of agency, cooperation and organization (Barbalet 1996). The exchange of multiple visions, preaching styles and biblical lessons present a fertile ground for socializing a variety of psychosocial and cognitive responses by the use of techniques inspired Pentecostal discourses.

5.4.1 Schooling the Spirit

For those who once heard a Pentecostal sermon or even talked to a Pastor about his faith, the citation of biblical verses is a widespread practice. By times I was surprised about the accuracy of these citations that conveniently matched with the sermons and discussions portrayed by church leaders. Moreover, this practice is not only observed on leaders but is also frequent on those who evangelise and 'defend' their views as Pentecostals. In order to structure a certain speech and reinforce particular messages to the community, it is important for a born-again to know specific aspects of the bible. A selected activity that portrays well such this third level of interactions are those related to the institutional training or 'schooling' of congregants into pastors' theological approaches. Often held during training sessions, leadership encounters and bible school, the activities observed did not involve a large number of attendants. In fact, most congregants do not attend these activities with few of them seemed to show a certain discipline on studying the bible These Pentecostal 'schools' integrate other interactions by equipping congregants with a set of religious literary resources that, together with the interactions described so far, adds a material pillar to the spiritual knowledge.

As I have argued in the previous sections, the social learning environment was perpetrated during all interactions. Through the use of notebooks, tablets or in small pieces of papers, some congregants are seen to be constantly pointing down the information presented by church leaders. The addressing of certain passages of the bible – those more attached to the African Pentecostal discursive pillars – makes easier for most congregants to acknowledge clearly at least 'what needs to be known'. At this point, the religious insights given by Pastors are already psychosocially adjusted to the reality of the congregation. These lessons are often conveyed by diagrams and conceptualised stages or steps of action towards problem-solving contexts. By the elaboration of such pragmatic formulas to deal with a born-again life, preachers seem to be

simplify the biblical complexities in order to effectively transfer to worshippers the ethical points to be worked.

An illustration of this idea was, for instance, presented in a lesson[85] given by Pastor Daniel in Bilbao where mistakes and 'solutions' related to the behaviours of a born-again were organised in bullet-points to be dealt with. In that context, we were strongly encouraged assume the responsibility over the battle against evil threats. Moreover, the Devil is not necessarily portrayed as an autonomous force but an entity whose strength and power is rooted in human (material or flesh) weaknesses, specially occurring in those who are deprived of 'spiritual knowledge'. Daniel explains that 'the enemy is not the devil, but it is our flesh made easy so the devil can use it'. Still, in order to overcoming the works of flesh, five points were framed:

1. Flesh has its affection and lusts
2. Flesh wars against soul
3. Every man try to cherish his flesh
4. Flesh leads to death
5. To overcome the flesh we need to walk in the spirit and for walking in the spirit one must first born again

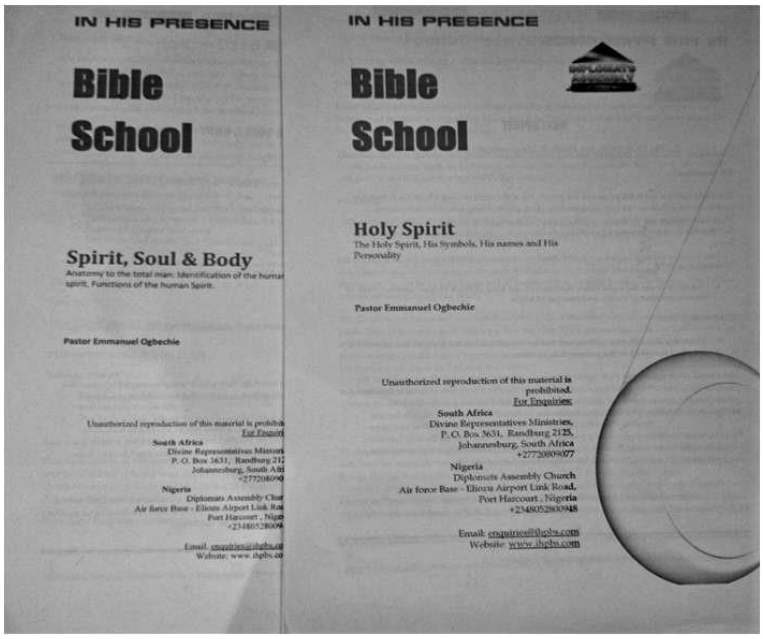
Likewise, a couple of weeks later in another event[86] Pastor Daniel gave a sermon on the subject of choice-making and portrayed a similar logic on addressing congregants as individuals who are responsible for their own choices. He then presented in a PowerPoint the following aspects to be discussed:

1. Choice is the power that keeps a man
2. Choice is the seed of God inside man
3. It is your choice that can make you and also the same choice that can break you
4. We live a life of choice
5. Integrity is the father of dignity 'let's go for it"

[85] PO9, 14/01/ 2013
[86] PO10, 12/04/2013

Yet these guidelines elaborated by church leaders are interpreted with paradoxes and ambiguities. During this explanation, Daniel recognized that choice is also a contextual matter by stating: 'The power of choice means the opportunity to choose. Some people didn't choose to come, they were forced (…) you don't find happiness, you create happiness and this is a choice'. Despite of the limitations faced by migrants regards choice-making the preacher offers an ultimate resource. The possibility of achieving happiness or 'taking the lead' of other emotional states is detached from congregants socio-economic constraints. As put by Daniel, the spiritual knowledge brings not only the power of choice but also opportunity and wisdom. Such aspects inspire confidence and security in the choice-making process.

An analogous mode of operation was observed during bible schools ministered by Pastors. Particularly, I attended a couple of classes in biblical course at a Nigerian led church in Johannesburg. As an invited guest by its leaders Pastor Emmet and Pastor Hector, I received printed and online material used in the courses. The materials were separated by chapters and organised by the levels of understanding demanded as beginners, intermediate and advanced. The course was set to be carried on for five months and promised to bring spiritual knowledge for attendants who either wanted a religious empowerment or eventually take it as an educational course for future leader. Advised by both pastors, I took the classes related to 'Holy Spirit' and that of 'Spirit, Soul and Body'. The former was guided by a brochure described in its title as 'The holy spirit, his symbols, his names and his personalities'; likewise, the latter explained 'Anatomy to the total man, identification of the human spirit. Functions of the human spirit.'



Brochures of a Bible school in Johannesburg, 2014, personal archive

Apart from the brochures provided by the organisers I was encouraged to check the online lessons uploaded into the church's website. However, only those who were to attend the course had access to the video after being properly registered in the bible school. In one of the classes attended Pastor Emmet was also being recorded in order to later on upload the video just like the others. By reading the brochure one can abstract a series of short guidelines and some biblical verses. Still, the document was mostly written by the Pastor Emmet and several aspects of humans, from physiology to psychosocial behaviours were framed accordingly. Particularly, a series of fragments indicate the ways in which emotions and senses are inscribed the spirit and soul of a Christian offering insights for its interpretation:

> The word of god can control your emotions only when your mind is renewed by the word. The response of the emotion of man is controlled by the predominant content of the mind. If your mind is not full of god's word then when things happen, negative emotions could be stirred up in you because there is no word in you to control the reaction or response of your emotions.
> (…)
> The sense organs of the body depend on the soul of man to appropriately interpret what is going in the body. The organs of the body do not process information rather the soul does the information process.

The information provided was organised as a somewhat manual. In contrast to the usual flamboyant preaching of Pentecostal pastors, the words and expressions were 'cold' with few space for non-biblical anecdotes. In order to justify the importance of educating the spirit, the

text attribute to soul all sort of emotional and cognitive aspects. The ideas were presented as statements, a series of logical reasoning led by syllogisms and superficial assumptions later on reworked by the preachers. Our teachers, Pastor Emmet and Pastor Hector, illustrated the material with personal stories of their migration journeys often presenting daily vicissitudes of those who live in Johannesburg or moral challenges faced by the modern life.

The implication of preachers in producing such material was observed in the Spanish case by an experienced Nigerian Pastor. Apostle Daniel invited me to the launch of his book: 'Offensive Prayers for Total Deliverance and Victory'. In the book Daniel presents a guide for those who are 'held in all kinds of bondages, lack, poverty, sickness, defeat, without vision and empty of purpose'[87]. The volume was organised in nineteen chapters pointing out popular themes within the African Pentecostal discourse[88]. For the launch of the manuscript, the preacher invited several church leaders from other congregations in Bilbao and all over the country. Such material seems to add value to pastors' status as some sort of religious intellectual who, therefore, stands out from other born-agains. Furthermore, it helps to attract congregants that want to develop a more 'formalised' spiritual knowledge as well as convey the logics and structure of the Pentecostal language.

