California State University, Northridge

Imagining Tradition and Modernity: Ugandan Pentecostals in Los Angeles

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

By

Kevin Timothy Zemlicka

December 2013

The thesis of Kevin Timothy Zemlicka is approved by:

_____	_____
Dr. Sabina Magliocco	Date
_____	_____
Dr. Rosamond Rodman	Date
_____	_____
Dr. Suzanne Scheld, Chair	Date

California State University, Northridge

Acknowledgements

This project is shared with a host of individuals whose love and support have made this research possible. Beginning with my family, I would like to thank my mother Janice Zemlicka for her unwavering dedication to me and my children. Without her there would have been no time for this, and far less love to sustain me through it. Thanks to the love of my life Ruby Espinoza-Zemlicka for understanding the long absences, and believing in the value of my work. You are my heart. Thank you to my dear children Liam Andres Espinoza Zemlicka and Patrick Joaquin Strummer Espinoza Zemlicka for putting up with my absences and loving me unconditionally in spite of them. Thank you to my father Gerard Zemlicka and my stepmother Paulette Zemlicka for their love and support, and for freeing up my Friday nights for research by hosting my children for their favorite fish dinner.

This journey was brightened by the love and companionship of so many in my cohort. Thanks to Heather, Rhea, Sandy, Meghan, Danny, Garrett, Victoria, and Charlotte. You all gave me the strength to continue by listening to my ideas and providing valuable feedback. Being able to call any one of you at 3:00 AM to discuss the direction of my work and listen to yours was invaluable, and I look forward to many years of friendship with all of you. Also a big thank you to my editor Patrick, without whom this work would never have been finished.

Of course I must thank my outstanding thesis committee. Many thanks to Dr. Rodman for believing in me enough to join in this process. My work has been improved just being in her presence, and her input has been crucial to the completion of this research. Thank you to Dr. Magliocco, whose door has always been open to me, and whose faith in my scholarship has sustained me long before this project began. To Dr. Suzanne Scheld I offer

my most heartfelt gratitude for her selfless mentoring and tireless devotion to my personal and professional development, and also for opening my eyes and heart to Africa. Each of these scholars has a special place in my heart, and in this work.

I owe the largest debt of gratitude to the Revival Power Ministries family for allowing me into their lives, and teaching me what it means to do ethnographic research. Obviously this project has relied on their kindness and collaboration from the beginning. Thanks to Pastor Robert Kayongo and First Lady Barbara for graciously having me to their home and allowing me to witness firsthand their full time commitment to the Gospel, and to the their extended family of RPM. Their commitment to the Ugandan community they serve is extraordinary, and I have been honored to be included in their prayers. Thank you also to Siima, my number one participant, for teaching me to sing, dance, and pray, and for explaining what it means to have a relationship with the Spirit. This work belongs to all of you. Finally, I wish to thank the spirits of Eddie Gintz, Pat Collins, Phil Ochs, and Joe Strummer who all continue to inspire me from the other side.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Imagining Tradition and Modernity: Ugandan Pentecostals in Los Angeles

By

Kevin Timothy Zemlicka

Master of Arts in Anthropology

As with most variations of Christianity, Pentecostalism is a highly processed form of the religion. Initially conceived at a time of great social and political upheaval in the United States, it was first reworked to reflect those realities. As it was exported around the world it continued to be manipulated to reflect a variety of social, cultural, and political contexts. In an increasingly globalized economy many people migrate to the West, some of whom bring Pentecostalism with them to be reworked yet again in the city of its birth, Los Angeles, California. In this paper I focus on one transnational community of Ugandans in Los Angeles and their experiences with bringing Pentecostalism "home." This study attempts to illustrate how Ugandan Pentecostalism is mediated by the new setting, and how it is reworked and then employed by migrants to ameliorate the difficulties associated with integrating into the host society. Through ethnographic research conducted at Revival Power Ministries (RPM), I demonstrate that the church becomes both the physical and social space where many of the difficulties associated with finding one's place in the transnational setting are worked out. I describe some of the ways in which Pentecostal belief and practice are flexed to facilitate more successful navigation of and emplacement within the complex social stratification of Los Angeles. I argue that this occurs through a somewhat paradoxical

imagining of “modernity” and “tradition.” Beginning with an analysis of the relationship between RPM and a neighboring immigrant Pentecostal church, I examine the tension that exists between the past and present (traditional and modern), and how the religion is employed by my participants to secure a favorable position within the modern social landscape of Los Angeles. An analysis of women’s experiences with empowerment through Pentecostal belief and practice provides yet another lens through which to view this tension as it is encountered and creatively managed in the transnational setting. I identify women as key agents in the work of imagining tradition and modernity. I further argue that my participants utilize the physical and social space of RPM to construct identities built upon Western notions of modernity through application of the gospel of prosperity, and “traditional” notions of Ugandan personhood through the reproduction (re-invention) of ethnicity taking place at church functions. Ultimately, I argue that by flexing the religion in the transnational context, my participants gain discursive control over how the community is perceived, thereby contesting both external and internal marginalizing pressures.

Chapter One

Introduction

My first visit to Revival Power Ministries (RPM), a Pentecostal church in Van Nuys, California, occurred at 10:00 a.m. on a Sunday in January of 2012. As I drove through the neighborhood housing the office building, which in turn houses RPM, my first thought was "where are all the Ugandans?" I had been referred to the church by a Ugandan security guard from California State University, Northridge who claimed to live close by, but my initial drive through the neighborhood showed no signs of a Ugandan presence. Through the course of the research I came to realize that unlike other ethnic and immigrant enclaves in Los Angeles (e.g., Koreatown, Little Saigon, Little Ethiopia, Thaitown, and Filipinotown), Ugandans have not yet claimed a geographical space in the city.

RPM is located in a predominantly working class, Latino neighborhood. The area surrounding the church is marked by signage that is almost exclusively in Spanish. Street vendors, vegetable trucks, and taquerias add to the ambiance of what is clearly a Latin American enclave. A number of storefront Spanish-speaking Pentecostal churches can be found in the neighborhood as well, mirroring the rise of Pentecostalism throughout Latin America. A larger Catholic Church down the street from RPM advertises multiple services conducted in Spanish, which further substantiates the Latino presence in the neighborhood. On any given weekend one can walk the streets of this section of Van Nuys and hear loud, Mexican music coming from many apartments and homes. All of this seems to deny the possibility of a large African presence in the neighborhood. This left me to wonder what I would find when I entered the church.

The office building housing RPM takes up an entire corner of the intersection, and is situated next to a recycling center that receives a good deal of business. As I approached the building on the first day of my fieldwork, I walked alongside an elderly Latina woman pushing a shopping cart filled with cans to be redeemed. The door to the building was propped open with a brick, and as I stepped inside I could hear music and singing coming from upstairs. I took an elevator to the second floor, and as the doors opened I was hit with a wall of sound. I followed the music down the hall and entered the church where I was overwhelmed by sound once again. At this point, I knew I had found the African scene that had been invisible in the surrounding neighborhood. RPM was the Ugandan enclave I had been looking for.

The term enclave denotes a distinct territorial, cultural, or social unit enclosed within foreign territory (Merriam-Webster 2013) and RPM is certainly that. Although Ugandans may lack an association with a distinct geographical space in Los Angeles, complete with its own city-approved signage, RPM is a micro-territory that draws Ugandan transnational migrants from all over the county to participate in the worship and community building that takes place there, (some travel up to 60 miles to attend Sunday services and to participate in other activities hosted at the church). In this way the term enclave is relevant to understanding RPM in Los Angeles.

At the same time, however, RPM is more than a physical site of congregation. RPM is the space from which my participants imagine their place in the social landscape of Los Angeles. It is where many Ugandans sort out their experience of transnational migration. For example, Ugandan ideas about the West are reconsidered at RPM, reworked, then taken back to neighborhoods, job sites, and schools throughout Los Angeles. In short, RPM is a

safe space to work out new identities for a new social, political, and economic landscape. RPM moves beyond the traditional notion of an enclave as spatially bounded. RPM is unbounded and fragmented, as it includes social spaces from Uganda and other areas of the Ugandan diaspora.

The first time I walked in to RPM a middle-aged African-American man who I would come to know as Mr. Jones (pseudonym)[1] handed me a card to fill out. Mr. Jones, one of the very few non-African born members of RPM is the head usher of the church, and acts as the right hand man to pastor Robert Kayongo. He rarely sits And is kept busy by the various needs of the pastor and parishioners. Mr. Jones always seems to know when someone in the church needs a weekly bulletin, a bible, or a bottle of water. The remainder of his time is spent adjusting the temperature of the space, greeting new arrivals, and hurrying to catch members just before they collapse when they are "taken" by the Spirit.

When I entered the church on the first day of my visit, I made my way to the rear to sit in what would become my place for the next year. Mr. Jones promptly collected my name card so that the pastor could formally welcome me to RPM in front of the congregation. The church interior is rectangular and has rows of chairs on both sides of a center aisle. The pulpit at the front of the church has a dais, which the pastor rarely uses as he prefers to weave his way up and down the aisle while preaching.

On that first day I counted 23 women and ten men, including myself, Mr. Jones, the pastor, and the musicians. As I would come to discover, the first row of seats on the left, which appear a little nicer and more comfortable than the rest, are reserved for the pastor, his

[1] Any names used in this thesis are pseudonyms with the exception of Pastor Kayongo, Barbara Kayongo, and Siima.

wife (referred to as the “First Lady”), and important visitors such as visiting pastors from Uganda or other parts of Los Angeles. The front row to the right of the room is always occupied by Mama Sarah, the mother of the First Lady, and her husband. The rest of the community occupies the remaining seats. This body of people is made up almost entirely of Ugandan immigrants, a few other East Africans from Kenya, and one woman from the Democratic Republic of Congo. There are also four regularly attending African-Americans (three women and one man) in the community.

Sunday services at RPM officially last from 9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., although in reality they are rarely over before 1:30 or 2:00 p.m. Pastor Robert Kayongo leads the services. The first two hours of the service consists of singing and dancing, also known as “praise and worship.” RPM features three outstanding female singers, and three male musicians. The female singers lead the congregation in praise and worship before the pastor officially takes over. After many visits to the church I came to see that the praise and worship portion of the service has many functions. It is the means by which attendees “wake up” and become ready to receive the message Pastor Kayongo has prepared. It is also a necessary part of becoming ready to receive the gifts of the Spirit, usually in the form of glossolalia (speaking in tongues). Just before the pastor is ready to take over and begin preaching the music and singing build to a crescendo, causing several attendees to begin speaking in tongues. Praise and worship is also used as a means of accommodating late attendees. Pastor Kayongo rarely begins his sermon unless the hall is reasonably filled. On the average, 30 people attend each Sunday, although I have seen as few as 18, and as many as 60 participants over the course of the year. Songs are primarily sung in English, although occasionally a song in Luganda (the language of the Baganda people of Uganda) is included

in the weekly repertoire. Initially, I was surprised to find that the female singers actually spend more time leading the congregation in prayer than the pastor. Indeed, on several occasions the weekly bulletin included "ministry from the praise and worship team" as a scheduled portion of the service. As I continued my fieldwork, however, I found that women play an integral role in almost every activity taking place at RPM. In terms of service attendance, women outnumbered the men by at least two to one every Sunday (and often it is more than this). Bible study and the intensive prayer services on Wednesday and Friday are made up almost entirely of women. In other words, women filled nearly every key role at RPM. Their role in shaping the physical and social space where transnationals come to work things out cannot be overstated.

Services are characterized by a great deal of interaction between the pastor and the congregants, and responses are solicited and expected from him. For example, several times throughout a service pastor Kayongo concludes his message with "Praising of the Lord." The phrase "Praising of the Lord" requires a response of "Amen." If the pastor deems that the response is unsatisfactory he re-phrases it as a question: "Praising of the Lord?" He repeats this question until a sufficient number of congregants answer with "amen." At the same time women in attendance frequently and spontaneously shout out "Amen,""Hallelujah," and "Praise the Lord." Mr. Jones is one of the few men who contribute liberally in this regard as well.

Pastor Kayongo comes prepared each Sunday to preach a particular sermon, but always leaves room for the influence of the Holy Spirit to guide the service in another direction. For example, on at least three occasions by the end of praise and worship, several of the congregants were already experiencing glossolalia, and so the pastor allowed for the

remainder of the time that day to be devoted to receiving the gifts of the spirit. Ordinarily though, the first portion of the service is a time set aside for congregants to testify.

On that first day of fieldwork I was immediately drawn to the power of giving testimony, and to the ways it seemed to empower individuals. This feature of the Sunday service, in which church members take the microphone in order to discuss how God has worked in their lives, has tremendous and obvious therapeutic value, as evidenced by the following example from a 48 year old Ugandan woman:

> He is an awesome God! All the power and the glory are his! I want to thank God for taking an interest in my life…(each time the woman mentions God she points a finger upward) Two weeks ago I was experiencing lower abdominal pain. You all know how scared I was. Not just the physical pain, but scared about not being here any longer. The doctor ran a series of tests. The prognosis was not good. I'm here to tell you today that God made all those tests negative. I am sticking around! God answered my prayers and got involved in my life. Hallelujah!

After this powerful testimony the woman was cheered by all in attendance. Then the pastor spoke to her and to all of us:

> Jesus is a mighty God! I am reminded of Uganda. Some of you know what I mean when I talk about the muddy roads there. Your car can get stuck…the more you push the gas the more stuck in the mud you become. Back home we must call a bulldozer to get the car out of the mud. I tell you Jesus is that bulldozer. You may ask why does God allow suffering…but every storm has a reason. Praise God!

The pastor's choice of drawing an analogy between this woman's trials and the trials involved in navigating muddy, unpaved roads in Uganda seemed strange to me that day. As I would come to find, however, Uganda, although usually remembered fondly by members of the church, is often framed in church discourse as a place that lacks infrastructure and "modernity." Conversely, Los Angeles is often discussed as the model of modernity, where through strict adherence to God's plan, everyone can experience an economic "breakthrough." The message that comes across is access to the accoutrements of modernity

cannot be achieved solely through migration to Los Angeles. Rather it is achieved and appreciated only by those who seek it in Jesus' name. This type of discourse led me to see religion used in the transnational setting as a vehicle for emplacing members within the surrounding social landscape, and working through their relationships with fellow Ugandans back "home." While there is a strong focus on becoming modern in Los Angeles running through Pentecostal discourse at RPM, the path from traditional to modern is not so simple. A break with the muddy roads of Uganda can be employed as a metaphor for achieving modernity, but at other times "being" Ugandan in Los Angeles is described as a valuable asset by my participants. The importance of maintaining language, food practices, music, and other traditional cultural forms is also expressed at RPM. The maintenance of these traditions is cast as helping church members and the entire community to avoid being associated with other populations in Los Angeles that are often assigned low social status such as African-Americans and other immigrants. There is a tension between past and present, and between tradition and modernity, as both are constructed and mediated by Pentecostalism at RPM. As I explore the many ways that the religion is employed in the lives of my participants, I will pay particular attention to this tension as a unifying thread informing Ugandan integration into Los Angeles.

