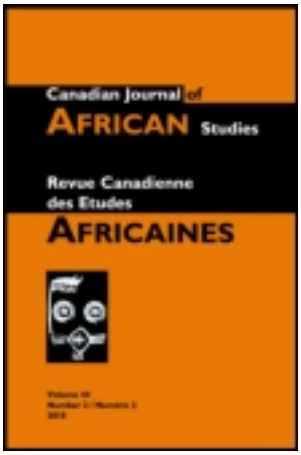
This article was downloaded by: [91.86.182.75]
On: 16 December 2012, At: 04:30
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcas20

The interdependence of mobility and faith-an introduction

Katrien Pype [a b], Steven van Wolputte [b] & Anne Mélice [c]
[a] Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
[b] KU Leuven, Belgium
[c] University of Liège, Belgium
Version of record first published: 10 Dec 2012.

To cite this article: Katrien Pype , Steven van Wolputte & Anne Mélice (2012): The interdependence of mobility and faith-an introduction, Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines, 46:3, 355-365

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2012.737530

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Canadian Journal of African Studies/ La Revue canadienne des études africaines
Vol. 46, No. 3, December 2012, 355–365

The interdependence of mobility and faith – an introduction

Katrien Pype[a,b]*, Steven Van Wolputte[b1] and Anne Mélice[c2]

[a]*Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA;* [b]*KU Leuven, Belgium;* [c]*University of Liège, Belgium*

(*Received 20 June 2012; final version received 3 November 2012*)

Résumé

L'introduction de ce numéro spécial resserre les enjeux théoriques et analytiques qui traversent ces quatre textes. Ces textes montrent que dévotion et mobilité, croyance et trajectoire vont de pair. L'argument principal en est que les mouvements religieux étudiés ici ne constituent pas des phénomènes locaux qui cherchent à transcender les frontières établies. Ces mouvements religieux sont eux-mêmes la transcendance en ce sens qu'ils sont toujours (et ont toujours été) une partie de l'espace limitrophe entre le global et le vernaculaire, le moderne et le traditionnel. Ils ne sont pas à la frontière: ils sont la frontière. La discussion de concepts tels que ceux de mobilité, postcolonialisme et translocalité entraîne la problématisation de concepts comme « Afrique » et « diaspora ». Une seconde perspective que partagent ces différentes contributions est que les trajectoires des praticiens religieux ne suivent pas des routes bien tracées, mais plutôt des routes constamment « interrompues » : les voyageurs se déplacent entre des localités, en passant d'un centre à un autre. Une telle approche permet de mettre l'accent sur les réseaux et les interactions concrètes et elle ébranle l'homogénéité supposée des voies que les Africains (ou les Pentecôtistes) empruntent pour s'aventurer vers le monde de « là-bas ».

Abstract

The introduction to the special issue draws together theoretical and analytical strands that run through the four papers. As the four papers illustrate, devotion and mobility, belief and trajectory, go hand in hand. The main argument is that the religious movements discussed in this special issue are not local phenomena attempting to transcend fixed boundaries: they are transcendence, in the sense that they always are (and have been) part of the border land between global and vernacular, modern and traditional. They are not at the border: they are the border. Concepts such as mobility, postcoloniality and translocality are being discussed, which in turn lead to a problematization of concepts such as "Africa" and "Diaspora". A second strand that combines the various papers is that trajectories along which religious practitioners travel are not nicely established routes, rather these are constantly "interrupted"; travellers move between localities, hopping from one hub to another. Such an approach allows a focus on networks and concrete interactions; and it destabilizes the assumed homogenous tracts along which Africans (or Pentecostalists) venture into the world "out there".

*Corresponding author. Email: katrien.pype@soc.kuleuven.be

ISSN 0008-3968 print/ISSN 1923-3051 online
© 2012 Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS)
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2012.737530
http://www.tandfonline.com

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

How do people's itineraries and trajectories shape religious practices, and to what extent do religious beliefs mould people's trajectories across received boundaries? These are the overarching questions asked in this special issue on religion and mobility. Four contributions explore the kinaesthetics of religious movements in Africa and the African diaspora, from the experience of Pentecostal pastors in Brussels (Maskens), to the lifeworld of an Angolan prophet in exile (Blanes), or from Afro-Brazilian efforts in relation to the establishment of new religious centres in Portugal (Guillot) to the ambition to found a new sacred site by Angolan and Congolese Kimbanguists living in the diaspora (Sarró and Mélice). The authors share an ethnographic and analytical interest in the ways prophets, priests and proselytes redraw existing geographies and carve out new niches of belonging in a globalizing environment characterized by uncertainty and strong religious competition.