5.5 From learning to practice: a platform for transformations?

As previously discussed, the inclusion on the world of God is framed by the level of proximity with the spiritual knowledge or, in other words, the level of attendance and discipline towards the learning process. In this case, not only an emotional awareness is raised once a born-again in accordance with the word but the association with negative and positive emotion is presented as an interpretative guideline for feelings. In these migrant initiated churches, knowledge is thusly of great significance. It is a tool which the church leaders use to learn and convey their expertise, establish a link between the self, the congregation, the society and the spiritual world preparing followers to navigate in social life. Moreover, the nature of transformations declared by believers is often influenced by the ability of Pastors on assimilating them through psychosocial and cognitive approaches (Tankink 2007; Holm 1991).The transformational

[87] Fragment from the 'Introduction' in Pastor Daniel's book

[88] Prophetic prayers for breakthrough, prayer for open doors, breaking of curses and evil covenant; prayers against the spirit of sickness and diseases; prayer for marriage and family or nation and city; prayer for spiritual and physical insight; monitoring spirit and the spirit of witchcraft; deliverance prayer for freedom; amongst other chapters.

aspects of different preaching styles remark also different understandings of the impact of a church experience for a worshipper. In one hand emotional states are mainly focused on embodiment practices and attached to physiological responses such as sweating, shouting, crying and other transformations felt. On the other, congregants are offered a less ecstatic experience and a more hermeneutical approach on transforming their lives.

Throughout the religious interactions described we have seen that pastors highlight the different challenges that one must face while progressing in the 'walk to the spirit'. This process was reiterated by pastors in Johannesburg and Bilbao under the same structural logic despite the contextual differences. The 'fallings' on temptations, failure and success in choice-making, awareness on sufferings and emotional states, all that open the way to narratives of transformation in the biographical account. Whether empowering or disempowering, positive or negative, based in continuities or discontinuities, the idea of transforming lives pervades preachers' discourses. As evidenced in Pargament (1990) the values shared within a religious community contribute to the development of a common discourse and the ascription of meanings in relation to tangible issues like suffering, emotions, collective memory and traditions. Thus, religious involvement may potentiate the quality and quantity of resources available along the lives of believers. As in testimonies, the biographical reinterpretation seems to reinforce the learned African Pentecostal 'language' associated with congregations' emotional regime.

In a church mainly assisted by Congolese attendants Pastor Adam temporarily occupies the position of senior pastor. Together with his wife, the women's leader, their views on 'typical' sufferings and vicissitudes faced by South African society is constantly related to a lack of connection with God. In his explanation about the links between worshipping and emotions the preacher contextualised to me the way in which a sinful life implies an emotional transformation:

> The bible says that at the spiritual level a man loses the communion with God as a consequence of being sinful. So at the level of the soul a man loses his sentiments because the soul is the headquarters of the sentiments, good or bad sentiments. When there is time for sin there is no good on us. Everything that is the fruit of the flesh: jealousy, animosity, stupidity, the divisions (break of social bonds); all these things that push away men from God. But the person who is in communion with God has the fruit of the spirit: patience, sweetness, humility, control, all that Gallants 5, 19 to 20 mentions

> "You will see the fruits of the spirit and the fruits of the flesh and there the sin is away from the men of God"[89]

Adam kept his explanation pointing out several 'emotional wonders' of a life in communion with God. In this way, he presented to me the foundations of the emotional regime that leads his preaching and therefore what is transferred to the community. Negative emotions rooted in the original sins of humanity, the flesh, are transformed into its positive counter-part found in a spiritual life. By focusing in 'controllable' or pacifistic emotions the preacher portrays desirable characteristics of born-agains contrasting with that of the outside world voicing 'an emotional regime that deviates from the general scenario'(Riis and Woodhead 2010:229). Within the chaos of modernity and urban environments, frustrations and sufferings are turned into worshippers favour not only by replacing them by narratives of hope and stability but alleviating the impact of everyday distresses. Yet church leaders hold the authority to set emotional tones and police the congregation's emotional regime offering sanctions and rewards. As noted by Linda Woodhead and Ole Riis (ibid.) such dynamic is particularly powerful in the case of religious minorities and small congregations.

Still, the biographical transformations narrated by preachers themselves are also an integrative part while establishing these emotional dispositions. In this way, throughout Pastor Ingrid's youth she always had the feeling of a gift inside her that for a long time was not developed or brought out by her until she started reading the word of God inspired by her husband, another famous church leader in that region. In her opinion, this could have been brought out for other purposes such as the traditional religion of her father who was an adept of a tradition religion in Nigeria but since she lived away from him it didn't happened.

> I believe since that gift was there I was seeing Gods divine connection to make that gift to begin to come out of me. The only way it comes out is just here. It doesn't begin to come out in the streets or come out in the discotheque or wherever...and it's like this. I saw it like this so it is! Also if you have a gift and you don't know how to reach that gift, the gift will go. It's like a footballer, if you lose the ball and the stamina you lose. You need to nourish it, you need to feed it, to cherish it, I need to be closer to God, I need to read the word of God, I need to...by the time you get closer to God he opens your eyes to see things and you can be able to pass it to people.[90]

From the born-again process to the vocational calling and oracular experiences, Pastor Ingrid narrated her journey of getting to know the bible. She claimed a turn in her life towards sensing

[89] RV9
[90] RV3

reality in a different way. Mentions to feelings and emotional states were not rather emphasized as the fuel the kept their interests on the learning process on. More than bringing new features to the personality of the believer, the deepening on spiritual knowledge allows individuals to reinterpret qualities already inscribed in their personalities. The narration of such experiences seemed to play a central role on the self and social legitimisation of the leading roles that takes place throughout church activities and also to define sufferings or success in believers' lives.

Furthermore, the transformative process of 'walking in the spirit' often implies the renewal of certain relationships as an adjustment to the current situation of the born-again. The change of environment is also affected in terms of the very own understanding of the new bonds to be established. As noted by Ellison and Levin (1998), these relationships can be reshaped by the mirroring of one's interaction with the divine entity. In the authors' words, 'through devotional activities (e.g. prayer, scriptural studies) and other spiritual practices and pursuits, individuals may construct personal relationships with a "divine other" in much the same way they develop relationships with concrete social others.' (Ellison and Levin 1998:707).

Hence, the church provide a common ground where members are evaluated by their peers in other than material, educational, professional or in physical capabilities or appearance. In contrast, the coreligionists' criteria may include '(1) one's inherent uniqueness and worth as individuals, (2) their sociability and service to others, and (3) their spiritual qualities, such as wisdom and morality'(Ellison 1993; Ellison and Levin 1998:707). In this way, the transformation portrayed by Pentecostals is based in the discursive tools that portray an ongoing process. Transformation is also about how individuals participate in relationships and ritual practices that help them identify with and commit to a new moral community that creates positive and sometimes negative experiences (Daswani 2010:6). The born-again is a 'being under construction' that requires a radical, but not necessarily immediate, departure from traditional religious orientations in order to embrace new truths, relations, morals and ethos.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

The combination between church experiences (narratives and praxis) and pastors' life journeys is able to (re)produce discursive constructs that evidence both a PC emotional regime and a stock of knowledge. Such construct supports the idea of transformation along migratory processes. The history of African Pentecostal-Charismatics has been developed in a close relationship with migratory processes. By evangelising missions, transnational networks are established either amongst congregations in one or multiple locations. Such networks perpetrate as well as compose the African Diaspora by framing a Pan African identity inspired built from Christian ethos and worldview. At the same time, Pastors' adjustments to contextual vicissitudes help to reinvent and update the religious discourses therefore sustaining the expansion of PC congregations while still maintaining the connection to a global perspective.

The development of spiritual gifts, the consolidation of family and gender roles and the institutionalization of goals, are the pillars of pastors' biographical account that once translated to the PC discourses help to legitimise leadership and transformation. In this way, certain emotions and experiences are particularly framed in their discourses order to (self-) legitimise the African PC ethos and worldview. Migrant initiated churches are interstitial spaces in host societies, marginal places where social and religious interactions conflate towards an emotional regime as well as a diasporic consciousness. Moreover, a repertoire of emotions, symbols, spiritual experiences, and biographical transformations engender a bonds amongst individuals in a somewhat horizontal fraternity.

This emotional community, united by mutually recognisable feelings and sentiments alongside migratory process, transcends locality and relates worshippers from African Pentecostal congregations in African and European contexts. A tactical way of belonging to a cosmopolitan world guided by both a global kingdom (Christianity), a particular spiritual nation (Pentecostal Pan-Africanism). Alternatively, the top-down interpretation of these macro-scale concepts is translated by pastors into church activities and interactions that help to frame worshippers' migratory realities through a particular construct evidenced as 'spiritual knowledge'.

This discursive construct seems to integrate social, spiritual and emotional dispositions while portraying narratives of social transformation; moreover, it is both the 'common ground' and a point of inflexion on the mediation of the several Pentecostal paradoxes – Manicheism and

dialectical quests – discussed in this thesis. Abstracted from pastors' discourses, the spiritual knowledge seemed to be inspired on their own missionary, migratory and everyday life experiences. Furthermore, it is conveyed to the congregations through a series of church interactions hereby conceptualised as a social learning system. Throughout this process, not only a religious worldview is adjusted to individual contexts but at the communal level such discursive praxis helps to emotionally (de)construct the notion of transformation.