Throughout this thesis I examine the way religion is used by Ugandans to settle in Los Angeles while acknowledging religion as a unique cultural form with particular properties. Religion represents a complex web of shared meaning, and as Geertz notes it may be employed to account for, and even to "celebrate the perceived ambiguities, puzzles, and paradoxes in human experience" (1973:108). While Geertz's definition of religion has been critiqued for its lack of attentiveness to power arrangements, it remains relevant in that

it grants religion a certain discursive elasticity that had previously been absent from many anthropological definitions. Rather than thinking of religion as an essentialized "thing," I approach it as fluid, evolving, and informed by a variety of intra- and inter-cultural pressures. As Geertz suggests, people use religion to make sense of difficult moments in life. In this thesis, I examine a community of Ugandan immigrants to elucidate the role of Pentecostal Christianity in providing meaning to their lived, and sometimes difficult experiences of settling in Los Angeles. Early on in the fieldwork experience it became clear to me that membership and worship at RPM helped to facilitate increased levels of empowerment and well-being for the participants in my study. This finding echoes the outcomes of many other studies of religion and transnational migrants (Brodwin 2003; D'Alisera 1997; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 2002; Englund 2001; Feher 1998; Guest 2003; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Hepner 1998; Karagiannis and Glick-Schiller 2008; Levitt 2001, 2003; McAlister 1998; Menjivar 1999, 2000; Mutema 2005; Nzayabino 2005; Pasura 2012; Shandy 2002; van Dijk 2001; Warner 1998; Wellmeier 1998). Here, I demonstrate ways in which my participants utilize Pentecostal doctrine and affiliation to contest often extreme levels of marginalization related to race, gender, and immigration status, while simultaneously acquiring some measure of discursive control over their lives. I argue that when the members of RPM utilize Pentecostal doctrine and worship to facilitate empowerment, to increase feelings of well-being, and to gain discursive control over how they are viewed by the dominant culture in Los Angeles, they are emplacing themselves within Los Angeles and shifting definitions of Ugandan modernity and tradition. The definitions of tradition and modernity are elastic, and members use them to confront both internal and external marginalizing pressures. For example, Pentecostal doctrine emphasizing the "prosperity gospel" equates certain forms of

materialism with modernity, which in turn becomes synonymous with being "right with God." Doctrinal emphasis on material wealth at RPM is utilized by the community to contest negative perceptions of both immigrant and proximal-host identity. Proximal host is a term used to denote the identity assigned to immigrants by the dominant culture in a receiving location (McAlister 1998). In other words, expressions of modernity serve to ameliorate the difficulties of identifying as African immigrants in Los Angeles. I demonstrate how modernity becomes the vehicle which allows the members of RPM to disassociate themselves from external perceptions of African immigrants as "savage," politically chaotic, dangerous, dirty, and a host of other immigrant tropes forged in the white imaginary and spread throughout Los Angeles. However, in ways that mirror Ranger's (1983) concept of the "invention of tradition," the past is also called upon, and imagined within the Pentecostal context to facilitate emplacement within Los Angeles. Ethnicity, with all of its colonial and infantilizing baggage, is reproduced at the church as a "traditional" identity that is more suited to upward social mobility in Los Angeles. Thus, the vision of modernity embedded in the prosperity gospel is used as a form of "homogenizing magic" (Jacobson 1998:204) to erase notions of "primitive" or "backward" often associated with Africans and immigrants, while the act of reproducing and performing "traditional" Ugandan ethnicity is viewed as a means to erase the marginalizing qualities of blackness associated with the proximal host identity of African-American to which my participants are customarily assigned.

Gender roles within the RPM community are also informed by the tension between "tradition" and "modernity" being negotiated through the religion. As I discuss in the pages below, certain Pentecostal beliefs such as the heightened role of the Holy Spirit in the lives of believers, or the requirement of actively seeking to convert others, allow for a gendered

interpretation of modernity that women utilize to contest the limitations of Ugandan gender-norms as they adjust and adapt to new circumstances in Los Angeles. These beliefs, built into Pentecostalism, have a long history of increasing women's experiences of agency that is shared by the women of RPM. However, women are also actively engaged as "keepers" of tradition at RPM. For example, women prepare and serve traditional Ugandan food at church functions. By reproducing Ugandan gender norms and food practices women do the work of imagining homeland (tradition, the past, etc.) for the community, putting the symbols in place that allow community members to maintain a connection to Uganda. Although women at RPM expressed to me that they are proud of this work, they are slowly beginning to challenge the Ugandan gender norms that they reproduce, reinforcing the fact that the road from traditional to modern is no simple path. Even as they take pride in reproducing tradition, women are beginning to question the lack of participation from men in areas such as serving food at church functions, and taking a more active role in childcare activities. This questioning is then refracted through Pentecostal teaching at RPM as the pastor will often incorporate references to women's desire for greater autonomy into his sermons. Thus, in the transnational context women are enhancing their potential for personal and professional success by making sure that their needs are legitimized through beliefs and practices at RPM. I argue in the pages below that the primacy of women to the operation of the church and to the success of the community illuminates how Pentecostalism at RPM mediates tensions between tradition and modernity.

Unpacking Ethnicity and Tradition

How does one define ethnic identity? Within the field of psychology, ethnicity is often thought of in terms of stages of development whereby an individual constructs an

ethnic identity over time based on experiences with and knowledge of a particular group. This leads to a sense of belonging to a group. From this perspective, ethnic identity is largely conceived of in individualistic terms. In contrast, anthropology has a history of considering ethnicity and ethnic identification as a group process. It is defined by shared cultural forms such as language, religion, customs, beliefs, etc. Ethnic identity evolves and may be subject to a host of pressures. Significantly, anthropologists today tend to acknowledge that while ethnicity involves a relation to the past, there has no primordial essence.. Early anthropologists, however, viewed ethnicity as a social category based on essential characteristics of a group which could be traced back deep in time. Ethnic groups were conceived of as relatively (if not entirely) static groups. This view had unfortunate consequences for it led to a view of African culture as primitive, unchanging, anda relic from the past.

Early social scientists, cartographers, and colonial administrators were handy at creating tribes as they imposed labels and geographic boundaries on groups of people who seemed to share beliefs, language, and other cultural forms. Conflicts ensued as ethnic groups were mapped onto the colonial partitioning of Africa. Conflicts were then interpreted by Europeans as an innate African characteristic, and a justification for colonial aggression. Although scholarship in the colonial period contributed to the idea that inherent tribalism and violence is Africa's birthright, this line of thinking had already made its way into the Western public consciousness during the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. At that time, the idea that "tribal conflicts" were innate to Africa provided a justification for slavery. European slave traders viewed themselves as "rescuing" Africans from inter-tribal animosities and ethnic genocide. They assumed enslaved Africans were better off on plantations (Kabiri

1999:530). Moving forward in time we see similar arguments employed to justify the colonial project in Africa. By framing colonialism as a "civilizing mission," agents of the metropole argued that Africans were better off being modernized than killing each other in endless cycles of tribal warfare (Kabiri 1999:530). The persistence of this line of thinking is further evidenced by critiques of early African independence, which assumed that tribal conflicts would lead to the disintegration of emerging African states. Indeed, this logic has been used in Western media to explain (and largely ignore) recent events such as the genocide in Rwanda. Although the term "tribe" was replaced by "ethnicity" in scholarship over time, the essentialization of Africans has persisted. Or consider Western media accounts of Africa, which continue to reduce complex social, historical, and economic factors to a kind of innate savagery, with emphases on ethnic conflicts. When historical context is ignored, and the overwhelming focus is on conflict there remains an assumption that a particular group of people are essentially violent, even if antiquated terminology such as "tribal" or "savage" is sidestepped. In sum, attempting to discuss "African identity" is fraught with difficulties, and whether one chooses the term "tribe" or "ethnicity" there remains a great deal of colonial and theoretical baggage to unpack.

Throughout this work I refer to the reproduction of "ethnicity," taking place at RPM, in which my participants seek to perform "traditional" Ugandan identity to increase feelings of well-being and to contest marginalization. In doing so I do not mean to imply that there is one way of being Ugandan, or that Ugandan tradition is static and can be easily reproduced. However, for the members of RPM there are benefits to constructing a Ugandan identity in Los Angeles that need to be illuminated. Perhaps the best way to consider this is through a comparison with Ranger's (1983) seminal study of the invention of tradition.

Ranger's (1983) groundbreaking essay, *The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa*, was among the first in a long line of scholarship to examine both colonial and African agency in the construction of African "tradition." While Ranger's (1983) essay focused only on certain areas of Africa, the emergence of the "posts" (e.g., post-modernism, post-colonialism, and post-structuralism) in anthropological scholarship has carried the torch of social constructionism to other parts of the continent. It is now standard practice to consider the extent to which African tradition, customary law, and tribal affiliation have been socially constructed, with debates circulating as to the relative influence of colonial hegemony or African agency (Spear 2003:4). The ubiquity of social construction in scholarship informs my analysis of the reproduction of ethnicity that takes place at RPM. In terms of ethnicity I am reminded of Ranger's (1993:) critique of his own work in which he questions the limitations of the term "invention." He argues that it implies a conscious construction of tradition which overemphasizes colonial hegemony and ignores historical processes of reinterpretation and reformation by Africans. Ranger (1993:62-70) suggests replacing "invented" with Benedict Anderson's (1991) term "imagined," to better capture the multi-dimensional and interactive processes involved in constructing tradition. Applied to ethnicity the term "imagine" conveys a sense of fluidity. It implies continuous reinterpretation, so that ethnic identity is contingent upon its legibility in a variety of times, places, and circumstances. For my participants at RPM, tradition and ethnicity are understandably flexible in the transnational setting. In their construction we see evidence of both external and internal pressures guiding them. Ironically, when I discuss the ways in which the members of RPM strategically conform to dominant culture perceptions of what it means to be "African" in Los Angeles, there are similarities with Ranger's analysis of colonial era

African opportunism and the "rapid changes in the self-identification of the people, who used this or that ethnic tag according to shifting balances of prestige" (1983:260). At other times the reproduction (imagining and performing) of ethnicity is driven by internal pressures such as building community, or testing the boundaries of shifting gender norms from within a safe space. So when I use the terms ethnicity or tradition in this paper it is not based solely upon the shared linguistic, religious, or even geographical histories of my participants. Instead, I am considering the past, whether expressed through ethnicity or tradition, as a discourse in the transnational setting which is "continually reinterpreted and reconstructed as 'regulated improvisations' subject to their continued intelligibility and legitimacy" (Spear 2003:26).

Unpacking Modernity

The concept of "modernity," much like tradition and ethnicity, is accompanied by a tremendous amount of baggage that needs to be unpacked. Use of the term "modernity" in this thesis does not refer to a specific temporal period, though there is a long history of defining it this way in social scientific scholarship. For example, Hardt and Negri (2000:70-87) place modernity in the period from 1200-1600 and associate it with two contradictory ideas emerging at that time. The first idea was that there was power in the material world and the humans residing in it, which stood in contrast to transcendent power. The second idea was that there was a need to reestablish transcendent control over those powers (leading to the concept of modern sovereignty). Turner (1990:6) moves forward in time to describe modernity as the period beginning with the rise of Western imperialism in the 16th century, and continuing to the dominance of capitalism, the recognition of scientific procedures, and the separation of household from economy. For many scholars there are clearly defined temporal *and* spatial markers for modernity in the 17th and 18th centuries in northern Europe,

with events such as the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution (Escobar 2004:211). Some make a distinction between modernity (associated with technological and economic processes beginning in the 16th century) and modernism (the cultural or aesthetic reactions created by the condition of those processes) (Smart 1990:17-9). For this thesis the division between modernity and modernism has been helpful. My participants often discuss Uganda in terms of a disjuncture between technological and economic modernity (lacking in Uganda and present in Los Angeles), and culturally understanding and aspiring to what might be defined as modernism (equally possible in both sending and receiving locations through adherence to Pentecostal teachings). Indeed, not only does this disjuncture appear to be at the crux of their usage of the term "modern," but it transitions nicely into my own anthropological approach to interpreting modernity, at least as it concerns the recognition of power arrangements.

In attempting to make sense of modernity expressed through an ever-evolving cultural form like Ugandan Pentecostalism in Los Angeles, I have had to struggle with several issues. First, there is the notion of polarizing my participants in dichotomous constructions of traditional and modern, subordinate and dominant, or global and local. Anthropology today debates the extent to which modernist or development theories are Eurocentric. However, even the most well-intentioned analyses of globalization and power relationships can unwittingly reproduce dualisms positing Western forms of economic and political organization as superior and non-Western forms inferior. Added to this is often the *a priori* assumption that "modern" cultural forms emerged in Europe and, depending upon the era of anthropology one draws from, either diffused outward or were imposed on the global south by the global north (Wade 2007:52). To avoid these pitfalls when introducing

modernity to the discussion I am drawn to the theoretical paradigm suggested by Wade (2007:53), which sees all forms of periodization and historicization that bolster existing hierarchies of knowledge and power, whether analytical or "popular," as *constructions* with obvious political effects. In this way, notions of modernity that are spatially and temporally based in the global north have clear implications for "the realms of power and knowledge" in research employing them for discussions of the global south (Wade 2007:53). However, recognizing this and putting it into practice are two different things. I am aware of these pitfalls and in the spirit of reflexivity I can only say that I have tried to avoid them. I must also acknowledge that my participants' interpretations of tradition and modernity based on their experiences of Uganda and Los Angeles differ from my expressed theoretical and methodological goals. Therefore, in an attempt to provide a working definition for modernity I chose a broad description that I believe captures the spirit of the term for me and my participants. In this paper modernity refers to all that "results from the diversified impact of capitalism on social formations across the world" (Moreiras 2001:3). While this definition does nothing to capture the religious spirit with which my participants use the term, it does acknowledge the type of unequal distribution of goods and services that *they* use to characterize "traditional" Uganda and "modern" Los Angeles. However, my research also borrows from globalization theories and the attendant processes of resignification and hybridization. I intend to demonstrate that the members of RPM "adapt objects, ideas, and symbols from global circuits of production, consumption, and knowledge" (Wade 2009:51), and then indigenize, resignify, appropriate, and hybridize them in the creation of "multiple" or "alternative" modernities (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993; Inda and Rosaldo 2002). This approach acknowledges that modernity for my participants is marked by elasticity, and is just

as likely to result in homogenization as it is heterogenization, while more often than not falling somewhere in the middle. Take the desire for an expensive new car as an example. Clearly there is a desire for most residents of the city to own a reliable and comfortable vehicle to navigate the urban landscape of Los Angeles, but within this particular brand of Ugandan Pentecostal teaching the new car represents more than comfort, reliability, or status. Instead, it represents absolute proof of strict adherence to God's word, and of being in God's favor. In other words acquiring the new Lexus is highly unlikely without assistance from the spiritual realm (a contradiction of major proportions to those in the West who associate modernity with increased secularism). The members of RPM may want to leave the muddy roads of Kampala behind for the paved roads of Los Angeles, but Uganda remains entirely present in their material and spiritual lives.

Women in particular often find themselves in that liminal space between tradition and modernity when the expectations of homeland and diaspora appear to clash. For example, expectations of socializing children into the "traditional" culture may clash with receiving location expectations of employment both within and outside the home. I argue that women play a key role in defining modernity and its discourse at RPM. Transnational migration and settlement in Los Angeles forces them to consider new experiences such as the appropriateness (read as "African-ness") of dropping their children off at a day-care center, or of asking husbands to stay home with the children. There is as Geertz (1973:319) claimed in 1973, well before modern globalization theories, "... no simple progression from 'traditional' to 'modern,' but a twisting, spasmodic, unmethodical movement, which turns as often toward repossessing the…past as disowning it."

Outline of Chapters

Following my discussion of methodology and the reflexive position I have taken toward my participants, I explore the historical context of Pentecostalism in chapter two. This chapter paints a descriptive portrait of the birth of Pentecostalism in Los Angeles, describing some of its key characteristics and practices. It also discusses some of the ways that African "neo-Pentecostalism" is unique, and describes the introduction of the religion to Uganda. Because Pentecostalism was exported to Africa, re-processed, and then returned to Los Angeles, I focus on how one of the central components of that processing, making a complete break with the past, plays out in an African context. From the historical narrative of the birth of Pentecostalism in 1906, and its introduction to Uganda, I contextualize a break with the past and explore how it is mediated and problematized by the transnational setting. Lines that were once clear have become cloudy for the members of RPM in a new social landscape. Here I draw on Appadurai's (1996) theory that transmigration is dependent upon a considerable amount of work of the imagination. By demonstrating that the new social landscape is fragmented by having to simultaneously imagine homeland, the rupture with homeland, and the transnational location, I look to ways that Pentecostalism is employed to mediate the difficulties of this work.