Underlying these four case studies is the observation (also see Csordas 2007; Vertovec and Cohen 1999) that devotion and mobility, belief and trajectory, go hand in hand. One important option the authors in this bundle have taken is to focus on mobility, not migration. A second option is that they have decided not to analyze religion in terms of identity (Bava 2011). Instead, the thick ethnography contained in all four contributions explores the dialectics between mobility, religious beliefs and the post-colonial condition. First, religion itself can be the main motor for setting out on an itinerary; the latter notion refers to strategy, to intention, for instance to visit sacred sites (Maskens, Sarró and Mélice) or to proselytize (Guillot); second, religion offers a framework to make sense of one's trajectory, a notion that refers to experience, one's actual path as influenced by political, historical, cultural and economic forces, as discussed by Maskens in her study of the narratives of Pentecostal pastors in Brussels and by Blanes in his analysis of the institutional biography of the Tokoist church in Angola, a history characterized largely by involuntary mobility such as deportation and exile. Third, itineraries and trajectories do not remain unchallenged, and their movements through space often force believers to adapt their practices and beliefs to new environments and new (highly competitive) fora, as documented for instance by Guillot's analysis of the strategies deployed by the various Afro-Brazilian religious communities in Portugal. These dialectics between mobility and religion all play out against the background of and in interaction with the overall political climate (Maskens) and with (post-)colonial politics (Blanes, Guillot, Sarró and Mélice). Sarró and Mélice, for instance, demonstrate how contemporary Kimbanguism in the Democratic Republic of Congo and in Portugal can be understood as an inversion of the colonial metropolis–frontier paradigm.

It is indeed tempting to regard the overseas expansion of "charismatic" or "independent" churches as a remarkable inversion of the colonial past. Former metropoles such as Brussels or Lisbon are no longer the centre from which zealots are sent out to the remote corners of the empire; rather, they constitute new frontiers, imagined to be conquered from N'Kamba, Rio de Janeiro or Kinshasa. More generally, "old world" religions are turning inwards, confronted as they are with largely secularized societies. In Belgium, for instance, only 11 new priests were ordained in 2010 (compared to only 10 in 2009), and in early 2010 the Belgian clergy was discussing the pros and cons of importing priests from Poland or Africa. The "new world" religions, in contrast, are reaching out and, even, proliferating. In its turn, Europe has become "virgin territory", a space to conquer, a true frontier (for a discussion, see the articles by Maskens and by Sarró and Mélice). In addition, Europe is no longer the only frontier: Pentecostal-Charismatic networks reach from Seoul to Abidjan, from Luanda to Shangai. It is therefore important to note that the increased mobility of believers is not necessarily aiming for Europe or "the West": also

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

resistance against global encroachment is a motive to cross boundaries, and it inspires believers to look for alternative itineraries. In Kinshasa, for instance, the Japan-based Church of World Messianity, Sukyo Mahikari, is becoming increasingly popular. The movement also has followers in Angola and Brazil, and these linkages are important for Kinois members of this church. Its teachings do not diabolize the ancestors. On the contrary, they centre on ancestrality to explain human suffering and call for an appeasing of the ancestors through ritual (Lambertz 2011, 13–15). This care for the ancestors starkly contrasts with African Pentecostal church movements that profess to break the ancestral ties (see Meyer 1998a; Marshall 2009). On the one hand, the appeal of the Church of World Messianity and other churches inspired by its success stems from this re-appraisal of tradition (see Louveau 2000, 2004). On the other hand, the

> reference point of originality is not a "traditional" (and for Christians an) obsolete Africa but the leading high-tech nation of Toyota, Toshiba and Yamaha: Japan! To which Brazil, as well as Angola have to be added, each one of which carries its own respective local Kinois representation. (Lambertz 2011, 19)

There is, however, more to this relative success. For the religious movements discussed in this special issue, mobility (whether deportation, migration or the establishment of new "mission posts") is an inherent part of their religiosity. Whereas the "old world" religions –and we realize this is an overstatement – feel threatened by waning boundaries, "new world" religions thrive on them. As Birgit Meyer (2004b, 448) remarks for the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches in Africa, "one of their attractions … is precisely that they promise to link their followers up with global circuits". These church movements are not going global because they are successful; rather, they are successful because they go global, because they are able to translate key modern concepts (such as "individual" and "success") into local vernaculars, while maintaining rituals and organizational structures that are similar around the globe (Marshall 1998; Robbins 2004).