6.2 Contrasting objectives and findings

Throughout the last century Pentecostals expanded their activities all over the world in a diverse and flexible modes of operations under the aegis of experiencing the wonders of the Holy Ghost. From North America to Asia, urban to rural areas, well established and luxurious buildings to old industrial garages, born-again Christians manifest gifts of the spirit no matter where the church is settled. We have seen that the history of African Pentecostalism has been developed in a close relationship with migratory processes. Starting from its origins, the arrival of protestant missionaries mainly from North America and Europe in the late 19th and beginnings of 20th century prepared the terrain for Pentecostalism in Africa. Amidst settlers and colonizers these religious leaders exchanged with locals particular ways of experiencing spirituality. It didn't take long for locals and missionaries to carry on break-through movements that would change not only ways of being Christian but also Pentecostal.

Furthermore, the revivalist routes throughout the continent left a track of revivals, discourses and practices along the first half of the last century that boosted the action African leaders towards a Pan-African reformation of classical Pentecostalism. Through the word-of-mouth coming from evangelisers and migrant worshippers, Africans from all backgrounds got attracted to the announcements of miracles, powers and wonders of the Holy Ghost. At the same time, the continent was immersed in several decolonising processes marked by violent – and traumatic – wars that devastated villages displacing families and dividing families. In the past few decades, the 'broken generation' of those times was revitalised by their younger and better prepared descendants. The former being able to transfer foundational struggles of an Africanised Christianity from which the latter would explore and update according to a new globalised era.

Moreover, with rise of new African nations, African Pentecostal leaders promoted a certain reunification of African Christians under the aegis of a resilient religio-culture. Out of suffering, breakages, fear, darkness, doubt, chaos, illness, and deprivation, Charismatic Pentecostals would create stability, control, unity, prosperity, certainty and health. Yet the liturgical and doctrinal knowledge that required to reproduce such wonders in previous Christian traditions was juxtaposed by a spiritual knowledge dependant on the compromise of a born-again with certain discourses and practices. Still, this compromised way of feeling and sensing reality is guided by figures who, despite of sharing similar born-again repertoires, will offer a particular their 'touch' on the matter. While taking for granted the history of African Pentecostals, it was precisely by looking at these guiding figures that this thesis had built its arguments. The ways in which this Christian tradition has developed a distinctive ethos and worldview through African fellows are reproduced nowadays with other contextual matters. In this way have also been reworked when reaching different groups where a hostile surrounding is framed by variables that keeps weaving a certain fabric of memory regards sufferance, illness, deprivation and racial issues. When looking at church leader's biographical account, it is evidenced that an emotional resocialization occurs from their first experiences in the church until taking the lead of a congregation. Either in their discourses towards congregants – sermons, speeches, preaching – or on their very own life course narratives, an emotional regime seems to mediate this socialization.

In the cases observed we have seen church leaders who either had been through the born-again process in their home land or were converted along their migration journey. Their first contacts with Christianity were largely influenced by the immediate family, affective partners and friendships although in some cases the Charismatic approach was not so welcomed. In this last case, the break with traditional aspects of society – family, kinship, social relations – together with the lack of Nation-state support were conformed into new spaces of life by evangelical churches as a light that illuminates the darkness of a Hobbesian individualism. In this sense, we may observe an enactment of social movement and social change fostered by a community that reconstructs the moral and social fabric (Marshall 1998).

Along this 'enactment' three particular 'turning points' were highlighted: (1) a gradual acknowledgement of biblical knowledge through a spiritual calling; (2) the manifesting the gifts of the Holy Ghost and the development of charismatic skills inspired by a vocational

calling; (3) and the importance of spiritual godfathers throughout their journeys – mostly men. All that must also take in consideration pastors' social-economic contexts marked unemployment and material deprivation that in some cases clearly fostered their emigration to Spain and South Africa. Yet preacher's presented a relatively high level of educational and/or professional background. This aspect corroborates with the idea that emigration within family members being generally led by those with more social and educational capital who therefore would be better equipped for 'surviving'. In our cases, despite of different and multiple routes described towards the global north or an emergent economy of the global south, preachers' missions seemed to embed an amalgam of social, economic and religious motivations.

However, the Pentecostal missionary leitmotiv was privileged over other motivation which also evidenced one of the preliminary signs as the discursively framing of social transformation. While perceiving their routes to a certain country as part of their 'call' but at the same time relying on an existent network of African Pentecostals, it became clear that the religious leitmotiv must be carefully understood as a tactical interpretation of decision-making. As seen in Chapter Three, while becoming a pastor as well as involved in their own migratory processes the recall on leading a congregation in a determinate place and continent narrated with religious arguments despite the mentions of social-economic motivations. Such discourse is in consonance with preachers' stories on how they arrived in Spain and South Africa, and even explains other previous migratory routes.

By evangelising missions, transnational networks are established amongst congregations in one and multiple locations independently of geo-political frontiers. Some pastors have developed connections when 'planting' churches around Bilbao, Spain and other European countries. In the same way, leaders in Johannesburg have described their experiences in Africa – Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana – as well as at the South African level. Moreover, it was observed that church leaders' transnational and migratory experiences compose as well as perpetrate the notion of Global Kingdom in terms of 'living examples' of the biblical scriptures.

Along their training, preaching and worshipping in the African Diaspora, church leaders' integrate an intrinsic Pan African identity of the movement inspired in a Christian ethos and worldview. All that is materialised and therefore inspire a sense of togetherness amongst congregations visited as well as in those founded in destination. Evidenced in Chapter Five, the African Pentecostal emotional regime is reframed by pastors in church encounters while being also 'tuned' by congregations' particular regimes. In this way, the notions of resilience,

hope, control, stability, fear, darkness, threat, good and evil, are reworked in multiple scales, back and forth within Africa or between Africa and Europe, amongst regional networks of congregations and inside the same institution. As pointed out in Chapter Three, the ups and downs of their circumstances along the migratory journey and the religious calling equipped leaders with an emotional stock of knowledge that is religiously transmitted and social-cognitively useful. Pastors' adjustments to worshippers surrounding 'fears' help to reinvent and update the religious discourses therefore sustaining the expansion of Pentecostal-Charismatic congregations while still maintaining the connection to a global perspective. As highlighted in Chapter Four, beyond strictly defining believers' realities, preachers mediate local and global matters with neither losing track of the Pentecostal worldview nor abandoning African based social-structural elements. For these Pastors the process of preaching implies gathering worshippers and integrating them into the religious community; to some extent, the 'success' would be then related to their capacity of continuously recreate moments of connectivity amongst Africans in migratory contexts as well as towards those in their homelands.

As presented in Chapter One, I now take back the aims and objectives that helped to shape my fieldwork followed by three responses abstracted out of this doctoral research

> I – The religious experience would be associated with an emotionally-based re-socialization of migrants. An *ethos* and worldview that reinterprets migratory processes under the discourses of social transformations.
>
> II – Based in theological and social-cultural acknowledgements, pastors discourses offer a room for negotiating local and global inequalities (gender, family problems, racism, etc) as well as portray tactical ways of belonging.
>
> III – A particular set of rituals are mediators of scenarios 1 and 2. They (re)produce moments of emotional and cognitive connectivity while engendering a diasporic consciousness shaped by an African(ised) and Pentecostal scenario.

As evidenced throughout church interactions, the process of forging an emotional regime articulates a certain core of emotions in the PC worldview, migrants' vicissitudes and church leader's biographical account. From this point, this emotional regime is reworked throughout church services worldwide as well as blends with communal dynamics along worshippers'

migratory processes. The ability of adjusting its theodicy to the claims of a given community makes Pentecostals' expansion a matter of maintaining a multi-level and often ambiguous discursive approach towards its worldview. By navigating along past and present, fluctuating between tradition and modernity, establishing and breaking bonds, preachers stand out as the rulers amidst what is desirable or undesirable within the community. The findings meet the notions of African Pentecostalism as a school for (1) (re)producing the social fabric and (2) coping with everyday vicissitudes, specifically, evident in migratory contexts. The discourses transmitted by leaders can be seen as strict by its association with evils but flexible on how these evils can be described 'here' and 'there'.

In our perspective the phenomenological basis for the Pentecostal experience is strongly influenced by this *modus operandi* in which the understanding of reality is mediated by a spiritual evaluation of the circumstances. Considering the diversity of congregants and the difficulties of acting without being influenced by local constraints – legislation, wider society, local religions and traditions – Pastors present both global responses and individualised advices to worshippers claims; their *modus operandi* is then characterised by a fluid discursive mediation of migrants vicissitudes and articulated by a consistent organisational structure that develops both knowledge and the socialization of a spiritual world .

Pastors' orchestration of discourses and church praxis (kinship, language/music and spiritual knowledge) seems to present an integrative value especially relevant in migratory contexts. Beyond social networks and organizational aspects of religious communities, church leaders architect a social interstice that constitutes alternative spaces of belonging and a particular interpretative frame for migrants' to cope with everyday life. The 'knowledge of the gospel' learned, transferred and transformed throughout church leaders lives in a distant land carries within an inherent component capable of triggering different emotional states. However, the development of this component as well as the orchestration of its emotional outputs in the public sphere depends on how successful transferring activities are. In this regard, also pastors play an essential role in the dissemination of this knowledge: meanings are introduced and reiterated through preaching, reading materials and, most importantly, bible references.