In chapter three I review of some of the relevant theoretical positions that have informed my research. I discuss the relationships between Pentecostalism and globalization. This analysis contextualizes the community of RPM within modern global frameworks, and offers some explanation of the drawing power of the religion worldwide. Next I review the ways in which religion among transnational immigrant communities has been theorized. Not surprisingly, much of the early literature was focused on the role of religion in easing the

social and psychological trauma associated with migration and settlement by facilitating either homogenization or heterogenization. This literature presupposed assimilation into the host culture, or maintenance of sending location cultural identity as the only possible outcomes. Surprisingly, even in an era of post-globalization studies, this trend in the literature continues to be reproduced, albeit to a lesser extent, and often hidden beneath more complex and nuanced approaches. I examine some of these more nuanced ways in which African transnational religious communities have been theorized before focusing on the theoretical models of three case studies. McCalister's (1998) work with Haitian Catholics in New York provides the conceptual lens through which I see my participants at RPM contesting the proximal host of African-American to which they have been assigned. Brodwin's (2003) work with Haitian Pentecostals on the island of Guadaloupe in the Caribbean informs my analysis of how members of RPM are able to negotiate their marginalized position as immigrants through adherence to Pentecostal doctrine. Finally, van Dijk's (2001) comparative study of transnational Ghanaian churches in Europe and sending country Pentecostal churches provides a strong theoretical foundation for my discussion of the tension between tradition and modernity in the transnational context of RPM, and the role of Pentecostalism in mediating that tension. I conclude with an analysis of useful theoretical lenses through which to view the racialization of my participants. This final portion of the chapter lays the groundwork for understanding ways in which my participants are marginalized as African immigrants in the political and social landscape of Los Angeles, and is included as a preface to my discussion of ways in which they contest that marginalization.

In chapter four I present the results of my fieldwork, beginning with a description of the community of RPM. I provide a snapshot of the lives of my participants leading into a

discussion of the transnational characteristics of the community, and I discuss the relationship between the RPM community and another immigrant Pentecostal church in the same office building. Interviews with my participants about the "other" group of immigrant Pentecostals helps to elucidate how the members of RPM use the religion to imagine themselves in the new social landscape of Los Angeles, and to emplace themselves within a particular vision of Western modernity. A follow up discussion addresses what it means for my participants to be African immigrants in the city, and how association with RPM helps them navigate immigrant social hierarchies in Los Angeles. I conclude with a discussion of the women of RPM, identifying them as key agents in the collective work of imagining tradition and modernity for the community. Here I discuss relationships with the Holy Spirit, the most central religious factor for Pentecostals. I demonstrate that women facing internal and external marginalization in the new setting rely on their relationships with the Spirit to adapt to life in Los Angeles. By highlighting the ways in which women rely on the Holy Spirit for health and healing, economic empowerment, and in resisting abusive relationships, I analyze the incredible amount of symbolic work that is done by women, and how they are altering Pentecostalism for the community in the process.

Chapter five discusses my findings that RPM is the physical and social space where Ugandan immigrants feel safe to make sense of the new social landscape and their place in it. I discuss how this is achieved by altering the religion in the transnational setting, particularly in terms of the believer's relationship with the past, thus differentiating Pentecostalism at RPM from Ugandan Pentecostalism. Rather than the complete break with the past that is characteristic of many forms of African Pentecostalism, belief and practice at RPM maintain a creative imagining of Uganda and Los Angeles (often coded as tradition and modernity,

respectively), drawing from both to facilitate successful emplacement into the host society. Central to this discussion is the notion that the dualistic worldview of Pentecostal theology is an ideal tool for my participants, who are consumed with navigating complex and shifting global flows and identifying and interpreting new symbols in Los Angeles. Utilizing this strategy of imagining every aspect of one's life as part of a larger war between good and evil, my participants engage in somewhat paradoxical strategies for contesting marginalization in Los Angeles. First, through the reproduction of ethnicity at RPM the members are able to sidestep the proximal host status to which they are assigned, which allows partial avoidance of being marginalized as "African-Americans." Secondly, based on an analysis of the relationship between RPM and a neighboring immigrant Pentecostal church, I identify ways in which the religion is flexed through application of the gospel of prosperity, enabling the community to envision their emplacement within modernity, and their separation from a host of immigrant tropes otherwise labeling them as "dirty," backward," and "primitive." Finally, I examine women's roles in this process through analysis of their participation in ritual practices, the reproduction of ethnicity, and community building. I identify women as key players in nearly every aspect of the church community, and argue that they do the lion's share of the work of the imagination that is responsible for creating the social space of RPM and successfully integrating its members into the modern social landscape of Los Angeles. I conclude by comparing the case studies from chapter three with the results of my research and suggest possible directions for future research.

Methodology

For this study of the Ugandan transnational community of RPM I employ ethnographic, textual, and historical analyses. In terms of ethnographic research, I utilize the

following methods: participant-observation, non-participatory observation, interview, and informal discussion. In terms of textual and historical analysis I rely on library research and careful review of weekly church bulletins. Church bulletins are the only print media produced at RPM, and provide a synopsis of each Sunday's sermon along with relevant scripture. Finally, the historical background for this research also includes invaluable personal communication with scholars in Nigeria and Britain. In the paragraphs below I briefly summarize my approach to each method.

The period of field work from which this ethnography is drawn lasted one year, beginning in late January 2011 and ending in January 2012. During this time I engaged in both active and passive participant observation at RPM and in the homes of RPM members. Observation included attendance at Sunday services, Wednesday evening bible studies, and Friday evening prayer meetings. While these three events constitute the entirety of the weekly calendar at RPM, I was also invited to the homes of research participants for birthdays, baby showers, and holiday celebrations. My participation in the fieldwork experience included singing, dancing, liturgical expression (in the form of call and response), prayer, anointing ceremonies, communion, offerings, and driving members to and from church. Passive participant observation included extensive note-taking during the events mentioned above.

I conducted in-depth interviews over the course of the year with the pastor, the First Lady, laity, and other church members. The selection of subjects for interview was not random. Interview subjects approached me voluntarily after several announcements from myself and the pastor were delivered from the pulpit explaining the nature of the research. For this paper a total of 25 interviews were obtained.have been utilized. Ten interviews with

women were conducted specifically to determine female experiences of agency and empowerment through affiliation with RPM. The remaining 15 interviews include those conducted with three men and two women, as well as a group interview that was originally conducted with ten participants for a separate research objective concerning religious pluralism in Los Angeles. The data obtained from the group interview and the additional five individual interviews address the issues of marginalization, immigrant identity, and strategies for gaining discursive control over how the respondents are perceived by the dominant culture in Los Angeles. The decision to include a majority of interviews with women in this study was based on weekly observations of attendance: women made up 75 percent of the attendees at Sunday service, and nearly 100 percent at Wednesday bible studies and Friday prayer services. Interviews were conducted individually and in pairs, either at the homes of participants or at RPM at the conclusion of services. Interview questions were open-ended whenever possible. Interviews were recorded with the permission of participants and then transcribed by me. To protect the privacy of my participants, and due to the possibility that they may be identified even with the use of pseudonyms, many participants are described simply as male or female followed by their age. Pseudonyms are employed (with the permission of respondents) at times to facilitate the flow of the narrative. Actual names are used when referring to Pastor Kayongo, his wife Barbara Kayongo, and my most enthusiastic and helpful participant Siima, who all insisted that I do so. The majority of data discussed here come from structured interviews, but information from informal conversation and observation has also been utilized when appropriate.

Extensive field notes were taken at each Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday meeting at RPM to record both the experiential nature of my participation, as well as to document data

such as the number of attendees, the gender of attendees, verbatim portions of sermons and testimonies, and the overall "feel" of each meeting. During this note-taking I refrained from any participation including singing, dancing, liturgical expression, and prayer. Out of respect for the pastor and members of RPM I did stand when requested to do so, but used that time to continue writing.

Church bulletins are produced weekly and placed with donation envelopes on each chair within the church on Sunday mornings before services begin. The bulletins are folded in three parts, making a total of six pages. The front cover is printed in color and includes an image to match the theme of the sermon for the day, a bible verse or two, the date, and the author's name at the bottom (Pastor Robert Kayongo). The reverse of the front cover welcomes visitors to RPM, and is reprinted each week with information explaining the basic RPM mission on all three inside pages. The remaining two pages of each bulletin are filled with scripture chosen by the pastor to provide biblical support for the lesson in the sermon that week, which he discusses and translates for the congregation. The preferred biblical translation used at RPM is the King James Bible. Pastor Kayongo explained that he includes scripture in the bulletin in the interest of time, allowing folks to go directly to the bulletin instead of searching through their bibles when he wants to make a particular point. Analysis of these pages has been a crucial resource, and often a supplement to field notes. In several instances, I wrote notes directly onto the bulletin to record a feeling or event that took place during a portion of the sermon. The bullentins are interesting examples of material culture from the church that also served as a useful mnemonic device for writing fieldnotes.

Theoretical Approach to Fieldwork: Some Notes on Reflexivity

> *Although I've been granted access by the pastor I feel the glaring differences between myself and this community. I'm white, a U.S. born citizen, a man, a non-believer in Pentecostal Christianity, etc. After all of the study on power differentials…after all of my research and training I suddenly don't feel as if I'm any more prepared to confront the differences between myself and the others here. Now we are being asked by the singers to dance for Christ. I don't get up as folks are led in a guided dance around the perimeter of the church in what looks like a conga line. The women are all wearing some type of traditional African clothing. Three of the men are wearing suits and two are in jeans and button down shirts. There are 22 women and only five men (apart from me, the pastor, the main usher, and three musicians). Everybody dancing looks really good…like they really know how to dance. The song has a chant in which everybody shouts three times in unison "Go Jesus, go Jesus, go!" The music has a distinctly African flair, but the chanting feels more like it belongs in a club, or at a football game. A screen behind the pulpit displays a powerpoint presentation with the words to the song. I feel out of place so I begin singing along to the words, even if I'm not dancing…Everybody has sat down again. The guided dance made me nervous. I was afraid to join in…afraid of looking foolish. A very intense woman in purple sits down again in front of me. The singers have started a new song, and the words are up on the screen. Now they are asking everyone to dance again (though this time it's not guided). People are moving to the music in front of their chairs. A woman near the front is now speaking in tongues. I can just barely hear her over the music as she shouts words that are unintelligible to me…her eyes make it seem as if she has gone to another place. The woman in purple looks back at me and motions for me to come near so that she can speak to me. As I place my head next to hers she shouts "I have no chains binding me!" That was all she said before turning around again. I don't know exactly what she means but it feels like she is encouraging me to dance…Wow! I just danced and sang the last three songs. I feel really good, like my chest has been opened up. I feel like I have a much better idea of what these folks are experiencing because of this woman in the purple dress. I have to thank her.*

I include this excerpt from my field notes as a preface to the following discussion of theoretical applications to research methodologies. The experience described above occurred early on in my fieldwork, and encouraged me to explore my personal boundaries as a participant-observer. It also forced me to reconsider my own biases and positionality going

into the field. I came to realize that as a self-identifying atheist I was entering the field with a host of biases about religion in general, and Pentecostal Christianity in particular, that could act as obstacles to what I had set out to achieve. Where previously I had only considered my status as a non-believer to be problematic in terms of establishing rapport, my experience that day led me to consider its implications for acquiring the appropriate level of understanding of the community I wanted to study. I began to think about other ways (apart from not wanting to dance or sing) in which my biases toward religion might manifest in the research process. The fear that I had about dancing and truly participating in the Sunday services was also tied to the uneasy feelings I had concerning my positionality. As an outsider with various levels of privilege (i.e., white, male, citizenship, academic) not enjoyed by many of my participants, I worried that the power differentials between us might also prevent me from getting to know the community in a meaningful way. The tension that I experienced concerning bias and positionality led me to explore theoretical approaches to research methods that allowed these fears to be brought out in the open, rather than pretending that they were not there. The woman in the purple dress (Siima) inspired this exploration with her declaration of freedom. I was later to discover that she was referring to the freedom to be moved by the Holy Spirit, and that she had not directed her comment at my refusal to dance. Nevertheless, the encounter did change the course of my research to include room for reflexivity as it is described in the work of the following scholars.

I am inspired and influenced by several theoretical movements within the social sciences in attempting to craft an accurate portrayal of the experiences and interpretations of the members of RPM. In this continuing era of post-*Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) I am deeply concerned with my own positionality in relation to the participants in my

research. Indeed, even my preferred nomenclature has been thus inspired, compelling me to use the term *participant*, with its implied polyvocality, over the customary term *informant*, which seems somehow to produce pejorative notions of criminality and subjugation to one in authority. This research is also informed and inspired by those Native American, Chicano/a, African-American, and feminist scholars and activists who preceded *Writing Culture* in their critique of authorial authority and the power differentials that so routinely characterize political and academic discourse. Specifically, however, I will be drawing from theoretical approaches to methodology inspired by Heiss (2009), Blanes (2007), Lawless (1991; 1992), and Rosaldo (1993).

Jan Heiss (2009) explores the ways in which informant communities assess fieldworkers, and how those assessments contribute to the anthropologist gaining access to the lived experiences of the group under study. Based on a review of anthropological literature, Heiss determines that the first step in gaining access to the field occurs when the investigated group assigns a particular identity to the researcher. Following this the group is said to determine the relevance of the researcher to their own lives and to act accordingly. Researchers are advised to consider the possibility that they will be allocated an identity based on perceived intentions, skills, resources, or attitudes (as compared to the norms of the investigated group) (Heiss 2009:26). Heiss (2009) urges study that moves beyond historical considerations of power and dominance (although clearly of importance) to focus on the social and economic structures of the host societies, as these are closely connected to the interests, rights, responsibilities, and values of the host group.

This has caused me to investigate and consider the context in which my participants make assumptions about me, a white, male, non-believer attending their church. I began by

asking about and observing incidents of non-African or African-American participation at RPM. Although it was reported as "not uncommon" by some members of RPM, in one year I have observed only three occasions in which Euro-American individuals attended services at RPM, and each of these occurrences was marked by some sort of special event, such as a church anniversary or an infant dedication ceremony. Additionally, on two of these occasions the visitor was pastor of another church, leading me to conclude that my participants were accustomed primarily to "outsiders" with strong religious convictions. Based on casual conversations during my first month of fieldwork it became apparent that due to the strict religious convictions of my participants, social interaction (outside of work or school) with white non-believers was virtually nonexistent. Fieldwork is a decidedly social affair, which caused me some concern in terms of gaining the necessary access for this research. However, I remained committed to full transparency, and made clear from the beginning my position as researcher and non-believer rather than potential convert. Nevertheless, my otherness seemed to help more than hinder my access. The pastor constantly reminded parishioners that I was writing my master's thesis on the RPM community and encouraged church members to cooperate with me. Early on I had discussed with the pastor how I might give back to the community that was so graciously allowing me access into their lives. At his request I helped members create résumés and navigate the complex application process for local community colleges and universities. The pastor also saw me as a resource to the community based on the belief that my eventual thesis might publicize and perhaps even help build the burgeoning church community. This is not to say that I helped to promote this notion, as I reminded my participants on several occasions that very few people outside of academia were likely to read what I wrote. However, the respect

for higher education within the church community (often seen as a means of economic "breakthrough") clearly added to the social capital I enjoyed as a white, male college student, and improved my access to the field. Utilizing Heiss' model for assessing this access has given me yet another lens from which to view my positionality, as well as a more confident and meaningful relationship with my participants.

Following Blanes (2007) I am reminded of the need for reflexivity in my research. Blanes (2007) engages with the difficulties of conducting research among Pentecostal worshippers from the position of the atheist anthropologist. Blanes (2007) is transparent about his own experiences, discussing his growth as an anthropologist, and his transformation from atheist to agnostic while conducting fieldwork among Pentecostals in Portugal and Spain. He discusses situating one's personal beliefs and attitudes within anthropological research and the consequences of producing and publicizing anthropological knowledge, paying special attention to the role of personal relationships and social interaction during fieldwork.

Inspired by Blanes (2007) I went into my fieldwork at RPM aware that I would be negotiating different degrees of distance and proximity in cultivating relationships with my participants, and that there was something to be learned from the tension that this created. For example, in the first five months of fieldwork my position as a non-believer engendered different relationships with my participants, ranging from a cordial aloofness to warm and sincere proselytizing. As I continued to participate in services my position as a non-believer began to evolve into an agnosticism, which allowed me to make better personal sense of my own elevated moods and slightly altered states of consciousness brought on by hours of singing, dancing, and guided prayer. Through conceptualizing a universal path to God(dess)

I felt more comfortable participating in the call and response dynamic, in which liturgical expressions such as "Amen" are expected. I negotiated any direct reference to Jesus in guided prayer by conceptualizing Jesus as one of many possibilities: Christ as an open ended lifestyle based in love rather than any particular Christian dogma. Although I refrained from directly saying "Jesus" in prayer, I became comfortable with thanking God and wishing God's blessings on others. In this way the fieldwork experience has certainly been transformative, while also providing me with a deeper understanding of my participants. I constantly re-assessed my relationships with various members of RPM through the tension created by fluctuating distance and proximity and began to better understand Pentecostal ontology and ontogeny. As Blanes (2007:228) points out, Pentecostal interpretation of *ontology*, the nature of being and believing, and *ontogeny*, the process of becoming a person "living in Christ," became apparent to me as I overcame certain biases. For example, the constant declarations that "God has a plan for everyone," that "God will help one achieve breakthrough when that person is ready for it," or the calls for "surrendering one's life to Jesus" had always seemed to me to be proselytizing clichés, or worse, more sinister strategies for promoting exclusionary agendas. Through my own transformation I became better acquainted with these expressions as absolutely necessary to my participants' understanding of Pentecostal theology and "being." Throughout the experience I remained completely honest with my participants about how I was being transformed. This was not a strategy to give false hope for my conversion or a ruse to gain better access to the field. Rather, I was negotiating my own evolution and making it part of the process of fieldwork, strengthening my understanding of the members of RPM by analyzing the tension between belief and non-belief. In doing so I find my anthropological roots in the writing of E. E.