Undoubtedly, post-colonial disenchantment and the tenuous position many of the urban poor, in particular, find themselves in, contribute to the success of the "prosperity gospel" preached by most of the Charismatic-Pentecostal churches (Anderson 2001, 107–108). Apart from the rhetorical (and cynical) question of whether the intended prosperity is that of the prophet-entrepreneur or that of his or her followers, it is indeed tempting to explain the relative recent success of African Christianity in terms of its phantasmagorical mimicking of western consumerism and shallow promises of material gain (see Devisch 1996; Meyer 2003; Gifford 2004; Drewal 2008; Marshall 2009; De Witte 2011). Most of these approaches, however, assume that praying for a new cell phone is less "spiritual" than praying for redemption, and fail to see that Jesus or the Holy Spirit work through radio or TV connections – that they are part of the bits and bytes that are circulated over the globe – or that the power of the prophet is located in his or her mastery of the tokens of modernity (Meyer 1998b; De Witte 2003; Meyer 2004b; Pype 2012).

But poverty and the hope for a better future do not suffice to explain the success of these church movements that also appeal (and increasingly so) to African elites. In this regard, Mary (2008, 11, our translation) refers to the "messianistic halo around figures such as Harris, Kimbangu, and others who act as contemporary prophets". These contemporary prophets are active in the political arena, and make good use of the possibilities modern media have to offer. What certainly plays a role is that African churches in general testify to an enormous creativity and a talent to adapt to and transform local and trans-local changes, and offer their audience a moral economy that links consumption to clear and identifiable boundaries between good and evil. Important to

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

note, however, is that not all religious movements are as well-equipped to deal with the global aspirations of their followers. Also, contemporary religious movements in Africa and the African diaspora operate in a highly competitive market characterized by religious pluralism and an increasing mobility of (potential) converts (Gifford 2004). Mobility here should be understood in a double sense. On the one hand, followers too, obviously, have access to modern means of communication and transport, even if this access is unevenly distributed. On the other hand, followers have also become "religiously" mobile in that, during their trajectory, they may convert more than once.

In 1998, Meyer (1998b) argued that independent churches can be characterized by a "backward" or nostalgic orientation towards the past, whereas the Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches (PCCs) distinguish themselves by virtue of their "break with the past". Later on, however, she (Meyer 2004a) argued that this classic opposition between the "Africanness" of independent churches and the "modernity" of the PCCs is no longer relevant (see Mélice 2011). In line with the ideas launched by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) on the invention of tradition and on tradition as constitutive of the discourse of modernity, independent churches should no longer be considered as the only places where a syncretistic fusion of traditional and Christian elements takes place – a misconception that, according to Meyer, can be attributed to an all too static understanding of tradition. As she observed, Pentecostal discourse emphasizes its break with tradition even if at the same time "Pentecostal-charismatic practice ultimately affirms the impossibility for born-again Christians to escape from forces grounded in and emanating from the local" (Meyer 2004a, 457). Current scholarship indeed questions the radical break with the past proclaimed by religious movements in Africa (see, for instance, the seminal works by MacGaffey (1983), Maxwell (1999), Peel (2000), Schoffeleers (1992) and Werbner (1989)). Instead, they underline the paradox that religious movements based on an anti-modernist stance thrive because of their promises of modernity (see Robbins 2004). As Engelke (2010, 177) noted, "breaking with the past as articulated discursively is an impossibility in practice, a fact which is exploited by Pentecostals to express their concerns with modernity's constitution" (for further discussion, see Mary 2008, 14). For instance, the analysis presented here by Ruy Blanes (this volume) demonstrates how a lighthouse on the Azores can mutate from an image of isolation and remoteness into a light that guides. Histories of suffering become narratives of victory, as colonial efforts at trying to contain the Tokoist church ultimately transformed the movement from a local into a national and even international project. Likewise, Maïté Maskens (this volume) analyzes how feelings of inadequacy and disillusionment are translated into a "second reading" of the migrant situation, in which migration becomes the result of divine intervention, or even of a miracle.