We had seen here that African Pentecostalism carries with it the spirit of modernity; evidence of this is the churches' appropriation of contemporary mediums of communication, new technologies and concepts that all speak this era of obsession with knowledge acquisition. The

process of reaching the kingdom of God seems to be another remarkable aspect in these contexts. Inspired by supernatural experiences with God and its effects throughout their life journeys, church missions and visions are created as well as leadership is legitimised. Moreover, the importance of pastors in these contexts is understood by their abilities in (1) providing the 'glue' that links structural and conjectural variables of worshippers' lives using (2) their own experience as being born-again, African and migrants themselves. Both aspects are mediated by emotionally-based discourses and concepts that are learned, felt and accepted by those who are born-again into this new family. Still, the African Pentecostal construction of this spiritual family conflate the reproduction of gender models that presents continuities with the life in the 'past'.

Through particular notions of household and domestic activities, preachers make sure that religious discourses must reproduce submission of women as well as moral code that 'protects' the African Christian family from the externalities. In the case of women leaders their role is not questioned since women can lead and hold the same gifts of the Holy Ghost as men. This finding corroborates with Soothill's (2007) suggestion that the pnemautological empowerment is not necessarily associated with social empowerment. In this way, authority and submission were seem as ambiguous concepts that were tactically used in pastors' discourses. They portray a rupture – with traditional Christianity and other exclusive male-led religious institutions – and continuity – with attributing stereotypical roles for women, particularly relating them to the 'African mama'.

In our effort to identify the phenomenological pillars of the Pentecostal emotional regime the agenda of religions interactions is marked by a networked and systemic distribution of spiritual knowledge. A series of conferences and biblical lessons attended indicated that the need for socializing the spirit is the starting point for any born-again no matter where he or she is settled. The celebration of conferences, the articulation of visions with spiritual gifts and the teachings on everyday life orientate Pentecostal migrants to develop personal skills, frame interpersonal challenges and 'tune' their minds to understand sentiments and emotions. Traces of congregants' culture of origin as well as shared senses of Africanity are more or less stressed either through narratives or social and symbolic expressions. In our perspective, this melting pot offers a framework for reality that contains both localized and delocalizing features. Either in Africa or outside Africa, Pentecostal churches affect congregants though a set of multi-level activities in which transformation is the effect of rules of which obedience must be

acknowledged. However, their outputs also imply exclusiveness and division 'gluing' and 'breaking' bonds. The similarities within of ethos and worldviews preached by church leaders in Spain and South Africa (re)configure a set of feelings and sentiments of belonging that reinforce these moments of connectivity. A diasporic consciousness is weaved from the 'melting pots' of African and Pentecostal notions under the auspices of an imagined community. In a milieu often characterised by hostility, racism and xenophobia such expanded notion of kinship helps to restore the community by stressing feelings of trust, hope and harmony. These church interactions invite parishioners to experience a psychosocial connection with a known and familiar landscape, a sense of intimacy that mitigates to some extent the nostalgias of those who arrive in a strange land.

By reinforcing certain attributes to host society (i.e. excessive liberalism, degraded morals) and life back in origin (i.e. traditional religion, unemployment), both a community of sentiment as well as the spiritual kinship are selectively applied for those who are in 'tune' with the experience; otherwise, emotional states and everyday life are turned into sufferings, sickness and failures. Resilience, healing and stability are not a simple effect of instantaneous magical powers but the results of a gradual acknowledgment of the word of God and its spiritual gifts. After knowing the truth about God's words, a need for transferring and teaching this knowledge arises; a 'schooling' of the Pentecostal ethos and worldview takes place and worshippers may measure success or sufferings by their relationship with the word of God. According to the leader's lessons, the beginning of a new life will only happen through the moments of connectivity with God, the self and other fellow congregants; moments that link individuals with a (de)localised worldview and ethos under the aegis of resilience and hope.

Rituals and religious practices analysed throughout this fieldwork were initially framed by me as a series of performative interactions that involved aspects like body, morality, ethos, emotions, feelings and sentiments. However, the activities observed evidenced the importance of words in the mediation of such variables. On the one hand, the idea of separating body-mind respectively from its Christian counterpart flesh-soul led me to abstract a division of two worlds or realities. The kingdom of god and the world of humans, nature and other living beings seemed to be detached from a discursive point of view. Yet a closer examination of church leaders' narratives on framing the cause-effect dynamics between these two dimensions took me to a turning point where beings, things, events and experiences were rather integrated under the same discourse framework. In this way, the idea of miracles, changes, healings performed

in the life of migrant worshippers were found to be not only resultant of instantaneous or magic moments.

The effort to integrate the body-mind and flesh-soul relationships seemed be anchored on a pre-experiential materiality, guided by textual and visual resources as well as on the emotionally-cognitive modes of conveying such resources. This is where the spiritual knowledge emerges. Still, as highlighted by respondents, the moments of feeling the manifestations of the Holy Ghost are also addressed in particular ways or 'controlled' by the individual uses of cognitive-sensorial capital. For instance, in certain moments the expression of sufferance and pain for some seemed to share the same space with those who portrayed joy and hope; or even during the same prayer, the same person may integrate all these emotions as well as other feelings and sentiments. The role of church leaders through the religious interactions carried out amongst congregants would be to find an emotional common ground. Interstitial space-moments where an amalgam of worshippers' migratory processes can be interpreted and synchronised under the African Pentecostal framework portrayed in preacher's speeches.

From the phenomenological framework presented in Chapter One, the spiritual knowledge abstracted in church leader's discourses conflates with Schutz's notion of 'stock of knowledge'. Understood as a pre-experiential 'toolbox' and a timeless resource to be accessed by individuals, this stock is conveyed amongst church leaders and worshippers during the church interactions. However, such stock is also imprinted by a history and a culture – born-again cultures and that of African Pentecostalism interrelated – relating to what Marcel Mauss framed as *habitus* a 'taught body'. My effort in this work seemed to shed light on the bridging phenomenon somewhat connecting Schutz and Mauss's notions. In this way, this thesis meets Talal Asad's perspective on the engendering of religious experiences with and during social interactions. Asad's main argument in this process indicates that discourse and gesture, cognition and body, are dimensions in the social process of learning and the development of aptitudes (Asad 1993:33).

As per the cases observed, independently of being located in Johannesburg or Bilbao, these dimensions compose a religious experience that not only integrate believers into a determinate congregation and worldview. Such experience may (1) de- construct particular notions of integration through Pentecostalism as well as (2) offer spaces for integration by offering an

African(nised) milieu. In this way, the church experiences of a migrant born-again may range from (a) acknowledging the Pentecostal notions of integration, (b) to share the church as African(ised) spaces for integration or (c) even acknowledge these notions while sharing such spaces. As prototype that conflate both aspects, African migrant and Pentecostal, pastors deconstruct common categories such as 'migrant' in their aim to become a 'produ cer of institutional power (by) skilfully using globalisation to create a global religious empire' (Knibbe 2009: 156).

Alternatively, congregants seem to tactically engage in a weberian process of elective affinity, tactical forms of belonging to the congregation or to the wider society as Africans or Pentecostals. In the last case scenario, and in consonance with the work of Sandra Fancello (2009), two aspects are central on the integration of migrants at African churches in Europe: the churches developed their work within the migration flows of pastors and worshippers and they are reinforced more by the arrival of new migrants already converted than by converting Africans already established in Europe; a more hermetic structure is observed in religious communities in Europe which may lead to a less proselyte environment than religious communities in African cities. However, in both cases African Pentecostals seem to also tactically engage with continuities more than ruptures between the past and the present. In parallel to Kathrin Meier's (2011:202) findings, the focus on a biblical ethos and morals in gender and family, as well as the portraying of a boundless flow people alongside north-south-east-west territories and cultures, 'are all deeply unsettling for a liberal society and state'.

6.3 Contributions meeting further lines of research

Emotions, practices and discursive constructs were deliberately selected as the core of this thesis. Together contributions to the phenomenology of religion some to future lines of research in the field of migration and religious studies have arisen. In a first place, the very own understanding of emotions abstracted by me in this fieldwork seemed to be in dual relationship with that of the respondents. While the focus of prayers, sermons, preaching and the other interactions described were told not to be led by emotions, words spoken and body expressions during these contexts clearly indicated an emotional dimension. In sum speech was portrayed to be closer to the body and emotions than to textual elements.

In this way, it was clear for respondents that the Holy Ghost was the sole guide of these religious experiences and the role of individuals was to 'let themselves go with the flow'. However, it was also clear for preachers that one must also be guided in such process or, to put differently, a worshipper must also 'know how to let go'. In avoiding to see these alternate approaches to the same matter as unexplainable paradoxes of the Pentecostal logics, a more detailed study of emotions from the worshipping perspective could indicate a way to go in this quest. Likewise, when confronted with other reasons for migrating church leaders generally avoided to focus in other than an evangelical vocation. In this way, even though Pentecostal pastors present a highly mobile activity under the evangelising leitmotiv, other contrasting variables must be taken into consideration in order to better understand migration routes and strategies.