Evans-Pritchard (1976:244) who claimed that his not believing in Azande witchcraft did not prevent him from consulting the oracles as a means of better understanding African belief. E. E. Evans-Pritchard clearly had issues of positionality related to his collusion with the colonial project; however, it was a bold move for him to overcome the bias against African belief so prevalent during the years of his fieldwork. Following his early example, I have attempted to honestly and reflexively confront my own positionality and biases and been transformed in the process.

Reflexivity requires that I talk about myself and my position in the research process. Mascia-Lees et al. (1989) characterized this as a form of self-aggrandizement, which places the ethnographer in an authoritative position just as the myth of scientific objectivity once did. I follow Lawless (1991) in disagreeing with this and argue instead that reflexivity

> …should illuminate the biases and preconceptions that inform our interpretations (where *we* are) and move us forward, then, in the direction of collectivity in interpretation and a new authentication of a multi-vocal kind of ethnography, which includes, as well, where *others* are, but which does not privilege one interpretation over another. [1991:30]

Building on this commitment to reflexivity in my fieldwork I follow both Elaine Lawless (1991, 1992) and Renato Rosaldo (1993) in privileging the interpretations of my participants. Rosaldo's (1993) journey to understand headhunting among his Ilingot informants in a rural area of the Philippines has informed my perspective on this methodology. As he struggled to make sense of the reasoning of his informants against his background in anthropological theory, Rosaldo (1993:7) explored the issue of ethnographic authority and how it is constructed. Additionally, through exploring personal tragedy in his own life, Rosaldo (1993:8) took a reflexive look at the position of the ethnographer trained in a classic interpretive style (a la Clifford Geertz). Geertz (1973) argued that the

ethnographer should constantly reposition herself as she begins to better understand the culture under study. Ideally, the researcher continues to reposition and to revise the questions posed to the participants until their responses no longer elicit surprise. Built into this paradigm are prerequisites such as a broad preparation in anthropological theory and finely tuned sensibilities. Ultimately, Rosaldo (1993:8) warns of the false sense of security such preparation for fieldwork can create and the "authoritative claim to certitude" which may result. Instead he emphasizes the notion that all interpretation is provisional and that claims to ethnographic authority can come dangerously close to classic anthropology's insistence on the achievability of pure objectivity. My participants are clearly "more engaged…perceptive, [and] knowledgeable social actors" (Rosaldo 1993:21) than I at RPM, and following Rosaldo (1993) I have attempted to privilege their interpretations in my analysis.

Chapter Two

Historical Context of Pentecostal Christianity

Pentecostalism is a form of Christianity that emphasizes the role of the Holy Spirit in the experience of its members, including possession by the spirit, leading to ecstatic and altered states of consciousness such as speaking in tongues, healing and prophesying (Aihiokhai 2010:250). Pentecostalism is also characterized by exorcism, spontaneous prayer, exuberant liturgical expression, a belief in the efficacy of dream interpretation, and visions (Ukah 2003:9-10). A key component of the belief system is the notion of voluntary conversion based on powerful experiences (also known as being "born again"), and the responsibility of Pentecostals to actively convert others (Robbins 2004:120). Pentecostalism has distinctly American origins, stemming from the "Holiness" tradition within the Methodist denomination in the 19th century and an event commonly referred to by theologians as "the Azusa revival" in Los Angeles in 1906.

Although there are multiple "creation stories" to explain the emergence of Pentecostalism, I will be discussing perhaps the most well-known of these for the simple reason that it takes place in Los Angeles, the same location as RPM. This first Pentecostal church in Los Angeles was brought into existence by William Joseph Seymour, an African-American man and the son of a former slave, in 1906 at 312 Azusa Street, Los Angeles, California (Robeck 2006:4-5). Originally from Louisiana, Seymour was brought up Catholic, but later was impressed by the teaching of Charles F. Parham, whose focus on baptism in the Holy Spirit would become one of the central tenets of Pentecostalism (Robeck 2006:4). Seymour had initially come to Los Angeles to take over the congregation of Julia Hutchins, an African-American woman who was leaving to do missionary work in Africa.

After hearing him preach, Hutchins believed that Seymour's emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit was too radical a theology, and decided he was not fit to take over her position. Seymour, without the resources to get home, was taken in by a local couple. Weekly prayer meetings in this couple's home developed into the founding of his Azusa Street revival, which today has evolved into a global network of Pentecostal churches. The controversial practices of Azusa revivalists in Los Angeles (speaking in tongues, loud, all night worship, etc.), combined with Seymour's claim that the 1906 San Francisco earthquake represented proof that God was getting involved in the lives of Californians (Robeck 2006:6), caused Pentecostalism to receive a great deal of press. Although much of the press was negative, Azusa Street's notoriety helped facilitate the growth of what is today a global religious phenomenon.

The historical context of women and racial minorities within Pentecostalism also needs further elaboration, as I will be discussing the religion in terms of its liberatory potential for the members of RPM in Los Angeles. From the beginning, Pentecostalism has interrupted hegemonic discourses on gender and race; the members of RPM are engaged in similar interruptions in the transnational setting. I explore the liberatory potential of the religion both at its inception and in its more processed form as a transnational religion re-introduced to Los Angeles in the 21st century.

My understanding of historical gender relations within Pentecostalism has been informed by Deno's (2004) analysis of the role of women in Pentecostalism during its formative years in the United States. Deno's (2004) historical analysis of Florence Crawford, a female pastor of the Apostolic Faith Mission, and her reworking of Pentecostal theology at the beginning of the 20th century challenges the dominant discourse concerning

the exclusively oppressive and patriarchal nature of the early Pentecostal church. Deno (2004:84) argues that the ways in which women such as Crawford adopted and transformed the religion to challenge conservative social agendas and oppressive racial and gender hierarchies. This reexamination of first generation Pentecostalism from 1906-1926 describes how Crawford was able to paradoxically challenge patriarchal oppression while also calling for women's subservience in the home and society. Deno (2004) argues that Crawford and other Pentecostal women successfully thwarted their own subordination by utilizing a moralizing discourse extracted from Pentecostal doctrine calling for the re-moralization of men from within the home. Crawford believed that although subservient to men, women had the right to demand that their husbands maintain a high moral standard, which served to discourage infidelity, alcohol consumption, and reckless spending. Perhaps most importantly women's attempts to re-moralize men also discouraged men from placing restrictions on how and where women could worship. Crawford exemplified women's agency and empowerment by interpreting scripture in such a way that she not only demanded (and taught other women to demand) a minimum of respect from husbands in marriage, but also taught women to demand spiritual autonomy. Spiritual autonomy, the right of women to worship as they choose, had extraordinary benefits for women within Pentecostalism, including the right to minister, the right to travel in order to preach the gospel, the right to associate with men and women outside of their socioeconomic class and race, and ultimately the right to receive the gifts of the Spirit in ways that were equal to men: all modes of behavior quite rare for women in the early part of the 20th century.

In particular, it has been argued that glossolalia has both political and sexual implications for women's empowerment: "political because it could lead to challenging

ecclesiastical authority with a higher revelation…and sexual, because (scandalously) this ecstasy released 'wretched' women into positions of power and authority" (Coakley 1993:43). However, "the strength and authority of her ministry [also] rested on the eventual restoration of male control of the home" (Deno 2004:92); herein lies the paradox. At the other end of Crawford's message was an insistence that although women could change men's behavior, they were to accomplish this through leading by example. If this caused them suffering with their husbands then they were advised to suffer in silence (Deno 2004:92). Crawford was adamant that Pentecostalism was not a religion designed to break up families, though ironically her own marriage ended as a result of her husband's objections to her commitment to the ministry.

Pentecostalism was born at a time of great social, economic, and cultural upheaval caused by increased modernization, industrialization, and migration within Los Angeles, and much of its doctrine reflects this. Deno (2004:84) argues that Pentecostalism provided spiritual and social coping mechanisms, one of which was the inclusive nature of the religion, which emphasized one's spiritual status over social standing. Prevailing class, racial and gender hierarchies were challenged when African-Americans, Mexican immigrants, and white men and women from different backgrounds worshipped together. Thus Pentecostalism, with its emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in the lives of adherents, was able to challenge many of the patriarchal, racist, and classist underpinnings of American society at the early part of the 20th century. As I discussed, this emphasis on the Spirit also had significant (though frustratingly paradoxical) implications for women's empowerment. While the heightened role of women in Protestant traditions, or the way that religions in general have a history of interrupting dominant social discourses may not be extraordinary

observations, they are relevant to the discussion of RPM that ensues later, in which I examine both women's experiences at RPM, and ways in which male and female members negotiate their placement in the class and race based social stratification of Los Angeles. Interestingly, none of the women I interviewed were aware of the role of Florence Crawford in the early history of the church, though they share with her similar experiences of re-moralizing men and achieving empowerment through a relationship with the Holy Spirit. As the following quote from a 36 year old Ugandan female illustrates, the women of RPM also share some of the frustrating paradoxes of Crawford's message. For this woman, the transnational setting requires her to code switch between gender norms from Uganda and Los Angeles:

> I guess they [roles] are changing here because of the times, and because our responsibilities here change. Here both man and wife have to get out of the house and work. Because with one income here it is hard to sustain the whole family. And also as women here we have opportunities to go to school, become educated, and to use our education in the corporate world. Here we are out there working together. So now our responsibilities are challenged. We don't have enough time to stay at home and be the women we want to be…to raise our children and instill the cultural values that we received, to be the women we were raised to be. We are dropping our children off to day care. There is no one there to instill our culture and everything we were taught…That is our biggest challenge. And also it becomes a challenge in our marriages because we were taught back home that a man is the head of the house, and whether wrong or right, no matter what, we are supposed to respect him. But when we come here we adopt the culture. So the culture here says we are equal, and that becomes a big challenge in our marriages. The men are not always ready to accept this westernized woman. And I guess some times we do overdo it, and we abuse it and it raises challenges in our marriages. But as we go to churches of our own culture, as they preach…they try to take us back to those roots.

This quote says a great deal about life in the transnational setting. First, it speaks directly to the ways in which women must bridge the rather sizeable gap between past and present. It reveals a woman attempting to adjust to changing circumstances without losing her sense of personhood. She must reconcile the new expectations placed upon her in Los Angeles with her clear desire to maintain traditional notions of what it means to be a Ugandan woman.

This quote illustrates that the women of RPM must skillfully imagine themselves in different ways in order to maintain a sense of self in Los Angeles. I argue that this work of the imagination (Appadurai 1996) is required of the entire RPM community as a strategy for emplacing themselves in the new location, but that women are compelled to work harder due to the rather large divide between female gender norms in Uganda and Los Angeles. Appadurai (1996:31) tells us that:

> the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility…the imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order.

Perhaps nowhere is this more relevant than in the context of transnational migration, in which there is a great deal of work to be done remembering homeland by reproducing symbols of ethnicity, and interpreting and finding one's place in the symbols of the new location. Within the community of RPM I argue that women are required to do this more than men, and thus become the primary agents in this work out of necessity.

Second, I include the quote as a means to discuss African Pentecostalism in a historical context. To discuss African Pentecostalism in any sort of linear, historical trajectory is well beyond the scope of this paper. I therefore limit my discussion to an overview of neo-Pentecostalism in Africa. A good place to start this discussion is with reference to Birgit Meyer's (1998) notion of a complete break with the past. The quote above links nicely with Meyer's (1998) theory of the rupture with the past that is required of Pentecostal conversion. Meyer (1998) argues that African Pentecostals both embrace and distance themselves from traditional African ways of knowing in order to emplace themselves within a Pentecostal vision of modernity. The quote above suggests that women

of RPM simultaneously embrace and distance themselves from Ugandan gender roles as they work to emplace themselves within a particular vision of modernity and within Los Angeles.

Africa, Meyer, and the Complete Break with the Past

An important characteristic of neo-Pentecostalism is the manner in which it drastically alters the way that converts interact with non-Pentecostals. Pentecostalism calls for a type of change which promotes "radical discontinuity with what has come before" (Robbins 2010:159). Birgit Meyer (1998) famously documents this "break with the past" in her work among Ghanaian Pentecostals. Converts must discontinue the relationships with people and traditions from their past, which are not conducive to receiving the Pentecostal message. This break with the past quickly manifests in every facet of the convert's life. Indeed, it is even claimed that deliverance from the sins of one's ancestors is required before prosperity can be achieved (Meyer 1998:323-4), which serves to demonize traditional African relationships and ways of knowing. This demonization is taken quite literally, as Pentecostalism espouses a belief in the corporeality of demons, which become conveniently associated with traditional healers, diviners, and other "occultists," and often times even with family members who maintain ties to traditional African beliefs.

This aspect of the break with the past is problematized for members of RPM in Los Angeles. On one Sunday in March of 2012, a second event took place at RPM following the regular church service. On this occasion members of the Ugandan community from all around Los Angeles and Riverside counties met at 5:00 p.m. at RPM to discuss matters of great urgency to the community and to join together in prayer. The meeting had been called by a member of RPM to address the arrest of a prominent Ugandan community member for

fraudulent business practices. This arrest shocked the community of RPM, causing them (and other Ugandan churches around town) to question the efficacy of religious leaders in providing the community with a moral compass. The prayer meeting and discussion included speakers from a variety of churches and notably an Imam from a local mosque. As each religious leader took the pulpit to address the need for prayer, especially for the youth growing up in the new setting, a predictable theme of salvation through Christ was quickly established. When the Imam spoke, however, he led a prayer and praised Allah from the pulpit in RPM, which raised a few eyebrows but failed to draw any vocal criticism. Later that day as I drove Siima home, I commended her and the other members of RPM for this example of religious pluralism within the confines of their church. Siima responded:

> This is a product of being here. Frankly, I was shocked, and I think some others were shocked as well, but we said nothing. Back home this would never have happened. People of different faiths get along in Uganda but to praise Allah in the church…this would make many people uncomfortable (in Uganda).

The feeling that some line had been transgressed came through in the conversation, but there was also the feeling that social pressures in Los Angeles had mediated the experience. Siima intimated that a certain "Western" model of religious tolerance had played a role in the prayer meeting. Without going into the obvious critiques of "on the ground" realities of religious tolerance in the West, the dominant historical narrative of religious freedom in the United States had clearly impacted Siima's perception of the event. This incident speaks to ways in which Pentecostal ideology at RPM is re-imagined in the transnational setting. Members of RPM felt it was highly unusual to allow the Imam to praise Allah in the church; however, consenting to the prayer with very little fuss, even privately, exemplifies how my participants are engaged in Appadurai's notion of work of the imagination. They are interpreting symbols in the new locale, in this case religious pluralism, and imbuing them

with connotations of modernity. Eck's (2006) definition of pluralism is in play here. Eck sees pluralism as involving meaningful engagement with the "other" rather than just the presence of diversity. Siima and others agreed that acceptance of the Imam's prayer in the church setting was shocking by Ugandan standards, and also agreed that acceptance of this sort is rooted in Western, or "modern" modes of thought. Contrary to Meyer's (1998) observations, the members of RPM (and other Ugandan Pentecostal community leaders) did not feel the need to "break" the connection with the Imam that day, which I argue represents a re-imagining of Ugandan neo-Pentecostalism to fit within the modern social landscape of Los Angeles. Although Meyer's (1998) theory of breaking ties with non-Pentecostals does not hold up in the transnational setting, other aspects of her theory retain their viability. Next, I examine a portion of Meyer's (1998) fieldwork in Ghana that addresses the uneasy relationship between neo- Pentecostals and traditional African culture and discuss ways in which that uneasiness manifests in the way my participants imagine Uganda in Los Angeles.