In more general terms, the religious movements discussed in this special issue are not local phenomena attempting to transcend fixed boundaries: they *are* transcendence, in the sense that they always are (and have been) part of the border land between global and vernacular, modern and traditional. They are not *at* the border: they *are* the border, and as such they are part of what Meyer and Geschiere (2003) coined the "dialectics of flow and closure" or what Bastian et al. (2001,11, our translation) referred to as "glocalisation", the "result of multiple, partly contradictory movements involving complex relations between local, regional and global issues … [which] implement new forms of identity statements, notwithstanding the fading of borders" as testified by, for instance, the "development of diasporas that combine a transnational logic with a process of integration in the 'terre d'accueil'". By partaking in a globalizing network of contacts, organizations, ideas and goods, religious movements reconfigure ideas of locality, authenticity and belonging. In

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

her contribution to this volume, Maïa Guillot describes how the secondary relocation of Afro-Brazilian religions from Brazil to Portugal results in a re-Africanization of Candomblé and Umbanda practices and beliefs as believers in the Portuguese diaspora engage in an intellectual effort to reconstruct the mainly Yoruba roots of their faith. That way, they also enter into a competition with the guardians of tradition in the "primary diaspora" in Bahia, Brazil. A similar evolution is reported by Sarró and Mélice: the more the Kimbanguist church becomes international, the more important its spiritual centre in N'Kamba – the place of birth of Simon Kimbangu in Lower Congo Province, DRC – becomes. According to Sarró and Mélice, contemporary Kimbanguism is characterized by the tension between centrifugal (universalist pretence and the diaspora) and centripetal forces (the orientation towards N'Kamba and the retraditionalization of Kimbanguism and the ancient kingdom of Kongo-with-a-K). What it boils down to is that the itineraries these believers undertake across boundaries, often thought of as "fixed" or "objective", are informed by their religious understanding of the world, and that their trajectories, in their turn, are reflected in what and how they believe.

The religious movements discussed in this special issue do not attempt to appropriate a pre-existing, global, set of signs; they already *are* (and, in view of their history, always have been) "beyond" the local. Indeed, all too often the use of the term globalization implies a simple dichotomy of local versus global, assuming a recent, linear process of intensification and non-local expansion (see Freitag and Von Oppen (2010) for a recent discussion on this topic). Therefore, scholars have suggested replacing the term globalization with the notion of transnationalism (Crush and McDonald 2000; Jackson and Ramirez 2009). Both notions have a commonality in that they deal with flows and the processes they produce. But transnationalism, says Haanerz (1996, 6), has the benefit of allowing us to study processes that are variable because not all flows and processes that transcend boundaries are even in scale and distribution. In his turn, Levin (2002, 3) points out that globalization and transnationalism differ in their understanding of place. Whereas "global processes transcend space and only have a location in a … de-territorialized, abstract global space", "[t]ransnational processes are not worldwide, but are anchored in places, i.e., states, both homelands and nations of settlement" (ibid).

The problem with this concept of transnationalism, however, is that it understands signs and phenomena to flow between nations and states. In the context of religious flows, an alternative suggestion to think about the movements of people bearing only little reference to their nation or state of origin, would be the concept of transmigration as coined by Glick-Schiller et al. (1992, 1). The pastors discussed by Maskens, the members of the Tokoist church dealt with in the contribution by Blanes, the *terreiros* and cabinets presented by Guillot or the trajectory by Simon Kimbangu Kiangani described by Sarró and Mélice are not primarily concerned with international frontiers. Rather, we could characterize their strategies and activities as part of efforts to link their local context of origin with the local context of settlement, spanning the borders in-between. Hence, Ulrike Freitag and Von Achim Oppen (2010) argue in favour of the term "translocality". What these terms (transnationalism, transmigration and translocality) have in common is the idea of a "globalization from below" (see Portes 1999; Levitt 2001; Glick-Schiller et al. 2006). Important to note, however, is that many of the believers discussed in this special issue do perceive themselves as partaking in global worlds, because many of their practices and beliefs are shared in various places around the globe. They share a global horizon, an underlying orientation or imagination that shows itself, among others, in the use and circulation of religious media such as web pages, music and televized interviews

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

with religious leaders. This domain has very recently become an attractive research topic (De Witte 2003; Moyet 2005; Pype 2006, 2012; Brennan 2010).