From these previous insights, it seems that from the church leader's discourses – although leaders themselves can be also considered worshippers – it can be abstracted a preliminary differentiation between religious emotions and other emotional dispositions. Moreover, the relationship of worshippers and the emotions involved during church interactions conforms and it is somehow conformed by a particular combination between religious and secular life. Happiness of the Holy Ghost, for instance, acquires a particular way to be felt, so as sadness, fear or hope. As underlined in Chapter One, the limitation of this thesis towards focusing on church leaders pushed my research interests in social construction of emotions from the worshippers' point of view in order to deepen in the elaboration of religious emotions. This task has been recently explored by Olee Riis and Linda Woodhead' Sociology of Religious Emotiona as well as by Talal Asad in his Genealogies of Religion. Nevertheless, both works have generally offered theoretical pillars for that matter.

I recognise that a deeper understanding of religious emotions to be a quite current subject of study specially having in mind the actual place of religious conflicts in the public sphere. In this field, mediatic and political interpretations are often marked by mismatching conceptualizations of emotions, feelings and sentiments from the parts involved. In this way, it is also through emotionally-based stimuli that groups are encouraged – or discouraged: to perform a determinate act; challenge the political scene; engage with social or cultural dimensions of society; reach the public space or simply confine themselves within the private spheres. Furthermore, with regards to migration policies and the integration debate, this thesis calls for a greater attention to both sides while deliberating in such field. On the one hand, the

observed religious experiences and interactions indicate that, migrants are still 'unseen' and overly 'mystified' regards intercultural relations with the wider society. On the other, African Pentecostals by times seemed to consider Johannesburg and Bilbao as sole platforms for performing their individual but also global transformations on rescuing western modernity. In this regard, Peggy Levitt (2001:23) had already evidenced that 'the politic or civil consequences are often accidental as members' primary goal is to extend, strengthen and the community of god'. Still, the 'question' of whether churches help of obstruct the establishment of bonds with wider society must be also be longitudinally framed. By looking at the following generations of African migrants in the Diaspora, it would possible to better understand if the role of churches is largely that of alleviating the first 'impact' of integration if it has long term consequences in this matter.

Either as a contribution to the phenomenology of religion or transnational studies, the role of emotions in weaving notions of belonging and bridging 'realms' still needs further detailed case studies. For a born-again, the 'struggles' with the secular surrounding boosts the engagement of Africans Christians with the challenges of modernity faced in migratory contexts. Rather than a land in which they arrive, settle and become emotionally attached leaving an 'old' life behind, the churches observed evoked an understanding of transnationalism that is not necessarily measured by communicational practices or remittances. The simplistic view of 'migrant versus host society' clash seems to miss the point of what's actually matters for these worshippers. In fact, in the kingdom of God they are not foreigners or a minority, but on the contrary, the hegemonic power. By reinterpreting reality in accordance with their own moral standards Pentecostals rely on a pnemautological empowerment that may either leave few consequences or dramatically change their lives. Still this jump from passive affiliation to a transformative agent also claims further attention.

APPENDIX I

Interview Guide

- Introduction and ethics

Present a brief description of the project mentioning affiliation and the purpose of the interview as well as leaving a card with my details for further contact if needed; to offer a copy of the recorded interview in a CD or send by e-mail; mention that all the names will be changed in order to preserve the privacy of the respondents.

1) Migratory processes and ontology

Please could you tell me when did you leave your country?

How was this process and where else have you been?

How did you start going to the church (born-again)? And how did you get into church activities?

For how long have you been living here?

How was your life back then and which are the main changes from now?

2) Education/working experience

How was your training process?

Did you go to any seminar or get specific education before preaching?

Do/did you work outside church?

Does the church offer financial support for leaders?

3) Religious influences in everyday life

What would you see as negative and positive points of living here (SA) and how can the church cope with them?

How do you think evil affect women/men?

Do you see any difference?

How does coming to church affect the everyday life of worshippers (women/men)?

4) Religion and social-cultural contexts

What are the profiles of women/men attending this church and their main problems?

How do you engage with them or in which type of activities: counselling, training, preaching, healing, etc

What would be the role of a Christian woman/man in the family and in their community, for worshippers and leaders?

Is there anything special on preaching for migrants?

5) Experiential – emotional arousal on prayer

What would you consider the most important aspects of worshipping and praying?

Do you have any specific gifts on your personality that you use on your prayers at the church?

Which are the steps for achieving changes in life through prayer?

How do you teach them?

What should be the main aspects of a strong church service? Music, dance, excitement, etc

Key Themes: emotional support, faith based healing (physical and emotional); psychosocial tools for coping with life events, distresses, family problems, gender issues, violence, etc.

APPENDIX II

Typology of African Independent Churches in Nigeria (Gaiya, 2002)

SOLA	SCRIPTURA	SCRIPTURA ET	TRADITIONES
ORTHODOX/ ETHIOPIAN or AFRICANIST Western Theology + African Nationalism **Secessionists:** United Native African Church Christ African Church (Bethel) United African Methodist Church Kingdom of God Church New Life Church	CHARISMATIC/ PENTECOSTAL Bible + African Spirituality + Western materialism **Classical Pentecostal**: The Apostolic The Apostolic Faith Assemblies of God Faith Tabernacles (Congregation, United Gospel) **Neo-Pentecostal**: Deeper Life Bible Church Church of God Mission Living Faith Redeemed Church of God Latter Rain Assembly	ALADURA/ZIONIST/ SPIRITUAL Christianity + African Charismatism and African cult **Evangelical:** Christ Apostolic Church and its splinters **Zionist/Spiritual**: Cherubim and Seraphim Church of the Lord Christ Army Celestial Church of Christ Christ Holy Church, etc.	VITALISTIC/ SYNCRETIC Christianity + African Spirituality and African power + occult material (African and Foreign) **Neo-pagan**: El-Messiah Spiritual Temple Brotherhood of the Cross and Star Reformed Ogboni Fraternity Arousa Cult Kingdom of God (in Delta State) Godianism various healing homes

Sola: for us this means only the African culture (Nationalism). It is an affirmation that only one source of belief system is sufficient for one's religious life. Hence the only source of Christian faith is African metaphysic and tradition and this is affirmed as being sufficient for a meaningful and successful religious life.

Scriptura: this means an affirmation of the Christian Bible is the only source of authentic Christian life. The Bible is self-sufficient. It contains all necessary and salvific principles for a meaningful and successful Christian life. Therefore, there should be nothing in the church that is not in the Bible and the church polity and ministry should adhere strictly to the words of the Bible. The Bible is therefore accepted as the only norm for Christian life in these churches but from an African hermeneutic.

Scriptura et: this means 'bible plus'. The Bible is accepted as a useful revelation of God, but there are other revelations of God that are not in the Bible. To this effect, Christian life

cannot be based exclusively on the Bible. The church must look for something else in addition to the Bible in order to foster a meaningful religious life in the society. Hence the Bible and African tradition in particular are essentials for an effective Christian life in these churches.

Traditiones: this implies recognition of cultural traditions of various societies as having significant religious purposes. Judeo-Christian revelation is seen as one of the religious traditions of the world. This tradition is not and should never be seen as an exclusive tradition in man's search for a meaningful relationship with the divine. To this end, all religious traditions should be incorporated to enrich one's spiritual and religious life. Therefore the purpose of the church is to bring together various religious traditions for a meaningful and successful relationship with the divine.

We can therefore see a progression in the religious evolution of African Christianity. The initial contact with the western missionaries deteriorated into a religious antagonism, which led to the formation of sola churches, a rejection of the Bible and western form of Christianity in affirmation of African culture. The subsequent trend seem to return to the affirmation of the Bible as the word of God in scriptura churches, and to use this word of God to explain African religious life. The third stage, there is a conscious recognition of the Christian Bible and the African tradition as two indispensable sources of religious life in scriptura et churches. And finally, there is a kind of ecumenical progression to the level of a cosmic relationship, where religious life is no longer seen as Christianity and African Traditional religion exclusively but incorporating, various religious traditions of the world in traditiones churches.