In 1998 in Ghana, a national campaign to reclaim indigenous tradition and ritual culture was enacted most notably in schools and other public arenas. Throughout her ethnographic research, Meyer (1998) provides examples of the Pentecostal resistance to this campaign. Converts refuted both the traditions of their families and family members who refuse to accept the Pentecostal message. The Ghanaian government's effort to maintain a national identity rooted in the traditions of the past was symbolized by the image of a sankofa bird (which is known to turn his head in order to look back from where it has been) with the accompanying phrase, "Go back and take it" (Meyer 1998:316-7). This attempt to infuse tradition into national identity was an effort to hold back the tide of Westernizing processes of globalization. This was perceived differently by the established Catholic and Protestant

mainline churches than it was by Pentecostals. The mainline churches confronted the move toward traditional ceremonies from a place of synthesis with Christianity, while Pentecostals rejected "the revaluation of [Ghanaian] tradition and culture" (Meyer 1998:317). Meyer explains the rejection of the past this way:

> The appeal to time as an epistemological category enables Pentecostalists to draw a rift between 'us' and 'them,' 'now' and 'then,' 'modern' and 'traditional,' and, of course, 'God' and the 'Devil.' In this way Pentecostalist discourse takes up the language of modernity as it spoke to Africans through colonialization, missionization, and after independence, modernization theory. [1998:317]

This appeal to time as an epistemological category *is* evidenced in Pentecostal belief and practice at RPM. The past becomes equated with Uganda, and modernity with Los Angeles as evidenced by this quote from pastor Kayongo:

> What can we say about a nation whose number one mode of transport is the motorbike. Those of you from Uganda know what I am talking about. Why are there so many cars in some countries and motorbikes in Uganda. It is only through embracing the word of Christ as a nation that we will see breakthrough in Uganda…The nation has to become mature in Christ to improve, and it is our responsibility to bring that maturity in our words and actions when we go home.

As this excerpt from a sermon at RPM illustrates, Pentecostalism and modernity are often conceived as markers of proximity to centers of dominance, like the United States. Conversely, Uganda (or a Ugandan past), while valued, is also suspect. More often than not it is thought of as an impediment to financial breakthrough and the acquisition of Western accoutrements of modernity. Pastor Kayongo's words could have been lifted directly from classic modernization theory, yet it is significant that he identifies religion as the variable for achieving modernity. What is more, he sees it as the responsibility of members of RPM to bring modernity back home when they go to visit friends and family (which in reality very

few of them have the resources or immigration status to do). Pastor Kayongo promotes imagination as a culturally organized practice within the community. He is imagining homeland and the community's place in modernity simultaneously through the symbol of the muddy road (or perhaps the car? The bulldozer?), and demonstrating that Meyer's (1998) theory weaves in and out of the transnational Pentecostal setting.

Neo-Pentecostalism

It is important to understand that each of the charismatic and Pentecostal movements leading up to what has been termed "neo-Pentecostalism" shared certain traits that distinguish them from the movement that exists today, including a high degree of denominationalism and a gospel of holiness and anti-materialism which eschewed expensive clothing and other commodities. The Pentecostal churches up until the 1990's were largely made up of relatively disadvantaged social groups that tended to denounce "modern" media such as television (Marshall-Fratani 2001:84). The neo-Pentecostal movement in Africa, which RPM comes out of, takes a different position than its predecessors on some of these key points.

First, there has been a huge expansion of charismatic and Pentecostal churches throughout Africa. Many of these do not claim an established Christian denomination. The influence of Pentecostalism on Anglicanism and Catholicism in the 1970s and 1980s has been described as "charismatizing" (Robbins 2004). Established churches saw an increase in charismatic worship which, although viewed negatively by church officials, nevertheless influenced models of mission Christianity. What followed was an exodus from mainstream churches, which from a Pentecostal perspective might be explained as an increased desire on

the part of participants for a more interactive relationship with the Holy Spirit. It is, of course, also worth considering the syncretic appeal of Pentecostalism, which allows for the inclusion of such traditional beliefs as witchcraft and ancestor spirits, albeit in a reified, demonic form. The result of its appeal is undeniable, as evidenced by the vast number of charismatic and Pentecostal churches that comprise the religious landscape of Africa presently. Although Africa is home to several Pentecostal mega-churches, part of the appeal of Pentecostalism is the free movement of similar patterns of worship and worldview that is facilitated by these officially unidentifiable (in terms of denomination), yet inter-denominational churches.

In its most recent incarnation, we see a dramatic shift in the way that materialism is viewed within Pentecostalism. A significant distinction of the neo-Pentecostal movement from its predecessors is the espousal of the "gospel of prosperity" which equates good health, long life, economic success, and earthly promotion with being "right with God" (Marshall-Fratani 2001; Ukah 2003). "The gospel of prosperity offers a doctrine of morally controlled materialism" (Marshall-Fratani 2001:85), which celebrates conspicuous consumption as a virtue and demonizes poverty and ill health. Meyer (1998:323) explains "In Pentecostalist discourse poverty is not so much regarded as a socio-economic condition, but rather as (a result of) sin, while 'blessings of the lord' are supposed to materialize in prosperity." While this message is considered largely responsible for bringing many of the struggling, educated middle class in Africa to Pentecostalism, it is more difficult to understand the appeal of this gospel to the poor, who, it would seem, only stand to become further marginalized by its application. Nevertheless, as will become evident in my discussion of Pentecostalism at RPM, the gospel of prosperity remains a driving force of the religion in the transnational

setting and is utilized by my participants to situate themselves more favorably within the social landscape of Los Angeles.

Neo-Pentecostalism in Uganda

In order to understand the roots of Pentecostal Christianity in Uganda it is necessary to explore what has been referred to as the East African Revival, in which a split within the Church of Uganda (COU) led to forms of worship more closely related to Pentecostalism. Of particular interest is the Balokole movement, which many believe was the precursor to Pentecostalism in Uganda. However, these subjects are beyond the scope of this work, which is focused instead on the religion in the transnational setting. Therefore in the pages below I provide a brief summary of contemporary Ugandan neo-Pentecostalism to give an idea of the religious context from which RPM emerges and to elucidate what this history can say about Pentecostalism for Ugandans in Los Angeles.

As mentioned earlier, the gap in the literature on Ugandan Pentecostalism is significant, and would benefit greatly from the type of interdisciplinary attention that has been given to other regions of Africa (See Anderson 2004:115-121; Dorier-Apprill 2001; Englund 2001; Gifford 2001; Kalu 2008; Laurent 2001; Marshall-Fratani 2001; Mayrargue 2001; Meyer 1998, 2004, 2010; Ukah 2003, 2007; van Dijk 2001). The following brief outline traces the development of Pentecostalism within Uganda, beginning with what appears to be the earliest evidence in the Eastern portion of the country known as Teso.

Teso is a rural area in eastern Uganda and was the first recipient of a Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) church in the country. The PAG arrived in Teso via Kenya, and by the 1950s had established a strong network of rural churches (Ward personal

communication 2013). Today it is considered the largest Pentecostal church in the nation, with over 4,000 churches and pastorates in 50 districts. Ben Jones (2005; 2007) has examined the growth of Pentecostalism in this region beginning in the late1980s, arguing that it served as a way of mediating the deep physical and psychological trauma inflicted upon rural Ugandans in Teso during the violent insurgency from 1986-1993. However, Ward (personal communication 2013) points out that the early missionizing of the PAG had little effect on Uganda outside of the rural, eastern portion of the country.

Other early evidence of Pentecostalism may be traced to Eastern Uganda as well as evidenced by the following insights from Ward (2013):

> In the 1960s an indigenous form of Pentecostalism began to emerge, especially associated with the Christian Union at Nabumale in Bugishu in eastern Uganda. A group of well-educated members of the COU began to develop charismatic tendencies. Archbishop Brown tried to harness their enthusiasm for the COU, but eventually many of them began to form their own church. Nicholas Wafula became the pastor of the Deliverance Church in Kampala, which had strong links with a Kenyan evangelist called Joe Kayo. These incipient Pentecostal churches were banned during the era of Idi Amin (1971-1979) and many adherents found it safer to re-affiliate themselves with the COU during that time. With the fall of the Amin regime Pentecostal churches began to proliferate and in the 1990s became an undeniable force within Ugandan Christianity. Today their influence can be seen in the "charismatization" of both the Catholic and Protestant mainline churches throughout the country. [Ward personal communication 2013]

It is also important to note the recent and more sinisteraffiliation of some Pentecostal pastors in Uganda with the draconian, anti-LGBT legislation, indicating the vitality of the religion within the Ugandan political sphere. Following a visit from U.S. Evangelicals (including staunch anti-LGBT activist and Pastor Scott Lively) in 2009, a largely Pentecostal-driven movement to impose the death penalty for homosexuality drew international attention to Uganda and raised questions concerning the influence of Western

legalistic-literalist models of fundamentalist Christianity on Ugandan pastors. Ugandan pastor Martin Ssempa, who according to National Public Radio (Hagerty 2010) has the ear of first lady Janet Museveni and Ugandan Parliamentarian David Bahati, was integral to crafting the now infamous Anti-Homosexuality Bill and in recruiting students from Makerere University into his anti-gay campaign. Pentecostal influence on the media in Uganda came to light when national newspapers began outing suspected homosexuals in the press, listing the home addresses of those accused under the headline "Hang Them" (Awondo et al. 2012:154). In terms of what these events say about Ugandan neo-Pentecostalism in the transnational setting we can look at RPM and what folks have had to say about homosexuality. A visiting female pastor who preaches in Los Angeles but comes from Uganda via England had this to say:

> I don't hate them. I have known many of these gays at seminary in Cambridge, but I hate what they do! We must pray for them to come to Jesus and to free themselves from the clutches of the enemy. Love them in Jesus' name, but be on guard against the work of the enemy…pray for them!

Mary, an elderly female member of RPM, has a dramatically different view from the current take on the issue in Uganda:

> Pastor says we should pray for them and love them in Jesus' name. I don't really think about this issue too much. Here we see it in the news, and sometimes we see them on the streets. I think they are deceived…they are under the control of Satan. My prayer is that they are released from that lifestyle through the power of Jesus.

James, a 28 year old male member of RPM, showed a bit more vehemence in his anti-LGBT stance, but ultimately advised that prayer was the best solution to dealing with the "problem" of having to interact with LGBT individuals:

> It is wrong! The bible says it is wrong. There is no other way to look at it. I do not want to be around these people here, and I do not want them in Uganda. But what

> can we do? This is part of life here. If we live here then we have to see them and so we should pray for them.

These quotes illustrate a classic "love the sinner, hate the sin" view that stands in direct contrast to the decidedly more punitive direction that has been taken by neo-Pentecostals and others in Uganda presently. What can this tell us about how the religion is mediated in the transnational setting? I suggest homosexuality is a significant cultural symbol of the West for my participants, albeit one that makes them quite uncomfortable. Indeed, homosexuality is powerful symbolic terrain throughout Africa just as it is here in the West (Awondo et al. 2012:154). In Uganda, this powerful symbol has become embroiled in the politics of neo-colonialism (Awondo et al. 2012:154), also a powerful symbolic terrain. Consider that the present discourse in Uganda among neo-Pentecostals and their supporters in government calls for opposing homosexuality on biblical grounds, while also clearly identifying it as a Western cultural pathology that is being imposed upon Africa. In this light the "love the sinner, hate the sin" perspective can be viewed as a dramatic shift. This shift provides compelling support for the view that my participants flex the religion to emplace themselves within a vision of modernity that they see as entirely Western. What does it mean that they are "breaking" with other Ugandan Pentecostals in this way? I argue for the community of RPM, imagining modernity in the transnational setting implies more than just leaving behind muddy roads and motorbikes. It requires a deeper (often unsettling, uncomfortable, and confusing) symbolic shift. In Uganda, neo-colonialism is a symbolic marker with very real psychological and material consequences. It requires immediate attention, and framing homosexuality as its conquering army is one way of imagining a defensive position that can be interpreted through scripture. Though still present in the transnational setting, neo-colonialism is subsumed by the new social landscape's own more pressing symbolic markers

and consequences, which need to be interpreted and navigated upon arrival. In effect, homosexuality as a marker for neo-colonialism is not as pressing a concern in Los Angeles as it is in Kampala.

The purpose of this research is not to malign Ugandan neo-Pentecostalism, or to "expose" all Ugandan neo-Pentecostals as homophobic. However, the situation just described is ongoing and represents the power of religion within the nation-state and the urgent need for more scholarship to be devoted to Ugandan Pentecostalism, particularly with regard to this issue. Questions need to be asked about the level of African agency in this upsurge of homophobia. Is this an effect of the hegemony of Western pastors like Scott Lively, or does it represent the agency of Ugandan neo-Penetcostals? Appadurai (1996:31) tells us that "the imagination is now central to all forms of agency." The fact that sodomy laws were first introduced by the British and that Buganda kings historically engaged in same sex practices before this (Awondo et al. 2012:154), indicate that the reframing of homosexuality as a neo-colonial imposition is indeed imaginative. In any event, as this discussion illustrates, there is a considerable gap in the literature on Ugandan Pentecostalism that this research can begin to fill.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Perspectives

Globalization and Pentecostalism

Though different academic disciplines approach the study of a globalized world from different perspectives (e.g., political, economic, social, cultural, etc.), at the heart of the matter is the notion of the "world experienced as single place, or even a non-place, an abstract sign space, or as subject to time/space compression" (Droogers 2001:51). Essentially, increased global flows have made it a smaller world characterized by a condition of mutual dependency with obvious power differentials, referred to in scholarship as the global and the local. The reality is that the global has become synonymous for Western economic and political power brokers, and the local with the Third World (referred to from here on out as the Majority World) localities under their influence. Terms such as "McDonaldization" (referring to mass marketing of Western products, attitudes, and cultural forms across the globe) in recent scholarship are indicative of the fact that there is a great deal of emphasis in postmodern circles on the ways in which local agents make sense of and survive the processes of globalization. In terms of globalization as a cultural process (especially within cultural anthropology), the concept of identity has come to the fore, bringing with it the not entirely new understanding that cultural identity can no longer be conceived of as a static entity. From a culturalist standpoint identity is conceived of as a hybrid, with cultural stability and continuity described with the metaphor of the *root* (Hall 1996:4 cited in Droogers 2001). From a constructivist standpoint identity is contextualized as a strategic device that enables informed agents to meet particular needs in particular situations by drawing from a repertoire of multiple identities, described with the metaphor of

the *route* (Hall 1996:4 cited in Droogers 2001). The conflict that arises for the disempowered under globalization is to manage both of these concepts of identity; to retain a cultural identity (roots), while also making full use of the new opportunities surrounding them (by navigating new routes) (Droogers 2001:53).

The rise of Pentecostalism throughout the Majority World offers some interesting parallels with globalization that will serve as a preface to understanding the drawing power of this religion to my participants. By investigating the rise of Pentecostalism through the lens of globalization, I hope to shed some light on the processes of identity construction for my participants as a way of further understanding their relationship with tradition and modernity. Droogers (2001) examines some of the key characteristics found in the many expressions of Pentecostalism globally and compares them to the processes of globalization with interesting results. It is important to note that despite the incredible diversity of thought and practice found in Pentecostal movements, the following characteristics of the religion may be considered universal.

The first Pentecostal universal is the emphasis on experiencing the Holy Spirit in a deeply personal, dramatic, and physical manner. Droogers (2001:54) points out that certain physical experiences with the Holy Spirit, such as glossolalia and healing, are shared by a universal family of believers who make up a worldwide artificial kinship, and that these experiences are made more visible and interconnected by globalization. Experiences with the Spirit link believers to non-believers globally due to the scope of the Pentecostal missionizing project. Pentecostal agents' ultimate goal is to spread their message to all nations and all peoples. A global world is part of God's plan and it is the duty of Pentecostals to have that world coincide with the Kingdom of God (Droogers 2001:54). In

other words, the idea of a world society resonates well with Pentecostals, whose message cannot be confined by national borders. This allows them to take full advantage of the change in scale produced by globalization (not to mention several incipient modes of transmission). Additionally, Pentecostal "place" is its locus of recruitment, wherever in the world that may be, both global and local (Droogers 2001:55).