Indeed, the religious movements discussed here are definitely translocal when it comes to their global horizon and their religious imaginary; as we noted above, this translocal orientation is at the very heart of these church movements. A few caveats are in place, though. First, translocality suggests that agents reach beyond the local, implying that the local precedes the global; our case studies, however, demonstrate that the global and the local are mutually implied (see Blanc et al. 1995; Fardon 1995; Appadurai 1996).

Second, it is vital to empirically document the materiality of translocal exchanges and networks instead of simply assuming that they are "there" (see Crush and McDonald 2000). As the four studies in this special issue suggest, the compressing of time and space through modern means of transportation and communication, for example, shapes the meanings believers attach to them. In Maskens' case, the narrative of migration itself becomes a source of power and distinction: Pentecostal pastors' trajectories follow a divine pattern, and are inscribed in a veritable migration "theology". Modern technology also amplifies the importance people attach to particular localities, whether they refer to powerful locations (such as Baynes' light tower), or to one's mythical origins in Nigeria (Guillot) or the DRC (Sarró and Mélice).

Third, what all four articles illustrate is that translocal exchanges are not part of a generalized "global" flow of goods, people and ideas, but take place between particular religious "hubs" or enclaves (Brodwin 2003), between specific religious localities rather than between these localities and "the world". To paraphrase Jane Guyer (2007), these places or hubs are "punctuated" rather than continuous, making them "interlocal" rather than translocal. The networks that connect these hubs can be rhizomatic (as in the case of many Pentecostal churches) or framed by centre–periphery relationships, in understanding that contemporary dynamics of African and diasporic church movements urge a reassessment of what exactly constitutes the centre and what is periphery (see especially Sarró and Mélice). From the point of view of the protagonists in this themed issue, Europe has become a frontier, a secularized no man's land with its threats but also with its opportunities, waiting to be conquered (see especially Guillot's contribution). This reassessment of centre–periphery relations and of interlocal relationships in general also implies revisiting the idea of an African diaspora (or of "African churches"). The ethnographies by Guillot and by Sarró and Mélice suggest that "Africa" is going through a process of profound re-semantization. According to Amselle (2001; for a discussion see Mélice 2009, 2011), "Africa" is a floating signifier, a signifier without essence, the particular and localized outcome of a simultaneous dynamic of contextualization and decontexualization:

> L'Afrique représente donc une construction, un concept dont les lois de fonctionnement obéissent à une logique sémantique totalement indépendante de tout enracinement dans un territoire. Le concept-Afrique appartient à tous ceux qui veulent s'en emparer, se brancher sur elle. (Amselle 2001, 15)

But the term diaspora should also be used with care. First of all, as Gerrie Ter Haar (1998, 5) states, the use of the term may constitute "an ideological instrument to support the idea that Africans do not belong in Europe but in Africa, their real homeland". Elsewhere, in similar vein, Ter Haar (2001, 42) regrets the fact that the new churches of African origin in Europe are often labelled "African" churches, whereas their intended audience and their religious ambitions are not limited to Africa and Africans. Second, the meaning of the term African diaspora has changed over the past two decades: whereas it used to refer to African communities across the Atlantic, nowadays it also implies the

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

African communities in Europe and elsewhere. Therefore, following Frigerio (2004), Guillot distinguishes between a primary and a secondary diaspora. With regard to religious movements, the first refers to those places that gave birth to a wide variety of Afro-American religions; the second refers to the place where these religions spread. For instance, the primary diaspora for *Santéria* is Havana; its secondary diaspora is found in, for instance, Miami and New York, where *Santéria* was introduced in the 1960s (see Teisenhoffer 2007). The uncritical use of the term, in other words, suggests some kind of unity or homogeneity where there is none; the idea of an African diaspora, in fact, groups a wide variety of actors and groups that often have but little or nothing in common. Moreover, it is important to note that the African diaspora not only bears reference to the past, but also to the present and future as it is an "integral part of the formation of the modern world as we know it" (Patterson and Kelly 2000, 13).

Therefore, Sarró and Mélice offer a dual perspective, one that simultaneously focuses on centre and diaspora, on Congo and Lisbon. They contend that centre and diasporic periphery should be considered together, and that diasporic communities, as "exemplary frontiers", strengthen the religious centre. It is difficult to overestimate the importance Kimbanguist church members in Congo and in the diaspora attach to the religious centre of N'Kamba *and* to the "three Kongos" (the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola). The Kimbanguist church may be transnationalist and universalist in orientation but in its imagination N'Kamba is the ultimate reference, the absolute centre of gravity around which centre all transnational or translocal movements (for more on this multi-sitedness of religious practice, see Freitag and Von Oppen 2010; Fourchard et al. 2005; Noret 2005; Mélice 2006).