APPENDIX III

Récits de vie (RV)

Name	Code	Civil status	Position	Country of origin	Host country	Code	Duration
Pastor Ellis	RV1	Married/Child	Founder/Pastor	Nigeria	Spain	CR_PasE	1h15min
Pastor Edward	RV2	Married/Child	Resident Pastor	DRC	Spain	HG_PasE	1h 15min
Prophetess Ingrid	RV3	Married/Child	Pastor	Nigeria	Spain	HG_PasI	1h 02 min
Apostle Daniel	RV4	Married/Child	Founder/Pastor	Nigeria	Spain	HG_ApD	39min
Evangelist Dennis	RV5	Married/Child	Evangelist/Founder	Nigeria	Spain	PO_EvE	1h.07min
Pastor Kevin	RV6	Married	Founder/Pastor	DRC	Spain	MER_PaK	1h 22 miin
Papa Shaun	RV7	Married/Child	Founder/Pastor	DRC	South Africa	BL_PapS	58 min
Pastor Ray	RV8	Married/Child	Pastor	DRC	South Africa	BL_PasR	1h 04min
Pastor Adam	RV9	Married/Child	Pastor	DRC	South Africa	LaL_PaA	52 min
Sister Ellen	RV10	Married/Child	Training Pastor/Leader	DRC	South Africa	LaL_SisE	1h 01min
Pastor Hector	RV11	Married/Child	Pastor	Nigeria	South Africa	DE_PasV	1h 55 min
Pastor Emmet	RV12	Married/Child	Founder/Pastor	Nigeria	South Africa	DE_PasE	2h 07 min

Récits (R)

Name	Code	Civil status	Position	Country of origin	Host country	Code	Duration
Pastor Sup.	R1	Married	Founder/Pastor	Nigeria	South Africa	EVC_PaS	36min
Sister Fran.	R2	Married/Child	Pastor wife/Intercessor	DRC	South Africa	LaL_SiF1	1h.03min
Sister An.	R3	Married/Child	Pastor wife/Intercessor	DRC	South Africa	LaL_SiF2	14min
Sisters Es., Fran. et Mar.	R4	Married/Child	Pastor wife/Intercessor	DRC	South Africa	LaL_SiA	17min
Sister Es. et An.	R5	Married/Child	Pastor wife/Intercessor	DRC	South Africa	LaL_SiE+SiA	54min

Field Notes (FN)

Code	Description	Country of destination	Country of Origin	Religious community	Nature of documents	Number of files
FN1	Bible School	South Africa	Nigeria	D.E.	audio	2
FN2	Ecstatic Experience	South Africa	Nigeria	D.E.	audio	1
FN3	Traslation	Spain	DRC	M.E.R.	audio	1
FN4	Prayer	South Africa	DRC	L.L.	audio	1
FN5	Bilbao	Spain	Nigeria/DRC	Various	photograph	27
FN6	Bilbao	Spain	Nigeria/DRC	Various	video	11
FN7	Johannesburg	South Africa	Nigeria/DRC	Various	photograph	21
FN8	Johannesburg	South Africa	DRC	L.L.	video	4
FN9	Posters and Advertisements	Spain/South Africa	Nigeria/DRC	Various	photograph/paper	20

Participant observations (PO)

Code	Church	Date
PO1	HGMI	10/12/2012
PO2	HGMI	10/21/2012
PO3	HGMI	10/28/2012
PO4	HGMI	11/18/2012
PO5	HGMI	11/25/2012
PO6	HGMI	1/20/2013
PO7	HGMI	2/3/2013
PO8	HGMI	2/1/2013
PO9	HGMI	1/14/2013
PO10	HGMI	5/12/2013
PO11	HGMI	4/21/2013
PO12	HGMI	6/30/2013
PO12	HGMI	6/20/2014
PO13	HGMI	6/21/2014
PO14	PP	10/7/2012
PO15	MER	6/22/2014
PO16	MER	6/29/2014
PO17	BL	12/14/2013
PO18	BL	12/15/2013
PO19	LL	1/24/2014
PO20	LL	Dec-13
PO21	DE	7/7/2014
PO22	DE	7/13/2014
PO23	DE	7/23/2014
PO24	CIC	Jul-14
PO25	CIC	Dec-14
PO26	CR	Oct-12

REFERENCES

Adogame Afe (2003) Les églises africaines se développent en Europe. Entretien avec Afe Adogame. *Religioscope*.

____(2004) Contesting the ambivalences of modernity in a global context: the Redeemed Christian Church of God, North America. *Studies in World Christianity* 10(1): 25–48.

____(2005) African Christian Communities in Diaspora. In: Kalu O (ed.), *African Christianity: An African Story*, Department of Church History, University of Pretoria, pp. 494–514.

____(2010) Transnational Migration and Pentecostalism in Europe. 9(1): 56–73.

____(2011) *Who is Afraid of the Holy Ghost? Pentecostalism and Globalization in Africa and Beyond.* Religion in Contemporary Africa, New Jersey: Trenton.

Akyeampong Emmanuel (2000) Africans in the Diaspora: the Diaspora and Africa. *African Affairs* 99(395): 183–215.

Anderson Alan (2000) Evangelism and the growth of Pentecostalism in Africa. Available from: artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/publications/evangelism_and_the_growth_of_pen.htm (accessed 5 July 2015).

____(2001) *African Initiated Christianity in the 20 th Century.* Africa World Press.

____(2001) *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century*. Africa World Press. Available from: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OIm_QgAACAAJ.

____(2002) The Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches: The Shape of Future Christianity in Africa? 24(2): 167–184.

Anderson A and Hollenweger WJ (1999) *Pentecostals after a Century*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Anderson A, Droogers A, Bergunder M, et al. (2010) *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories and Methods*. University of California Press.

Anderson Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities, Reflections on The Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Press.

____(2003) *Imagined Communities. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appadurai Arjun (1996) *Modernity at large: the cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Asad Talal (1993) *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam.* The John Hopkins University Press.

Asamoah-Gyadu JK (2007) Pulling dow strongholds: evangelism, principalitites and powers and the African Pentecostal imagination. 96(582/583).

Attride-Stirling J (2001) Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research* 1(3): 385–405.

Baeta C (1967) Christianity and Healing. 1: 19.

Barbalet JM (1996) Social emotions: Confidence, Trust and loyalty. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 16(9/10): 75–96.

Bardin L (1977) *Análise de Conteúdo*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

Barth F (1969) *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of culture difference*. Scandinavian university books, Little, Brown. Available from: http://books.google.es/books?id=E9HtAAAAMAAJ.

Bassouk E and Donelan B (2003) Social Deprivation. In: Green B (ed.), *Trauma Intervention in War and Peace*, New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Beck U (2009) *El Dios personal. La individualización de la religión y el espíritu del cosmopolitismo*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Behar R (1990) Rage and Redemption: Reading the Life Story of a Mexican Marketing Woman. *Feminist Studies* 16(2): 223–258.

Berger P (1971) *Para una teoría sociológica de la religión*. Barcelona: Klairós.

____(1999) The desecularization of the World: A Global Overview. In: *The Desecularization of the World. Resurgent Religion and World Politics.*, Washington, D.C: Ethics and Public Policy Center & William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Bertaux D (1997) *Les recits de vie*. Paris: Éditions Nathan.

Bhabha H (1998) *O local da cultura*. 2nd ed. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.

Blanes RL (2008) Satan, agent musical. *Terrain. Revue d'ethnologie de l'Europe* (50): 82–99.

Bondarenko D (2008) Kinship, Territoriality and the early state lower limit. 7(1): 19–53.

____(2014) Communality: A Foundation of the African Historical, Cultural, and Socio-Political Tradition. In: Moscow. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/6406268/Communality_A_Foundation_of_the_African_Historical_Cultural_and_Socio-Political_Tradition (accessed 8 October 2015).

Bourdieu P (1994) *Raisons pratiques, sur la théorie de l'action (Practical Reason: On the theory of action)*. Paris: Le Seuil.

Bourdieu P and Bourdieu M-C (1965) The peasant and photography. *Ethnography* 5(4): 601–616.

Brighenti AM (2013) *Urban Interstices: The Aesthetics and the Politics of the In-between*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. Available from: https://books.google.es/books?id=9lGiAgAAQBAJ.

Burgess SM and van der Maas EM (2010) *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements: Revised and Expanded Edition*. Zondervan. Available from: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=_Qtv7gJMIFUC.

Castells M (2008) The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(1): 78.

____(2009) *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture Volume I*. 2nd Edition with a New Preface edition. Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cazarin R and Davila A (2014) Religiosidad y (re)producción audiovisual. Representaciones sociales en sonidos e imágenes de un culto Pentecostal Africano. 30(1): Art.6.

César W (2001) Globalisation and Pentecostal success. In: Marshall R and Corten A (eds), *Between babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa*, London: Indiana University Press, p. 311.

Chen C (2001) The Religious Varieties of Ethnic Presence: A Comparison Between a Taiwanese Immigrant Buddhist Temple and an Evangelical Christian Church. In: Yale University.

Chesnut A (1997) *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty*. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press.

____(2003) *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Clifford J (1997) Diasporas. In: Guibernau M and Rex J (eds), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Cohen R (1997) *Global Diasporas: an Introduction*. London: UCL Press.

____(2007) Creolization and diaspora – the cultural politics of divergence and (some) convergence'. In: *Opportunity Structures in Diaspora Relations: Comparisons in Contemporary Multi-level Politics of Diaspora and Transnational Identity*, Reno, Nev: University of Nevada Reno, Basque Studies Program,U.S., pp. 85–112.

Coleman S (2000) *Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Collins R (2005) *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Comaroff John and Comaroff Jean (2000) 'Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming. *Public Culture* 2(12): 291–343.

Corbin J and Strauss A (1990) Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria. 13: 3–21.

Corten A and Marshall R (eds) (2001) *Between Babel and Pentecost: transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. London: Hurst.

Cox H (1996) *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Casell.