A convenient way of looking at this connection between experiences with the Holy Spirit and globalization is through the lens of glossolalia, which becomes in Pentecostal contexts a victory over linguistic differences (Droogers 2001:55). As the First Lady of RPM explained to me, the gift of tongues is a language that only God understands, although at times he may allow others to understand in order to receive a particular message. This "mainline" to God is one way of looking at the gift of tongues. However, the gift of tongues is also thought of as the universal language in the Kingdom of God. Therefore, glossolalia experienced by Pentecostals in the present unites diverse cultures and crosses national and linguistic boundaries as both a bodily experience and a form of communication with God, traveling and operating in the same manner as other globalizing processes. Significantly, Pentecostals also believe that the gift of tongues will one day become the official language of the Kingdom of God, uniting a world community of the "saved." This notion of the future, when all people live under the unifying influence of God's kingdom and speak same the language represents something of the ultimate globalization fantasy.

The Pentecostal "gift" of healing is yet another connection to globalization that bears examination. Globalization has had an undeniable impact on people in the Majority World, particularly under the neo-liberal project with its privatization strategies for a global free market. In many instances this impact has taken the form of reduced access to social services

and other basic human necessities such as food and water, which in turn has led to the forced migration of people. These are painful and unexpected consequences for recipients, who see Pentecostal healing, which is not confined to physical illness and disease, as a welcome gift (Droogers 2001:55). When the members of RPM seek healing it is often a form of spiritual healing related to identity. Here I am reminded of the numerous cases in which healing at RPM involved people afflicted with depression for various reasons, such as not being able to bear children or find employment. Arguably, these sources of depression are deeply rooted in identity. Man as breadwinner and woman as child-bearer, for example, have varying degrees of relevance from sending to receiving locations, and the members of RPM experience the stress of negotiating those degrees with their bodies. Perhaps the most common crisis for which members seek healing involves feelings of depression or anxiety regarding one's immigration status. This is also deeply rooted in identity at both the personal and the institutional level. As transnational migrants, the members of RPM are direct recipients of some of the more painful processes of globalization, which manifest in many cases as crises of identity (negotiating *roots* and *routes*). As Droogers (2001:55) notes, however, "Pentecostalism helps to solve the individual quest for a reliable and convincing orientation in life and, in addition, it offers a formula that corresponds to the scale of the globalized world insofar as it links personal and global worlds." In other words, the similarities between Pentecostalism and globalization provide the members of RPM with at least one ready-made identity to help facilitate easement into the social landscape of Los Angeles. In particular, the Pentecostal view of healing, which treats ailments caused by both physical and psychological trauma, works to further bridge that gap.

The second common characteristic cited by Droogers (2001:56) is conversion, which may be thought of as a dramatic bodily experience expressed in baptism and which ties together all of the complex views and practices of the religion, bringing them "home to the new believer" (2001:56). Baptism binds the convert to the Holy Spirit and to a community of believers both locally and globally. Droogers (2001:56) characterizes it with dual meanings of the word "admission" both as a ticket to these local and global communities and one's confessional narrative of the journey (including all manner of previous affliction and unhappiness) to be broadcast out to the world. Indeed, conversion stories are strong tools for global expansion, as narratives of affliction, unhappiness, and ultimately redemption are cultural universals (Droogers 2001:56). Ukah (2003) has explained the rise of Nollywood (the Nigerian film industry) in terms of Pentecostal conversion narratives, in that the formulaic model for a successful script includes themes of success through sin, affliction and loss, and finally redemption. Interestingly, in the transnational setting of RPM, conversion stories are not common. The expansion of the church is maintained instead through the pastor's intimate connection with its members, his powers as a healer, and through the testimonies of individuals. This disjuncture between national and transnational practice will be analyzed below in the case study of Ghanaian diasporic Pentecostal churches by van Dijk (2001).

The third common feature of Pentecostal belief in Drooger's (2001:56-7) analysis is a duality of worldview, another major force contributing to the global expansion of the religion. Pentecostals see the world in terms of a war between God and Satan. Everything happening in the world can be related to this dualistic vision, so that misery and suffering are easily explained and the moral choices that Pentecostals must make daily are put into a

comprehensive and decisive framework (Droogers 2001:56). Another advantage to this worldview is that the outcome is already determined. Pentecostals know that God will eventually win, and that they have chosen the winning side. At RPM, this war is played out every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. In the sermons and testimonies, the bible classes, and at the intensive prayer sessions, my participants have the advantage of expressing the week's successes and failures within this dichotomous framework. Droogers (2001:56) cites the fact that dualisms are a cultural universal, which makes them easily comprehensible and therefore marketable in the global context.

Pentecostal expansion around the world is significant in terms of how it is situated within the globalization process. The shared characteristics of Pentecostalism cited by Drooger (2001) offer some explanation for the success of the religion across a wide array of locations and cultural frameworks. In this way, the appeal of RPM to its members is more easily understood. By starting from Pentacostalism's internal religious characteristics, Drooger (2001) avoids reductionist explanations for its rise. Droogers (2001) examines the importance of non-religious factors (social, economic, political, and psychological) from within the religion itself, and concludes that:

> Pentecostal's physical experience with the Holy Spirit, based on a dramatic conversion experience and lived out in the framework of a dualist worldview, serves to situate the believer effectively at the global, local, and personal level. The Pentecostal message has the potential to create a religious fellowship that serves as a model, not only for the individual, but for national and global societies as well. [2001:59]

From the perspective of a transnational community of Pentecostals like RPM, part of the appeal of the religion is that it is uniquely situated to address the needs and concerns of transnational migrants. Pentecostalism works for the members of RPM in many ways because it too is both global and local. It provides a framework including the charismata

(gifts of the spirit such as glossolalia and healing), universally understood conversion narratives, and an easily comprehensible dualistic worldview, that makes it easier to navigate *roots* and *routes*.

Transnational Migrants and Religion

The term "transnationalism" arose in American studies of migration flows after the1965 passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act, which allowed for more freedom of movement between the United States and Latin America. At this time theorists studying the flow of Latin American laborers into the United States began to see the limitations inherent in a paradigm of immigration that presupposed movement in only one direction and assimilation into American culture as the primary outcome (Basch et al. 1994; Sherringham 2010). Since that time various definitions have been proposed to describe transnationalism, but for this paper the working definition will be that proposed by Basch et al. (1994:6), who define it as the "processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement." Following this I will be using Levitt's (2003:850) definition of "transnational migrants" as "individuals who live aspects of their social, economic, and political lives in at least two settings."

Scholarship on transnationalism and transnational migrants in the last 20 years has largely been devoted to enumerating linkages involving social ties (Levitt 2001), economic ties in the form of remittances (Vertovec and Cohen 1999), the political activities of transnational migrants and their implications for citizenship (Bermudez 2010), and the impact of new technologies such as widely available and affordable phone service, cheap air travel, and internet access on creating and maintaining transnational communities (Appadurai

1996). Conspicuously absent until recently, however, has been the role of religion in the experience of transnational migrants (Levitt 2001, 2003; Menjivar 1999; Warner 1998).

There have been many explanations for the neglected role of religion in studies of the transnational migration experience. Menjivar posits that the social sciences remained tied to the idea that scientific rationalism would eventually take hold in society, leading to secularization (Menjivar 1999). Warner (1998) claims that, because the majority of immigration statistics in the U.S. come from the Census Bureau or the Immigration and Naturalization Service, neither of which are permitted to ask about religion, social scientists found the subject too daunting and left it out of research proposals. Finally, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) proposed that research on religion was neglected due to an anti-colonial bias in ethnic studies departments that discouraged scholars from studying religion among contemporary immigrants. In any event, the secularization that many expected has not occurred, and in fact religion has proliferated, especially in the global south (Anderson 2010:13). Scholars conducting inductive research among immigrant populations often find that religion is a prime force in the lives of their informants. For example, in her study of Salvadoran immigrants, Menjivar (2000) found that the importance of religion in the transnational experience of her informants manifested so frequently that it subsumed her original research plan.

Early studies of the role of religion in the lives of transnational migrants have predictably taken a functionalist approach, examining ways in which religion eases both the psychological and social trauma of migration and settlement (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003). More recent studies of African transnational religious communities analyze the function (or dysfunction) of religions for migrants in the receiving locations. These studies emphasize

religion's role in strengthening social bonds and networks among immigrants while often including more nuanced analyses. D'Alisera's (1997) work with Sierra Leoneans in Washington D.C. demonstrates how a renewed emphasis on Islam brought disparate groups of African immigrants into one community, effectively erasing pre-existing boundaries of homeland and diaspora. Cox (1995:259) discusses the role of Pentecostal churches in the receiving location for refugees, whose forced migration often permanently severs ties not only with sending locations but also with previous social networks: "These churches give people a sense of dignity, a place in a community of friends which often stands as a surrogate for an extended family fractured by mobility and change." Building upon studies of Pentecostal African migrants, Sommers (2001:363) explains that Burundian Pentecostal migrants successfully managed migration to Dar es Salaam (which also required them to negotiate the shift from rural to urban) in ways that Catholic migrants could not, specifically due to the surrogate families that Cox (1995) associates with Pentecostal transnationals. This theme of surrogate family is illustrated in perhaps its most striking form with the work of Mutema (2005), who explored the creation of new social networks among Rwandan Pentecostals whose previous networks had been ruptured by genocide. He argues that "when kinship, the most binding of social relationships, is torn apart by civil war, betrayal, fear, and suspicion, religion becomes the basis for making a new, non-biological kinship, thus producing one of the most significant ways of belonging" (Mutema 2010:276). Studies of African migrants may also consider the effect that transnational religion has on sending locations, as exemplified by Levitt's (2001) work among Dominican Catholics in the receiving location of Boston and the sending location of Miraflores. Similarly, Shandy (2005) argues that there is potential for transnational Christian connections to have a positive

impact on war-torn Sudan. Her work with Nuer Christians in the United States led her to conclude that membership in any "Christian church connects southern Sudanese immigrants to a global community of Christians, creating a sense of kinship that has the potential to unite fundamentally different ethnic groups across Sudan" (Mutema 2010:276; Shandy 2005:215).

In terms of African transnational churches and their role in facilitating assimilation into host societies we see an interesting shift in the literature exploring the evangelization of receiving locations by migrants. The work of Karagiannis and Glick-Schiller (2008) among African-led Pentecostal churches in Germany, although pointing to assimilation as the eventual outcome, explores this nuanced perspective of re-evangelization. These authors report that in many churches pastors insisted upon translating services into German any time Germans were in attendance, while also encouraging migrants to learn German (Karagiannis and Glick-Schiller 2008:270-271). Pastors reasoned that not only would migrants have an easier path to civic and political participation, but that German participation could also become a way of overcoming cultural barriers and negative stereotypes concerning African immigrants. In this way, Karagiannis and Glick-Schiller (2008) identify this as a strategy to lessen the difficulties that migrants face fitting "into the schemes conceived of them by German migration policy, [hoping] instead [that] the German population will acquire the citizenship of the Pentecostal community" (Karagiannis and Glick-Schiller 2008:274). In a similar study, Nzayabino (2005) looked at World of Life Assembly (WOLA), a Congolese transnational migrant-led church in Johannesburg, noting that key signage for the church around the city was produced in English even though 95 percent of the Congolese membership spoke only French. Nzayabino (2005) interpreted this as a strategy of WOLA to "integrate itself into the host community while facilitating and maintaining integration of

refugees within it" (Nzayabino 2005:29) in an attempt to transform what might otherwise be regarded as "a hostile migration context into an egalitarian environment in which [adherence to a prosperity gospel means that] everyone is eligible for the highest religious (and material rewards)" (Robbins 2004:124). This strategy of re-evangelization, implying a fundamental shift in the direction of missionaries, becomes yet another sub-narrative of studies of African Pentecostal transnational communities and their role in providing alternative forms of belonging for migrants in receiving locations. While much of the literature attributes re-evangelization efforts to certain defining characteristics of the Pentecostal religion, such as its non-hierarchical structure or its emphasis on actively seeking to convert others, Pasura (2012) examines this phenomenon in the context of mainline Catholicism. In a study of Zimbabwean Catholics in Britain, Pasura (2012) explores the role of migrants in evangelization through "Africanization" of a Catholic church in Manchester. Apart from reproducing and maintaining a distinct ethnic identity, the drumming, dancing, and singing that Zimbabwean migrants have introduced to this mainline form of Christianity in Britain have had two effects. First, migrants saw themselves as revitalizing Christian thought, practice, and belonging in Britain, as many Zimbabweans associate belief with belonging to a Christian community that they perceived as lacking in Britain. Second, migrants' awareness of their ability to participate in and change Christianity in Britain gave them the agency to participate in other aspects of British society (Pasura 2012:26).

In general, it can be said that the literature on transnational migrants and religious communities, in both African and non-African migrant contexts, points to ways that immigrant religious communities "provide alternative forms of belonging, rooted in the material, social, emotional, and spiritual needs of the migrant group" (Pasura 2012:48).

Studies of transnational migrant religious communities have highlighted the pragmatic benefits of religious association in terms of employment, housing, and the development of social networks (see Guest 2003; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Levitt 2001; Pasura 2012; Wellmeier 1998). While some studies emphasize the role of religion in maintaining sending country ideals of ethnic and spiritual identity, others focus on its role in facilitating assimilation into the host community. What is clear, however, is that there is a considerable gray area. The focus on homogenization or heterogenization when examining religion's role in the transnational context is a recurring theme in much of the literature. However, this dichotomous view is limited in its application to my participants at RPM, who appear to have a need to, at various times, do both. Therefore, I discuss two case studies of religion and transnationalism that relate directly to the experiences of my participants at RPM, and which challenge the notion that religion in the transnational setting acts exclusively within this dichotomy. Following this I look to the work of Rijk van Dijk (2001) and his comparative study of Ghanaian and transnational Ghanaian Pentecostal churches in Europe as a model for how Pentecostal beliefs and practices alter memories of the past.

Case Study One: McAlister - *The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Voudou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism*

When asked how Africans are received in Los Angeles, Jonah, a 25 year old male at RPM had this to say:

> Sometimes it's good to be African here, and sometimes it's better to just blend in. If I'm talking to the police I would rather be African…but when I'm applying for a job it's important that I understand and blend in to American culture.

This need to engage in cultural code switching was echoed by several members of RPM. McAlister's (1998) analysis of Haitian immigrants in New York City speaks to this aspect of my research and to the limitations of an assimilationist and preservationist dichotomy. McAlister (1998) provides both a functionalist and a post-colonialist approach as she looks at the roles of Catholicism and Voudou in the transnational experience of Haitians. Of primary importance in this study is the influence of the proximal host on the migrant's construction of identity (McAlister 1998:147). McAlister (1998:147) explains that in the case of the Haitian immigrants in her study, the proximal host to which they were assigned was the African American community, a group with whom they did not identify. Haitians are described as having a deep understanding of their place in Caribbean history and colonial politics, and thus recognize that they are historically and culturally distinct from Black Americans (McAlister 1998:147). In addition to this, "Haitian immigrants see that meanings of blackness in the United States are subordinated, [and] that blacks represent the bottom of United States society" (McAlister 1998:148). In order to differentiate themselves from African Americans, McAlister (1998:148) argues that Haitian transnational migrants utilize two performative elements of their identity: language and religion. In her analysis of Haitians' performance of religion, McAlister (1998:149-51) argues that migrants perform varying degrees of Catholicism and Voudou in order to claim space and identity separate from African Americans.

In her study, McAlister (1998:150) points to the acceptance of Haitians at the traditionally "Italian only" Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. While African-Americans and Puerto Ricans have a long history of being excluded (or at least strongly discouraged) from attending the religious street fair, McAlister (1998:151) argues that Haitians are

accepted based on their ties to Catholicism, which functions to mediate the color of their skin. This "strategy of alterity" (Mcalister 1998:153) among Haitian migrants extends to other religious traditions as well, as when Haitian experiences of Voudou occur at the Catholic festival. In these cases Haitians are said to employ a form of "religious code switching" (McAlister 1998:152) that both masks a belief in Voudou from the Italian hosts, even as it celebrates its syncretism with Catholicism as part of the discrete Haitian identity. It becomes in this context quite irrelevant whether one is praying to the Virgin Mary or one of the Lwa spirits; the act of praying in a mainstream Catholic space legitimizes the Haitians. As McAlister argues, through this strategy of alterity Haitians are able to claim both identity and space in the transnational setting while simultaneously "broadcast[ing] [their] cultural difference from African Americans and contest[ing] U.S. systems of racialization" (McAlister 1998:153). This relates directly to the experiences of my participants at RPM. It reflects their need to embody multiple sites and multiple identities in order to defy their racialization as African immigrants.