In short, the case studies brought together here need to be set against the background of a globalized imaginary, of translocal (or interlocal) networks and of African diasporic communities. At best, concepts such as these offer a research strategy to focus on networks and concrete interactions; at worst, they conceal more than they reveal in taking for granted a common "African" cultural or political substratum (diaspora) or in assuming homogenous tracts along which Africans (or Pentecostalists) venture into the world "out there". Also here, indeed, the caveat remains that interlocal networks and exchanges need to be documented ethnographically, not posited. Such ethnographies of interlocality should, moreover, pay attention to the ways in which different networks intersect and interact, and investigate where the nodes in this network thicken. This, in its turn, necessitates a multi-sited approach over the longue durée.

A first example of such a dense ethnography is provided by Maité Maskens, who investigates the narratives of pastors in four different Pentecostal congregations in Brussels. These narratives illustrate to what extent "migration" and religious experience are interlocking dimensions. As Maskens argues, and as the other contributions also demonstrate, a perspective on religion and mobility is more rewarding than a narrow focus on religion and migration: first, migration is but one of the many movements "migrants" are engaged in; second, the idea of movement allows for more agency than is commonly assumed when talking about the migrant's predicament. All four contributions argue directly and indirectly against a simplistic view that analyzes religious affiliation in terms of identity, and identity in terms of migratory status. The alternative they propose is a much more dynamic one, in which believers move to *and* from, and in which religious trajectories intersect with religious biographies. These movements may be imaginary or "real"; nevertheless, they imply a continuous redefinition and renegotiation of place and belonging (see, for instance, the *terreiros* discussed by Guillot).

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

This aspect in particular is taken up by Ruy Blanes when analyzing the role of (involuntary) mobility – displacement – in the Tokoist church in Angola and the Angolan diaspora. As Blanes argues, mobility "transforms and complexifies the believers' senses of belonging", resulting in the spiritual and religious reconfiguration of places – a process he coins "moral circumscription". Important in his analysis are the religious networks that overlay the physical and political landscape and that frame both individual experience and collective, political discourse. These networks are instrumental in creating meaningful places, but may also produce disjunction. These places are not given: they are produced by movement.

The dynamic between the religiously inspired negotiation of place, on the one hand, and the reconfiguration of religion through one's trajectory, on the other hand, also implies a re-appreciation of centre and periphery. Therefore, Sarró and Mélice discuss the importance of, paraphrasing Clifford Geertz, "exemplary peripheries". Their case of the Kimbanguist church in Portugal illustrates the dynamics of centre–periphery relationships and demonstrates the importance of the margin (Portugal) in making the centre (the prophet's place of birth, N'Kamba) a source of spiritual power.

A final example of this (borrowing Ruy Blanes' term) moral circumscription is provided by Maïa Guillot. Like Sarró and Mélice, she demonstrates the centrality of the margin, and the re-territorialization of centre and periphery by believers from Portugal's former colonies (Angola and Brazil), resulting in efforts to, on the one hand, prove their legitimacy and inscribe themselves in the religious and social contexts of Portugal, and, on the other hand, re-connect with their ancestral origin through a strategic reconceptualization of "Africa". What the text by Guillot has in common with the other three analyses presented here, is that she concentrates on trajectory and biography to understand the dynamics of mobility and religious zeal. Not only has this proven to be a rewarding research strategy, it also offers a novel insight into the kinaesthetics of religion, and the religious dimensions of interlocality.

Acknowledgements

Early versions of the papers collected here were presented at the International Colloquium on Religion and Mobility in Africa and in the African Diaspora, 11–12 December 2009, Tervuren, Belgium. The authors wish to acknowledge the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO-Vlaanderen), the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS) and the Belgian Association of Africanists for their financial assistance, and the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren for hosting the event.

Notes

1. Email: steven.vanwolputte@soc.kuleuven.be
2. Email: annemelice@yahoo.fr

Notes on contributors

Katrien Pype is a postdoctoral researcher (Marie Curie IOF), working at the Program in Science, Technology & Society at MIT, and also at the Institute of Anthropological Research in Africa (KU Leuven, Belgium).

Steven Van Wolputte is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Program Director of the MSC Program in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Faculty of Social Sciences, KU Leuven, Belgium). At the time of writing he enjoyed a Fellowship from the International Research Institute Morphomata, University of Köln, Germany.