Csordas T (1990) Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. 18(1): 5–47.

____(1994) *Sacred Self*. Berkeley, CA: Univ of California Press.

____(2002) *Body/Meaning/Healing*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Cunha E and Barbosa A (2006) *Antropologia e Imagem*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Daswani G (2008) Ghanaian Pentecostals in London: Between encapsulating and permeable identities. In: *Encounters and Intersections: Religion, Diaspora and Ethnicities*, Oxford.

____(2010) Transformation and Migration Among Members of a Pentecostal Church in Ghana and London. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40(4): 442–474.

Demart S (2008) Le «combat pour l'intégration» des églises issues du Réveil congolais (RDC). *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 24(3). Available from: http://remi.revues.org/4840.

____(2010) Les territoires de la délivrance. Mises en perspectives historique et plurilocalisée du réveil congolais (Bruxelles, Kinshasa, Paris, Toulouse). Louvain-la-Neuve/ Toulouse.

Denzin N (1984) *On Understanding Emotion*. San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass.

Descola P (2013) *Beyond Nature and Culture. University of Chicago Press*. University of Chicago Press.

Di Bella MP (1988) Langues et possession: Le cas des pentecôtistes en Italie méridionale. 43(4): 897–907.

Durkheim É (1912) *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.* Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan.

Duszak A (1998) Academic writing in English and Polish: comparing and subverting genres. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 8(2): 191–213.

Eckstein H (1975) Case Study and Theory in Political Science. In: Greenstein FI and Polsby NW (eds), *Handbook of Political Science*, Reading Mass.: AddisonWesley.

Ellison C (1993) Religious involvement and self-perception among black Americans. 71: 1027–1055.

Ellison CG and Levin JS (1998) The religion-health connection: evidence, theory, and future directions. *Health Education & Behavior: The Official Publication of the Society for Public Health Education* 25(6): 700–720.

Eze MO (2010) *Intellectual history in contemporary South Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Fancello S (2009) Migration et plurilinguisme: Parler en langues dans les Églises africaines en Europe. *Social Compass* 56(3): 387–404.

Featherstone SL and Robertson R (eds) (1995) Glocalisation: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In: *Global Modernities*, London: Sage, pp. 25–44.

Fernandez JW (1978) African religious movements. 7: 195–234.

Fouchard L, Mary A and Otayek R (eds) (1986) *Entreprises religieuses transnationales en Afrique de l´Ouest*. Paris: Karthala.

Freston P (2001) *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gaiya M (2002) The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria. In: *Occasional papers*, Copenhaguen.

Gardner K (2002) *Age, narrative and migration: the life course and life histories of Bengali elders in London. Berg Publishers, London.* London: Berg Publishers.

Geertz C (1973) Religion as a cultural system. In: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.

George A (1979) Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison. In: Lauren P (ed.), *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory and Policy*, New York: The Free Press, pp. 46–68.

Gerloff R (1995) The holy spirit and the African Diaspora. *Bulletin* XIV: 85–100.

____(1999) The significance of the African Christian Diaspora in Europe. 29(1): 115–120.

Glaser B and Strauss A (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Glick Schiller N and Caglar A (2008) 'And ye shall possess it and dwell therein': social citizenship, global Christianity and nonethnic immigrant incorporation. In: Reed-Danahay D and Brettel C (eds), *Immigration and Citizenship in Europe and the United States: Anthropological Perspectives*, New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 201–225.

Glick-Schiller NG, Caglar A and Guldbrandsen TC (2006) Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation. *American Ethnologist* 33(4): 612–633.

Goebel D and Pries L (2002) Leben zwischen den Welten. *Der Überblick* 38(2): 37–41.

Goffman E (1959) *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Anchor.

____(1967) *Interaction ritual: essays on face-to-face interaction*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gumperz J (1968) The Speech Community: a reader. 1st ed. In: Duranti A (ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology: A reader*, pp. 66–73.

Gumperz J and Hymes D (eds) (1972) *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gupta A and Ferguson J (1992) Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 6–23.

Hall S (1990) *Cultural identity and diaspora: Identity: community, culture, difference*. Lawrence and Wishart. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=JeyrMwEACAAJ.

Harding S (2000) *The Book of Jerry Falwell*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hervieu-Léger D (1990) Les manifestations contemporaines du christianisme et la modernité. In: Ducret R, Ladrière P, and Hervieu-Léger D (eds), *Christianisme et modernité*, Paris: CERF, pp. 295–316.

Hochschild A (1979) Emotion Work: Feeling Rules and Social Structure. 85: 551–75.

Hollenweger W (1972) *The Pentecostals*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.

____(2004) An Introduction to Pentecostalisms. 25(2): 125–37.

Holm NG (1991) Pentecostalism: Conversion and charismata. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 1: 135–151.

Hunt S (2000) The 'New' Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain. In: Riga, Latvia.

Hunt S (2002) `Neither Here nor There': The Construction of Identities and Boundary Maintenance of West African Pentecostals. *Sociology* 36(1): 147–169.

Hymes D (1974) *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Communications, linguistics, antropology, University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=B3NIAeabrHwC.

____(1962) *The Ethnography of Speaking*. The Ethnography of Speaking. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=H3IbAQAAIAAJ.

Jackson D and Passarelli A (2008) *Mapping Migration. Mapping churches' responses. Europe Study, Churches' commission for migrants in Europe.* World Council of Churches. Available from: www.oikoumene.org/en/news/upocoming-events/ev/se/article/1722/european-study-quotmapp.html.

James W (1884) What is an Emotion? 19: 188–205.

Jeannerat C (2009) Of Lizards, Misfortune and Deliverance: Pentecostal Soteriology in the Life of a Migrant. 68(2): 251–71.

Jennings M (2008) ‘Won’t you break free?’ An ethnography of music and the divine-human encounter at an Australian Pentecostal Church. *Culture and Religion* 9(2): 161–174.

Jesse FK (2014) Studying pentecostalism missiologically: The Congo Evangelistic Mission in Katanga Province, Democratic Republic of Congo. university of South Africa. Available from: http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/18320/thesis_jesse_fk.pdf (accessed 1 January 2015).

Jiménez Ramírez A (1981) *Llamamiento de Dios al pueblo gitano*. Jerez de la Frontera: Talleres Gráficos de Anfra.

Kalu O (2002) Preserving a world-view: Pentecostalism in African maps of the universe. Pneuma 24/2, 110-137. 24(2): 110–137.

____(2003) Pentecostal Charismatic Reshaping of the African Religious Landscape in the 1990s. 20(1): 1–39:84–111.

____(2008) *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

____(2009) A Discursive interpretation of African Pentecostalism. 41(1): 71.

____(2010) Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism. *Pneuma* 32(1): 16–40.

Kelly M (n.d.) Phenomenology and Time-Consciousness. *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available from: http://www.iep.utm.edu/phe-time/ (accessed 6 December 2015).

Khathide A (2003) Spirits in the first-century Jewish world, Luke-Acts and in the African context: an analysis. Available from: http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/submitted/etd-05202005- 103502/unrestricted/00front.pd.

Klaver M and van de Kamp L (2011) Embodied Temporalities in Global Pentecostal Conversion. *Ethnos* 76(4): 421–425.

Knibbe K (2009) ‘We did not come here as tenants, but as landlords’: Nigerian Pentecostals and the Power of Maps. *African Diaspora* 2(2): 133–158.

Knibbe K and Versteeg P (2008) Assessing Phenomenology in Anthropology: Lessons from the Study of Religion and Experience. *Critique of Anthropology* 28(1): 47–62.

Krause K (2011) Cosmopolitan charismatics? Transnational ways of belonging and cosmopolitan moments in the religious practice of New Mission Churches. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(3): 419–435.

Lambek M (1981) *Human Spirits*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Landau L (2009) Living Within and Beyond Johannesburg: Exclusion, Religion, and Emerging Forms of Being. 68(2): 197–214.

Landau LB and Gindrey V (2008) Migration and Population Trends in Gauteng Province 1996-2055. Forced Migration Studies Programme Working Paper. Available from: www.migration.org.za.

Levine D and Stoll D (1997) Bridging the Gap Between Empowerment and Power in Latin America. In: Rudolph S and Piscatori J (eds), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 63–103.

Levi-strauss C (2008) *Structural Anthropology*. Basic Books. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=2xaB9PksH1UC.

Levitt P (2001) *Between God, Ethnicity, and Country: An Approach to the Study of Transnational Religion*. Working paper series (University of Oxford. Transnational Communities : an ESRC Research Programme), University of Oxford. Transnational Communities Programme. Available from: http://books.google.es/books?id=4vQ9ygAACAAJ.

____(2007) Redefining the boundaries of belonging. The transnationalization of religious life. In: *Everyday religion; Observing modern religious lives*, Oxford: Oxford Press.

Levitt P and Schiller NG (2004) Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. *International Migration Review* 38(3): 1002–1039.

Lijphart A (1968) *The politics of accomodation: pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Luhrmann T (2004) Metakinesis: How God Becomes Intimate in Contemporary U.S. Christianity. 106(3): 518–528.