In terms of what this study says about issues of homogenization or heterogenization, McAlister (1998:153) demonstrates that both processes are occurring with Haitian transnational migrants in that Catholicism and Voudou provide separate functions. McAlister (1998:153) argues that "Voudou and Haitian Catholicism are at once opposed politically and intertwined historically, two religions on either end of a continuum of Haitian religious culture that contains within it multiple and shifting symbols and practices." Through the institution of the Catholic Church Haitian migrants simultaneously assimilate into portions of the dominant culture, and disassociate themselves from the marginalized proximal host to which they were assigned, while the maintenance of Voudou beliefs allows

them to exercise agency and maintain a unique cultural identity (McAlister 1998:153). Here we see a departure from early functionalist analyses of religion in transnational communities, and the move toward a construction of hybrid identities emerging out of religious belief and practice. This use of religion in the transnational context to contest marginalization will inform my analysis of the community of RPM and their construction of modernity through Pentecostal doctrine to do the same.

Case Study Two: Brodwin - *Pentecostalism in Translation: Religion and the Production of Community in the Haitian Diaspora*

Older members of RPM are reluctant to speak about the Amin years in Uganda. While this is likely related to the extreme trauma of those years, Jonathan, a 50 year old male at RPM provides another reason:

> The Amin years were difficult, and they have affected how we as Ugandans are viewed throughout the world. Why are we stopped at customs wherever we go? Many people think we are all murderers in Uganda. This is ridiculous. And now this Kony video is doing the same. It is only through following Christ's word that we will become free of this nonsense.

Jonathan spoke these words to me immediately following a community-wide prayer service held at RPM to address the concerns of Ugandans throughout Los Angeles. A primary concern of many attendees was how the Joseph Kony video (which had gone viral at this point and brought Ugandan affairs to the world stage) was representing Ugandans to the rest of the world. In this second case study I examine how a Haitian transnational community on the island of Guadaloupe in the Caribbean has used Pentecostal Christianity to counter negative perceptions of their personhood by the dominant culture there. Additionally, I explore Brodwin's (2003) goal of crafting an anthropological interpretation of

this dynamic that complements the Pentecostal-driven interpretations of the participants in his study as a model that can be applied to my research at RPM.

In Guadaloupean society Haitian migrants are viewed as outsiders and face marginalization on several levels: "restrictive immigration policies; the threat of deportation; and the uncertainties of poorly paid, exploitative employment. At the same time they must contend with their stigmatization… as uncivilized, chaotic, and even a threat to the public order" (Brodwin 2003:85). Haitians were originally brought to the island to replace striking cane cutters in the 1970's, which placed them in an adversarial position from the outset (Brodwin 2003). Interestingly, as opposed to the predominantly Catholic population, Haitian migrants on the island of Guadaloupe are largely Pentecostal, which serves to further alienate them from the rest of Guadaloupean society.

Brodwin (2003) argues that Haitians in Guadaloupe have formed tight knit Pentecostal communities which both challenge the prevailing view of Haitian identity and allow Haitian migrants to construct an oppositional discourse that characterizes Guadaloupean society as morally lax. Through their adherence to Pentecostal strictures regulating adornment, sexuality, and patterns of consumption, Haitian migrants thwart the widely held Guadaloupean notions of Haitans as "dirty," "sexually permissive," and "potentially rebellious" (Brodwin 2003:91). For example, Brodwin (2003:91-2) demonstrates how Guadaloupean perceptions of the hypersexual Haitian woman, wearing gaudy and colorful clothing, are negated through Haitian affiliation with the Pentecostal church, which requires careful grooming and clean pressed clothing. The formal and conservative Pentecostal manner of dressing stands in stark opposition to norms of Guadaloupean society. In this way, Brodwin (2003:92) argues, Haitian Pentecostals begin to

frame the differences between themselves and the dominant society in a moral discourse of sinfulness and holiness. Haitian migrants visibly demonstrate their acceptance of Pentecostal doctrine through their choice of clothing, and in the process refute the Guadaloupean stereotypes of Haitians and portray Guadaloupean society as morally corrupt (Brodwin 2003:92).

To Brodwin (2003:92) Haitian migrants exhibit agency through their use of religion to negotiate their own marginalization. He argues that the tangible differences between Guadaloupeans and Haitian migrants (speech, skin color, economic status, etc.), although too distinct to be erased, are transformed by Pentecostalism into a moral rebuke of Guadaloupean society. This rebuke reinstates and displays migrants as saved, and implicitly characterizes the French citizens of the island as morally lost (2003:92). Haitians thus express agency through Pentecostalism in ways that do not conform to a simple model of assimilation or preservation of sending country identity. In effect, Brodwin's (2003) participants seek to avoid both rejection and assimilation in the receiving location of Guadaloupe by crafting an altogether new identity based on a North American, conservative, Christian discursive model. This new identity, Haitian yet not Haitian, speaks to the limitations of theoretical models that presuppose homogenization or heterogenization as the most likely, or indeed the only, outcomes for transnational religious communities. Clearly Brodwin's participants had a need to both assimilate and exert their own individual, local identity. Their marginalization was as immigrants *par excellence* in that they were viewed as both politically dangerous, and culturally backward, mirroring much of what my participants have had to say about their own experiences with settlement in North America. Perhaps most importantly, Brodwin's work is useful to my study of the RPM community because it provides a theoretical model for the use

of Pentecostal belief, practice, and ideology to contest the marginalization faced by a community of transnational migrants.

Case Study Three: van Dijk *Time and Transcultural Technologies of the Self in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora*

Finally, in considering the place of modernity and remembering the past within transnational religious communities, I look to the work of Rijk van Dijk (2001). Van Dijk's (2001) comparative study of Ghanaian Pentecostal belief and practice in Ghana and in Ghanaian disaporic communities in the Netherlands and The Hague offers a unique perspective on how the religion is altered in the transnational setting. Van Dijk (2001:218) sees Pentecostal Christianity in Africa as the product of transnational and transcultural modernity in that its doctrines and slogans demand rupture with the past. In the Ghanaian context, there is a great emphasis placed on publicly denouncing the past to attain full membership in the Pentecostal community. While this initially takes the form of a dramatic deliverance, or conversion (Van Dijk 2001:224) in which one's past is laid open publicly, remembrance and revaluation of the past is required throughout one's spiritual life. In a sense, this process of continual inspection maintains one's place in modernity. In framing the believer's life before conversion as the past, the rupture with that life enacted in conversion and continual deliverance is an essential part of becoming a modern person, no longer bound by tradition (Van Dijk 2001:218).

However, van Dijk (2001:225) argues that deliverance is conceived of as a distinct rupture with the past at two levels. The first rupture is at the level of the personal past, in which Pentecostals are expected to break with practices such as drinking, stealing, rudeness,

envy, greed, and hatred. The second rupture is at the level of the ancestral past, in which the past lives of parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents need to be inspected for sins, which generally include any sort of "traditional" African practice such as ancestor reverence, healing ceremonies, etc. Traditional beliefs in evil spirits and witchcraft are given a great deal of validity by Ghanaian Pentecostals inasmuch as they are recast as agents of Satan. One may suffer the effects of an ancestral curse even after deliverance. Therefore, the continual breaking and deliverance required of Pentecostals acts to safeguard against transgression in one's personal life as well as providing protection from ancestral curses. Van Dijk (2001:226) describes this as a form of 'processing' the person "as a modern individual where modernity's connotation of ideology is that of being superior to inferior powers of tradition and the past." At the heart of this discussion is the tension between individuality and traditional communalism and kinship obligations. It becomes easy to imagine Pentecostal ideology as a vehicle for liberation from community and kinship obligations when it "proclaims 'progress' and 'prosperity' to be dependent on the outward rejection or at least the moral control of such relations" (Van Dijk 2001:219). Van Dijk (2001:219) warns against taking this position without reservations, noting that "the modes of the construction of subjectivity or, to invoke Foucault (1998 cited in van Dijk), 'the technologies of the self', need to be explored within their cultural contexts." This theoretical position is useful when examining a transnational community such as RPM, which exists in multiple cultural contexts.

In Van Dijk's (2001) study, he found that Ghanaian churches differed from diasporic churches in the employment of technologies of the self. These differences were most apparent when viewed through the lens of remembering the past and the subsequent breaking

and deliverance from that past. In the Ghanaian context, Van Dijk (2001:223) notes an interesting relationship between established churches and the diaspora that takes the form of "prayer camps." Prayer camps are locations near urban areas where visitors can come to have their problems addressed by charismatic leaders. Camps are visited daily and the largest received 75,000 visitors in 1996, the majority of whom stayed for an average of seven days (Van Dijk 2001:223). Pentecostals bring a wide range of problems including unemployment, infertility, attacks from witchcraft, illness, misfortune, and marital problems. Significantly, many young people utilize these camps in preparation for making the journey to the West, believing that spiritual blockage in the form of evil spirits and witchcraft stemming from extended kinship relations is preventing them from procuring travel documents and the funds needed for emigration (Van Dijk 2001:223). Before entering, visitors are required to fill out extensive questionnaires scrutinizing aspects of their past at the level of both personal lifestyle and ancestral curses. Camp leaders claim that any sins or traditional African ceremonies in the believer's past must be made visible in order for deliverance to be successful. Meyer (1998:192 cited in Van Dijk 2001:228) states "that it is impossible to inscribe oneself fully in the present – by being born again – without being disrupted by an unremembered past." Van Dijk (2001:228) concludes that the questionnaires attempt to counteract this by [forcing? Helping?] the believer to remember and exorcise her past in order to get on with the business of taking full control of her life. Records from the questionnaires indicate that a majority of those seeking deliverance in order to migrate to the West are seeking protection from ancestral curses. The potential migrant, now liberated, is as an emergent stranger, detached from the bonds of family so that she may be unconstrained in the migration process (Van Dijk 2001:228). In a sense the migrant is being indoctrinated

into a new technology of the self as they are prepared for the individuality that must be a part of the migration process.

In the diasporic Pentecostal churches, however, we see a different dynamic and the construction of an alternative technology of the self. Pastors in the Ghanaian diaspora of the Netherlands and The Hague are said to distrust the deliverance strategies that take place at prayer camps in Ghana. These pastors believe that the spiritual protection acquired there is not strong enough to sustain emigrees through migration and settlement. For pastors in the diaspora this distrust is related to the levels of individuality that have been inscribed in the prayer camp meetings (Van Dijk 2001:230). In the transnational setting pastors are often deeply involved in member's lives. They are said to assist in all manner of problems related to immigration status and to take an active role in marriages, funerals, and in rituals for new-born babies (Van Dijk 2001:230). Migrants are said to identify with, or belong to, particular pastors, while pastors see "themselves as surrogate *abusua pinyin*,which denotes the head of the family within the matrilineal extended family of the Akan" (Van Dijk 2001:230). Consequently, church membership numbers are notably smaller than in the major cities of Ghana, and the emphasis on individuality is replaced with an emphasis on dividuality (Van Dijk 2001:230) in which new webs of dependence, obligation, and social relations are formed.

Another difference between Pentecostal practice and belief in the receiving location concerns the politics of remembering and one's relationship to the past. Whereas in Ghana, deliverance required full disclosure at the personal and ancestral level, churches in the diaspora "preach the message that anybody is welcome, irrespective of their history, and that no one will be asked to reveal their past in writing, through questionnaires or any form of

deliverance ritual" (Van Dijk 2001:230). The past, as it concerns migration and settlement in the diaspora, can be fraught with painful memories or inconvenient realities. Many migrants worry about their immigration status and have broken laws to migrate and settle in the host country. Others, particularly women, may have been the victims of human traffickers or worked in some form of the informal economy such as prostitution in order to survive, making the past a taboo subject in the transnational context. Rather than focusing on these painful areas, pastors in the receiving location stress the present and immediate futures of migrants. This is largely accomplished through the social network of the church and the emphasis on dividuality over individuality. To achieve progress and prosperity, members are instructed to abandon the individuality fostered at the prayer camps in Ghana and are taught that progress, prosperity, and Western modernity cannot be accomplished by those who "remain locked in ultimate and extreme individuality (such as prostitution) within a host society where otherwise social relations are difficult to establish" (Van Dijk 2001:230). Social relations and the dividuality required to achieve Western modernity are then nurtured and sustained by immersion into church activities such as bible study, extensive teaching and counseling, and all night prayer vigils.

Thus we see a shift in the transnational context in the technologies of the self, back toward the connections to and dependence on others that was abandoned in preparation for migration to the West. I include this review of Van Dijk's (2001) work with Ghanaian Pentecostals in the national and transnational contexts to illustrate certain similarities with the community of RPM and to see how it might inform my own discussion of modernity as it is constructed by my participants. As with the transnational pastors in Van Dijk's (2001) study, RPM maintains a modest membership and the pastor develops deep personal

connections with the members. He and his wife are seen as surrogate parents in a sense, and are accorded a great deal of respect. Members seek Pastor Kayongo's counsel on all manner of problems in both the corporeal and spiritual worlds, often with significant overlap between the two. There appears to be very little he does not know about the lives of his flock. His insistence that members keep coming back, that they attend bible study and the late-night prayer services, that they attend each and every baptism, baby shower, and birthday within the community speaks to the development of dividuality over individuality. Pastor Kayongo's role in the community is mediator extraordinaire, bridging the various gaps: between husbands and wives with devoted counseling; between migrant and host society as he assists members in finding housing or employment; even between Los Angeles and Uganda when he carefully selects and directs memories of homeland in his sermons or hosts visiting pastors and prophets. His commitment to the deliverance of his congregation is profound, but as with the diasporic pastors in Van Dijk's (2001) study, he does not require personal, public (and potentially painful) confessional narratives from members. Rather, he devotes himself largely to the immediate present and futures of his congregation. It may be that the work of imagining the site of modernity in the West has changed. In Uganda potential migrants must rely exclusively on second-hand accounts of life in the West through the constant flow of information provided by Appadurai's (1996) idea of shifting landscapes of meaning, and public remembrance of the past may be yet another way of doing the work of the imagination. By publicly exorcising African traditions in conversion ceremonies, migrants may be making room for a different kind of imagining (work) required in the receiving location. In the receiving location second-hand accounts (meanings) must then be integrated with daily, lived experiences, and new symbols of meaning must be identified and

either accepted or rejected, effectively increasing the workload. As in van Dijk's (2001) study, the technology of the self is altered in the transnational setting. The focus has shifted away from individualism and toward future prosperity through communal participation in church activities. I will consider this in the discussion of my fieldwork below as I explore some of the more nuanced ways in which the transnational community of RPM frames tradition and modernity, past and present.