Anne Mélice obtained her doctoral degree in Social and Political Sciences (anthropology) at the University of Liège, where she is also 'maitre de conferences'.

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

Bibliography

Amselle, J.L. 2001. *Branchements*. Paris: Anthropologie de l'Universalité des Cultures, Flammarion.

Anderson, A.H. 2001. Types and Butterflies: African Initiated Churches and European Typologies. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25: 107–13.

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bastian, J.P., F. Champion, and K. Rousselet. 2001. *La Globalisation du Religieux*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bava, S. 2011. Migration-religion Studies in France: Evolving towards a Religious Anthropology of Movement. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 493–507.

Blanc, C.S., L. Basch, and N.G. Schiller. 1995. Transnationalism, Nation-states, and Culture. *Current Anthropology* 36 (4): 683–6.

Brennan, V. 2010. Mediating 'The Voice of the Spirit': Musical and Religious Transformations in Nigeria's Oil Boom. *American Ethnologist* 37 (2): 354–70.

Brodwin, P. 2003. Pentecostalism in Translation: Religion and the Production of Community in the Haitian Diaspora. *American Ethnologist* 30 (1): 85–101.

Crush, J. and D.A. McDonald. 2000. Transnationalism, African Immigration, and New Migrant Spaces in South Africa: An Introduction. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34 (1): 1–19.

Csordas, T.J. 2004. Asymptote of the Ineffable. Embodiment, Alterity, and the Theory of Religion. *Current Anthropology* 45 (4): 163–85.

Csordas, T.J. 2007. Introduction: Modalities of Transnational Transcendence. *Anthropological Theory* 7 (3): 259–72.

Devisch, R. 1996. 'Pillaging Jesus': Healing Churches and the Villagisation of Kinshasa. *Africa* 66 (4): 555–86.

De Witte, M. 2003. AltarMedia's *Living Word*: Televised Charismatic Christianity in Ghana. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (2): 172–202.

De Witte, M. 2011. Business of the Spirit: Ghanaian Broadcast Media and the Commercial Exploitation of Pentecostalism. *Journal of African Media Studies* 3 (2): 189–204.

Drewal, H., ed. 2008. *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of UCLA and Washington: University of Washington Press.

Engelke, M. 2010. Past Pentecostalism: Notes on Rupture, Realignment, and Everyday Life in Pentecostal and African Independent Churches. *Africa* 80 (2): 177–99.

Fardon, R., ed. 1995. *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Fourchard, L., A. Mary, and R. Otayek, eds. 2005. *Entreprises religieuses transnationales en Afrique de l'Ouest*. Ibadan: IFRA-Karthala.

Freitag, U. and A. Von Oppen. 2010. Introduction: 'Translocality': An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies. In *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, edited by U. Freitag, and A. Von Oppen, 1–23. Leiden: Brill.

Frigerio, A. 2004. Re-Africanization in Secondary Religious Diasporas: Constructing a World Religion. *Civilisations* 51 (1–2): 39–60.

Gifford, P. 2004. *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy*. London: C. Hurst and Co.

Glick-Schiller, N., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton. 2006. Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 645 (1): 1–24.

Guyer, J. 2007. Prophecy and the Near Future: Thoughts on Macroeconomic, Evangelical and Punctuated time. *American Ethnologist* 34 (3): 409–21.

Haanerz, U. 1996. Transnational Connections. Culture, People, Places. London: : Routledge.

Hobsbawm, E., and T. Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, J.E., and M.C. Ramirez. 2009. Traditional, Transnational, and Cosmopolitan: The Colombian Yanacona Look to the Past and to the Future. *American Ethnologist* 36 (3): 521–44.

Lambertz, P. 2011. Congolese Ancestor Veneration from Japan? Perspectives on the Church of World Messianity/Sekai Kyuseikyo in Kinshasa (DR Congo). Paper presented at the Graduiertenkolleg Bruchzonen der Globalisierung. Leipzig, Germany: University of Leipzig/Institut für Afrikanistik.

Levin, M.D. 2002. Flow and Place: Transnationalism in Four Cases. *Anthropologica* 44 (1): 3–12.

Levitt, P. 2001. *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Louveau, F. 2000. Sukyo Mahikari: une identité religieuse au–delà des frontières. *Ethnologie française* 30 (4): 555–63.