____(2012) *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God*. Vintage Books. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=Sv8IY5ipJe8C.

Lutz C (1986) 'Emotion, Thought and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category. 1/3.

MacDougall D (1997) The Visual in Anthropology. In: Banks M and Morphy H (eds), *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, London: Newhaven Press.

Maier K (2011) Redeeming London: gender, self and mobility among Nigerian Pentecostals. Sussex: University of Sussex.

Mapuranga T and Chitando E (2006) Songs of Healing and Regeneration: Pentecostal Gospel Music in Zimbabwe. *Religion and Theology* 13(1): 72–89.

Marcus G (1995) Ethnography in/of the world system: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. (24): 95–117.

Marenin O (1990) Implementeing deployment policies in the National Youth Service Corps of Nigeria. *Comparative Political Studies* 4(22): 397–436.

Marshall R (1998) Mediating the Global and Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism ,. 28(3): 278.

Matthew M and Huberman M (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. California: Sage Publications Ltd.

Mauss M (1979) *Sociology and psychology: Essays*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mbefo L (2001) *The True African: Impulses for Self-Affirmation*. Onitscha.

Mbembe A (2004) Aesthetics of Superfluity. 16: 373–405.

Méiers B (2013) Ndjili / Kinshasa: Local Spirit, Pentecostal Spirit and Spiritual Warfare. In: Lisbon.

Menzies W (1971) *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God*. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House.

Merleau-Ponty M (2013) *Phenomenology of Perception*. Taylor & Francis. Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Lh_e0_y1YjgC.

Merleau-Ponty M and Edie JM (1964) *The Primacy of Perception: And Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*. Northwestern University studies in phenomenology & existential philosophy, Northwestern University Press. Available from: https://books.google.gr/books?id=CMk4mUpjdosC.

Meyer B (1998) Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse. 28(3): 316.

____(1999) *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. ACLS Humanities E-Book, Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=8wrMA5AvRMUC.

Meyer B (2004) Christianity in Africa : From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches. 33: 447–74.

Ndaywel è Nziem I (1998) *Histoire générale du Congo*. Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Ndung'u N (2009) Persistence of Features of Traditional Healing in the Churches in Africa: The Case of the Akurinu Churches in Kenya. 1(2): 87–104.

Nelson D (1981) For Such a Time as This: the story of William J Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival. University of Birmingham.

Núñez L (2015) Faith healing, migration and gendered conversions in Pentecostals churches in Johannesburg (Chapter 8). In: Palmary I, Hamber B, and Núñez L (eds), *Healing and Change in the City of Gold Case Studies of Coping and Support in Johannesburg*, Springer, pp. 149–168.

Ojo M (1998) The Church in the African State: The Charismatic/Pentecostal Experience in Nigeria. *Journal of African Thought* 1(2).

Omoniyi T and Fishman JA (2006) *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion*. Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture, John Benjamins Publishing Company. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=Pa05AAAAQBAJ.

Ong W (1982) *Orality and Literacy*. Routledge.

Onyinah O (2002) Deliverance as a way of confronting witchcraft in modern Africa: Ghana as a case history. 5(1): 107–134.

Palmary I, Hamber B and Núñez L (2014) *Healing and Change in the City of Gold: Case Studies of Coping and Support in Johannesburg*. Peace Psychology Book Series, Springer International Publishing. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=Mn3hBAAAQBAJ.

Pargament K (1990) God help me: toward a theoretical framework of coping for the psychology of religion. In: McIntosh D, Spilka B, Moberg D, et al. (eds), *Research in the social scientific study of religion*, London: The JAI Press, pp. 195–224.

Parsitau D (2007) From the periphery to the centre: The Pentecostalisation of the mainline Christianity in Kenya. 35(3): 83–111.

Peel J (1980) *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*. London: Oxford University Press.

____(1995) 'For who hath despised the day of small things?' Missionary narratives and historical anthropology. 37(3): 581–607.

Pérez-Agote A and Santiago J (2009) *La nueva pluralidad religiosa*. Madrid: Ministerio de Justicia.

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2006) *Spirit and Power: A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals*. Washington D.C.

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2012) *Faith on the Move: the religious affiliation of international migrants*. Washington DC. Available from: www.pewforum.org/files/2012/03/Faithonthemove.pdf.

Pink S (2006) *Doing Visual Ethnography*. SAGE Publications. Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Kck6QvX9jaUC.

Pinnock CH (2000) Divine Relationality: A Pentecostal Contribution to the Doctrine of God. 16: 3–26.

Polkinghorne D (1988) *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. SUNY series in philosophy of the social sciences, State University of New York Press. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=7HXn29yaDeoC.

Portes A, Guarnizo LE and Landolt P (1999) The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2): 217–237.

Ragin C (1989) *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. University of California Press.

____(2000) *Fuzzy-Set Social Science*. University Of Chicago Press.

Riis O and Woodhead L (2010) *A sociology of religious emotion*. Oxford Univ Pr.

Sarna J (1978) From Migration to Ethnics. 5: 370–8.

Schutz A (1970) *Alfred Schutz on Phenomenology and Social Relations*. Wagner HR (ed.), Heritage of Sociology Series Heritage of Sociology Series He, University of Chicago Press. Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=L_E50oryv-cC.

Simpson GE (1978) *Black religions in the new world*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Singleton A (2001) 'Your Faith Has Made You Well': The Role of Storytelling in the Experience of Miraculous Healing. *Review of Religious Research* 43(2): 121–138.

Skeldon R (2014) *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Longman Development Studies, Taylor & Francis. Available from: https://books.google.es/books?id=og-PBAAAQBAJ.

Smith M and Guarnizo L (eds) (1998) *Transnationalism from Below Comparative Urban and Community Research*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.

Smith MP and Guarnizo LE (1998) *Transnationalism from Below*. Comparative urban and community research, v. 6, Transaction Publishers. Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=zTxYLmr7g_YC.

Solomon R (1993) *The Passions: Emotions and the Meaning of Life*. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing.

Soothill JE (2007) *Gender, Social Change and Spiritual Power: Charismatic Christianity in Ghana*. Studies of Religion in Africa, Brill. Available from: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=-9uvCQAAQBAJ.

Sow A, Balogum O, Aguessy H, et al. (1977) *Introduction a la culture africaine. Aspects generaux*. Paris: Unesco.

Spickard J (2012) Centered in Time: A Sociological Phenomenology of Religious Ritual. In: Hoffman J (ed.), *Understanding Religious Ritual*, Routledge, pp. 154–167.

Stake R (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Urbana-Champains: Sage Publications Inc.

Swales J (1990) *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge University Press.

Swanborn P (2010) *Case Study Research: What, Why and How?* Sage.

Synan V (2001) *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901–2001*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Tankink M (2007) `The Moment I Became Born-again the Pain Disappeared': The Healing of Devastating War Memories in Born-again Churches in Mbarara District, Southwest Uganda. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 44(2): 203–231.

Thornton R (2014) The material logic of evil and the augmented self: The search for 'religion' in southern African cultural systems. In: Grasmere, UK.

Ukpong D (2006) The Presence and Impact of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. In: . Available from: www.glopent.net/members/frdona/presencadimpactofpentecostalisminnigeria. (accessed 28 April 2015).

Van der Veer P (ed.) (1996) *Conversion to modernities: the globalisation of Christianity*. New York & London.

Van Dijk R (1998) Fundamentalism, cultural memory and the state. Contested representa-tions of time in postcolonial Malawi. In: Werbner R (ed.), *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, London: ZED Books, pp. 155–81.

____(2002) The soul is the stranger: Ghanaian Pentecostalism and the diasporic contestation of 'flow' and 'individuality'. 3(1): 49–66.

____(2006) Comparative Examples from Malawi and Botswana. In: *Borders and healers: Brokering therapeutic resources in southeast Africa*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Van Dijk R and Blanes R (2014) On Pluralism and Manichean reasoning. Pentecostalism, Gender and Mobility. In: Bergen.

Vasquez M (2003) Tracking Global Evangelical Christianity. 71(1): 157.

Vasquez M, Marquardt M and Gómez I (2001) Saving Souls Transnationally: Pentecostalism and Gangs in El Salvador and the United States. In: Peterson A, Williams P, and Vasquez M (eds), *Christianity, Social Change, and Globalization in the Americas*, New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Vertovec S (1999) Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among South Asian religions. 7(2).

____Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024–1054.

Waghid Y and Smeyers P (2012) Reconsidering Ubuntu: On the educational potential of a particular ethic of care. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 44: 6–20.

Währisch-Oblau C (2009) *The Missionary Self-Perception of Pentecostal/Charismatic Church Leaders from the Global South in Europe. Bringing Back the Gospel*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Warner P (2002) *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*. Oxford and Santa Fe: SAR Press.

Waweru H (2011) *The Bible and culture, mapping transactional in roads*. Eldoret: Zapf Chancery.

Wenger E (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Willems E (1967) Validation of Authority in Pentecostal sects of Chile and Brazil. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 2(6): 253–258.

Witte M (2005) Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy. 48(3): 226–227.

Yin R (1984) *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park,CA: Sage.