Louveau, F. 2004. La taupe et le microscope. Variations méthodologiques d'une ethnologie comparée d'une 'nouvelle religion japonaise' en France et en Afrique: Sukyo Mahikari. *Journal des anthropologues* 98–99 http://jda.revues.org/1741

MacGaffey, W. 1983. *Modern Kongo Prophets: Religion in a Plural Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Marshall, R. 1998. Mediating the Global and Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (3): 278–315.

Marshall, R. 2009. *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Mary, A. 2008. Introduction: Africanité et Christianité: une Interaction Première. *Archives des Sciences Sociales des Religions (Christianismes du Sud à l'épreuve de l'Europe)* 143: 9–30.

Maxwell, D. 1999. *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A Social History of the Hwesa People, 1870–1990s*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mélice, A. 2006. Un terrain fragmenté: le kimbanguisme et ses ramifications. *Civilisations* 54 (1–2): 67–76.

Mélice, A. 2009. Un concept lévi-straussien déconstruit: le 'bricolage'. *Les Temps Modernes* 656: 83–98.

Mélice, A. 2011. Prophétisme, hétérodoxie et dissidence. L'imaginaire kimbanguiste en mouvement. PhD thesis, University of Liège.

Meyer, B. 1998a. Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Postcolonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (3): 316–49.

Meyer, B. 1998b. The Power of Money: Politics, Occult Forces, and Pentecostalism in Ghana. *African Studies Review* 41 (3): 15–37.

Meyer, B. 2003. Visions of Blood, Sex and Money: Fantasy Spaces in Popular Ghanaian Cinema. *Visual Anthropology* 16 (1): 15–41.

Meyer, B. 2004a. Christianity in Africa: From African Independent tot Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 447–74.

Meyer, B. 2004b. 'Praise the Lord' Popular Cinema and Pentecostalite Style in Ghana's New Public Sphere. *American Ethnologist* 31 (1): 92–110.

Meyer, B. and P. Geschiere. 2003. Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure. Introduction. In *Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure*, edited by B. Meyer, and P. Geschiere, 1–16. Oxford: Blackwell.

Moyet, X. 2005. Le néopentecôtisme Nigérian au Ghana: Les Eglises Mountain of Fire and Miracle et Christ Embassy à Accra. In *Entreprises transnationales en Afrique de l'Ouest*, edited by L. Fourchard, A. Mary, and R. Otayek, 467–87. Ibadan, Nigeria: IFRA-Karthala.

Noret, J. 2005. Logiques transnationales et développements missionaires dans les pentecôtismes Nigérian, béninois et togolais. In *Entreprises religieuses transnationales en Afrique de l'Ouest*, edited by L. Fourchard, A. Mary, and R. Otayek, 517–38. Ibadan, Nigeria: IFRA-Karthala.

Patterson, T.R., and R.G. Kelly. 2000. Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World. *African Studies Review* 43 (1): 11–45.

Peel, J.D.Y. 2000. *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Portes, A. 1999. Conclusion: Towards a New World – the Origins and Effects of Transnational Activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 463–77.

Pype, K. 2006. Dancing for God or the Devil: Pentecostal Discourse on Popular Dance in Kinshasa. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 36 (3–4): 296–318.

Pype, K. 2012. *The Making of the Pentecostal Melodrama: Religion, Media, and Gender in Kinshasa*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Robbins, J. 2004. The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 117–43.

Schoffeleers, J.M. 1992. *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi, c. A.D. 1600*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Teisenhoffer, V. 2007. Umbanda, New Age et Psychothérapie. Aspects de l'Implantation de l'Umbanda à Paris. *Ateliers du LESC* 31. http://ateliers.revues.org/872; DOI: 10.4000/ateliers.872.

Ter Haar, G. 1998. *Strangers and Sojourners: Religious Communities in the Diaspora*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters.

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012

Ter Haar, G. 2001. Prophets in the Modern World: An Anthropological Perspective on Prophetism in African-initiated Churches in Western Europe. In *Verborgener Gott – Verborgene Kirche? Die kenotische Theologie und ihre ekklesiologischen Implikationen*, edited by J. Brosseder, 68–80. Stuttgart, Germany: Kohlhammer.

Vertovec, S., and R. Cohen, eds. 1999. *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Werbner, R.P. 1989. *Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey: The Process and Organization of Religious Movement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Downloaded by [91.86.182.75] at 04:30 16 December 2012