Theorizing Immigration and Race

In exploring the ways that migration studies and ethnographies of immigrant communities have been approached within the social sciences, it is imperative that they also be viewed in terms of the concepts of race, and racialization as perceived and constructed by the nation-state. With each geopolitical realignment and shift in the reorganization of capital, the nation-state has invented new "others" through the process of racialization (Silverstein 2005). For the purposes of this discussion I follow Silverstein in defining race as:

> a cultural category of difference that is contextually constructed as essential and natural…residing within the very body of the individual…and generally tied, in scientific theory and popular understanding, to a set of somatic, physiognomic, and even genetic character traits. [2005:364]

Racialization, which corresponds to race, may be defined as:

> The processes through which any diacritic of social personhood, including class, ethnicity, generation, kinship/affinity, and positions within fields of power comes to be essentialized, naturalized, and/or biologized. [Silverstein 2005:364]

Immigrants, and thus migration studies and ethnographies of immigrant communities, can be seen to varying degrees as products of racialization. Some works question the prevailing wisdom; however, I argue that in some manner the national discourse of racialization affects

all of us. The immigrant "problem" in legislation, national debate, or in the social sciences is "structurally located at the contradiction between the demands of capital for socially disunited 'abstract labor' and the demands of states for culturally unified 'abstract citizens'" (Lowe 1996:13). Despite the repeated critiques of the biological essence of race, it remains a cultural imperative permeating all aspects of social relations in the United States. The structural persistence of race has clear implications for immigrants in the United States (Silverstein 2005:365), who become categorized along color lines (Ong 1996) and must quickly learn to navigate existing and shifting racial hierarchies in the receiving location. My point here, however, is the manner in which this racialization reifies immigrants as a "brand new other." Trouillot (1991) has termed this as a new "savage slot," which produces "the…nation state's [new] abject, and anthropology's increasingly preferred 'exotic others'" (Silverstein 2005:365). As the landscape shifts, new others are produced to meet the needs of capital, the nation-state, and the social sciences. For example, the exoticization of Asians in the United States that Said (1978) discussed is of course still with us, but it becomes altered in this shifting landscape so that some Asian Americans become the "model minority" predicted by social demographer William Petersen (1968), while others are the terrorists lurking in the shadows. Or consider the Italian, Irish, and Eastern European immigrants attempting to assimilate into the culture and workforce of the United States not so long ago to see how even the "unmarked" racial category of whiteness is fluid and subject to change (Silverstein 2005:365). However, the upward social and economic mobility of "white" immigrants in the United States (their deracialization so to speak) is itself predicated, at least in part, upon the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which allowed for an influx of "racially exotic" immigrants. I would argue that subsequent "white flight" leading to the

suburbanization of a previously marginalized immigrant class speaks not only to the fluidity of racialization, but to the limits of that fluidity. Deracialization of "darker" immigrants requires a type of "homogenizing magic" (Jacobson 1998:204) based on class mobility (perhaps through entertainment, business acumen, or sports) in which certain individuals are seen as exceptions in the "white nation fantasy" (Hage 2000) of the United States.

Racialization of immigrants in both the national and social scientific discourse is also influenced by the manner in which they are associated with mobility, particularly the binaries of nomad/sedentary or rooted/uprooted (Silverstein 2005:366). One need only look to conceptualizations of "Gypsy" or "Jew" in the white imaginary to understand the limitations of the elasticity of race. These two groups, due in part to their association with mobility, remain marginalized in ways that other groups are not despite their ability to "pass" as white, illustrating that a "race" perceived as innately mobile will always be suspect. Immigrants then, "by the very nature of their history of mobility, become the racialized national others par excellence, the object of a white national fantasy of dominance" (Hage 2000:69-77; Silverstein 2005:366). Their shifting racialization "within the larger discourses and practices of white supremacy reflect the uncertainties and fractures of national belonging that migrants highlight by virtue of their differential citizenship and presumed permanent ties to homelands elsewhere" (Silverstein 2005:366). Immigrants become, as Lowe (1996:18) has characterized them, a screen onto which the nation may project all of its fears and anxieties concerning internal and external threats to its coherence (Silverstein 2005:366).

Within social scientific scholarship there has been a clear trajectory for framing immigrants. From the nomad, the migrant laborer, and the uprooted comes the contemporary notion of the immigrant as hybrid. Silverstein (2005:373) cites the closing of Western

European borders in 1974 as the beginning of a European national discursive shift away from protecting national sovereignty towards the protection and maintenance of cultural integrity. Fully settled, intergenerational communities of immigrants prompted a national discourse that cared less for the external political and economic borders, and more for internal cultural borders (Silverstein 2005:373). Immigrants came to be racialized as "the liminal hybrid epitomized by the second generation youth 'caught between two cultures' (Silverstein 2005:373). The social sciences followed suit, imputing this notion of "in-betweenness" in a general sense "to all migrants and exiles, whose cosmopolitanism and capacities for cultural mediation has been celebrated in cultural studies and postmodern theory. The migrant thus becomes the model of the cultural and racial halfie" (Silverstein 2005:373). The social anxiety produced by the hybrid in Europe is illustrated in the work of Bowen (2007), whose *Why The French Don't Like Headscarves* takes an anthropological look at legislation enacted against Muslim women in France to protect the sovereignty of that nation's internal, cultural borders. In the United States the anxiety produced by the hybrid is often focused on immigrants from Latin America and the perception that Latino-ness is transgressing these internal, cultural borders. Journalist Hector Tobar (2005) has conducted ethnographic work among Latinos across the United States and famously celebrated the hybrid, or "halfie" status of individuals and communities he encountered in *Translation Nation.* To understand fully the social and racial anxiety produced by the hybrid in the United States one need only look to legislation enacted in Arizona, in which ethnic studies programs designed to meet the needs of Latinos have been banned. Essentially, the ban represents the fears of the state: knowledge that does not sustain the narrative of the dominant culture is perceived of as a threat. In this case, however, the knowledge itself becomes racialized in that it speaks

directly to the second and third generation halfies. These halfies are thought to possess a dangerous multi-cultural competence that is celebrated in postmodern scholarship, even as it is criminalized by the state.

The current model for understanding migrants as transnational comes out of globalization theory and implies living and operating in more than one national space. Inherent in this paradigm, and of critical importance in understanding the manner in which migrants are racialized, is the implied lack of assimilation into the host culture. This *realization* by scholars of immigration has come to be expressed as *fear* within the national discourse on immigration. The shift to using world systems approaches in understanding the movement of people, as well as of ideas, finance, technology and ideology (Appadurai 1996) has contested the idea of a unidirectional flow of migrants from one nation-state to another. New forms of allegiance and identity construction which do not necessarily depend on nation-states, but rather on race, ethnicity, or religion, have become important to social theorists. However, in terms of the national discourse on immigration, this represents a new exoticization of immigrants and a deeper threat to the nation-state. The transmigrant is suspect for keeping a foot in two nations and for becoming the symbol of globalizing processes for which there are no easy answers. Just as Appadurai's (1996) -scapes flow in and out of our lives, transgressing and effectively erasing national borders, so too does the transnational migrant. In this way transnational migrants come to be racialized; inhabiting a new and exotic savage slot (Silverstein 2005:376), they become the new Other.

In the context of the United States the movement of people is racialized. That this occurs in public discourse has been emphasized as a preface to my discussion of identity construction through Pentecostalism for the transnational community of RPM. I argue that

my participants' knowledge of contemporary political discourse on immigrants and race plays a role in their relationships with others, their continuing constructions of modernity, and ultimately on the construction of their personhood in Christ as espoused by Pentecostal theology.

Chapter Four

Fieldwork at RPM

The RPM Community

Ugandans, like other Africans, first arrived in the United States under the adverse conditions of the slave trade. As with many countries in the Majority World, voluntary emigration from Uganda to the United States remained nearly impossible until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which loosened restrictions previously placed upon potential migrants. Despite the loosening of legal barriers to migration, however, social and economic barriers such as political instability and widespread poverty have prevented large-scale migration from Uganda since that time. Immigration records show an increase of immigrants from Uganda during the tumultuous years of Idi Amin's reign as many Ugandans qualified for refugee status. Nevertheless, these numbers never reached more than 875 for any given year, and since that time have fallen to below 150 for each year since 1975. My participants have indicated that, based upon an already thriving Ugandan diaspora, a majority of Ugandan migrants will choose the United Kingdom as their preferred destination. For those attempting to emigrate to the United States, legal immigration status is hard to come by. Prior to 2002, Ugandan migrants of some means could often successfully pay for fraudulent passports and accompanying visas, a practice rendered ineffective when the Ugandan passport was upgraded in compliance with International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) regulations (Kaduuli 2008). Since that time, potential immigrants have been forced to rely on the Diversity Visa Lottery system put into place by the U.S. State Department, which randomly grants 50,000 visas to recipients from countries with low

numbers of immigration to the United States. This lottery system is widely believed to be corrupt by my participants, although when pressed for details respondents have been hesitant to discuss ways in which one might "beat the system" with regard to the lottery. Broadly, the consensus seems to be that only a large bribe or God's favor can result in being chosen to legally settle in the United States.

U.S. cities with large numbers of Ugandans are largely relegated to the east coast, with Boston described as the most successful Ugandan diaspora in the nation (Kaduuli 2008). Within California my respondents cited Sacramento as a destination with a large Ugandan community. For the members of RPM, the decision regarding where to locate appears to be overwhelmingly based on information provided by friends and family who have already made the journey. At RPM, all of those I spoke with chose to settle in the Los Angeles area because somebody they knew was already living here. Most of the RPM community reside in the San Fernando Valley (a suburb of Los Angeles that lies within Los Angeles County), although some live in urban Los Angeles or as far away as Riverside County. In general, regular attendees of RPM are a close knit community of Ugandan migrants with various socioeconomic backgrounds, occupations, and life histories.

Once settled, members maintain friendships outside of attending church, meeting for events such as birthday parties, baby-showers, holiday celebrations, and other forms of non-religious socializing. Women in particular often meet at Rita's apartment. Rita is a hairdresser who works out of her apartment and services many of the men and women of RPM. Meetings at Rita's apartment were described to me as a form of networking, in which women will help one another find employment, give advice on business ventures, discuss relationships, and of course pray. As is reflected in much of the literature (Wellmeier 1998;

Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Levitt 2001), new arrivals rely on church affiliation for a variety of social and economic needs. The women of RPM look out for one another and speak of the importance of helping recent arrivals. Miremba, a 29 year old female explains it this way:

> When we know a sister is coming, we are ready. We will help her to find her way by introducing her around at the church…and the pastor will welcome her to the community. Actually he does this for men and women, but we take a special interest in women. We help them find jobs, find apartments, and make friends. If Rita has a friend or a relative coming she becomes a sister to all of us, and with the strong spiritual foundation the pastor provides, we help her become successful.

Women's occupations are varied, and include jobs such as hairdressing, elder-care, pre-school teaching, and nursing. Men discussed with me a career trajectory that often began with work as security guards before experiencing "breakthrough." Breakthrough is a term used to denote benefits in one's life achieved through strict adherence to prayer and tithing. Breakthrough indicates a state of being in God's favor, and is always used to account for advancement within any sphere of the believer's life. Prayer and higher education are considered to be key factors in experiencing breakthrough for men and women. Congregants expect to experience occupational breakthrough through their affiliation with RPM. Several times over the course of the year I observed the pastor remarking on his own beginnings as a security guard with lessons drawn from those Ugandans with whom he worked years ago that have never advanced. The obvious message is that a person should not be content to remain in such a lowly position when God is there to take you further. The pastor is held in high regard by the community of Ugandans at RPM in large part due to his MBA, his job as a certified public accountant, and his beautiful townhouse in an affluent neighborhood of the San Fernando Valley. Other men perceived as successful in the RPM community include high ranking officers in the military and students. Most members of RPM cite low remuneration from employment in Uganda as a reason for emigrating, while others cite

political instability, rampant crime, and the belief that educational opportunities are better in the United States.

The members of RPM are not simply nomads, migrant laborers, the suffering and uprooted victims of global capitalism, or exotic hybrids with unique abilities to culturally code-switch. They are a transnational community of individuals who are not easily defined. They defy being racialized as mere travelers in that they have settled in the United States and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions (members who achieve citizenship and can vote are highly regarded), localities and patterns of daily life (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995:48). As transnational migrants, members sustain connections to Uganda in meaningful ways. Captain John, a well-respected member of the community and a captain in the U.S. army, maintains a hospital in rural Uganda that cares for HIV positive patients and, more recently, anyone without access to healthcare. Ugandans are said to travel hundreds of miles to receive the services of Captain John's hospital. Through this hospital Captain John has developed a connection with the Kabaka (King) of Uganda and has been encouraged to run for political office there. Captain John is the ultimate transmigrant in that his loyalty to the U.S. Army has earned him a good living with promotions and assignments all over the United States while also allowing him to influence political machinations back home in Uganda. Captain Frank's transnational life illustrates the difficulty in viewing the participants of RPM in terms of spatial limitations.

Semi-regular visits from visiting Ugandan pastors and prophets represent another transnational link exemplified by RPM. Pastor Kayongo, with churches in Hong Kong, Uganda, and the U.S., maintains direct ties to multiple locations, further problematizing the boundedness of the community. Visiting pastors and prophets are a huge draw for the

growing community of RPM, with implications for membership and the flow of capital. These visits are accompanied by additional requests for money to be "given to God," with the intention of funding the visitor's travel or a church building/renovation project back "home." These visits, especially by well-known prophets, carry an added significance as well. It was explained to me that prophets from Africa are highly regarded for their abilities and, indeed, the members of RPM tend to believe that the type of prophecy (and Pentecostal worship) that they value really only exists in an African context. So while Pastor Kayongo fills that need and is regarded as a pastor with extraordinary powers for healing, there are additional spiritual needs that require the maintenance of ties with Uganda.

A final aspect of transnational ties with Africa exists in the spiritual realm. Beliefs in witchcraft allow for the possibility that a member of RPM can be targeted from across the ocean. In the year I have been conducting participant-observation at RPM I have documented four cases of witchcraft with roots in Africa, three of which did not require physical travel by the afflicted party. In one case a trip home to Uganda resulted in a member becoming the victim of a witchcraft spell based in jealousy, which required identification and exorcism from Pastor Kayongo back in Los Angeles. In the other three cases, however, witchcraft spells made the transnational journey independently of the victims, illustrating that the spiritual realm represents yet another aspect of the transnational lives of my participants. A visiting Ugandan female pastor spoke one day at RPM on this issue, stating that each nation had demons that were indigenous to the culture. She claimed to be one of the few experts on the demons associated with the United States. As she preached on the respective demonologies of Uganda and the United States, a central component of the sermon was the ability of those demons to transgress the boundaries of

nation-states, illustrating one more way in which my participants "construct and reconstitute their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society" (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995:48).

Imagining Modernity

> "I cannot say enough about the dedication of our sisters at Revival Power Ministries. Many of you don't know the level of their commitment. Do you know that they clean the bathrooms after the Mexican church has used it? Do you know that they [members of the "Mexican" church] throw the toilet paper in the trash can? They throw the poo-poo in the trash can!"

Pastor Kayongo's face grimaced as he spoke the words "poo-poo" to the congregation one Sunday in February of 2012. The congregation (about 30 people that day) alternately laughed and made noises of disgust as their pastor described the bathroom habits of the predominantly Salvadorian church downstairs from their own. In almost ten months of participant observation fieldwork at Revival Power Ministries (RPM) this was the only time I had heard the pastor refer to their downstairs neighbors. This silence from both the pastor and the members of RPM concerning the existence of another group of Pentecostals in the same building was surprising. Had he not taken the time to malign the Salvadorian congregation as he praised the women of RPM I would not have known that there was another church (I was later to discover that the Salvadorian church held their services at different times of the day so as not to compete with the music coming from RPM).

Through an analysis of the relationship between RPM and the Salvadorian Church, and beginning from the toilet paper incident described above, I will now discuss the role of Pentecostalism for my participants in imagining modernity within the complex transnational landscape of Los Angeles. Related questions include: How does Pentecostal belief and practice impact the way that my participants are viewed within the larger society, and what

sort of discursive control does the religion give them? I argue here that there is great significance in the lack of engagement between RPM and the Salvadorian congregation. From the toilet paper incident described above, it is possible to discern how the members of RPM incorporate Pentecostal theology to construct immigrant hierarchies that mirror contemporary political discourse on immigration. Through religious reproduction of the politics of domination and exclusion found in contemporary political discourse on immigration, the members of RPM attempt to gain discursive control over the ways in which they are perceived by the dominant culture of Los Angeles, ultimately within a framework of modernity. Indeed, what could be more backward (anti-modern) than a body not properly disposing of excrement? The toilet paper incident speaks to how modern bodies should and should not behave, but in terms of the politics of immigration it also represents a critique of "traditional" sending country identity that mirrors much of the political discourse on becoming properly integrated into American society, allowing the members of RPM to imagine their own place in society by comparison. For the purposes of this paper I refer to the Salvadorian congregation by the pseudonym La Iglesia de Restauracion.

Although my research has been exclusively with the members of RPM, I did observe and converse enough with members La Iglesia de Restauracion to determine that the Central American church is Pentecostal, and as such members believe in the *charismata,* or the gifts of the spirit. The congregation engages in worship that is textured by music and language from their respective countries of origin. Finally, it is made up almost exclusively of immigrants to Los Angeles who have fled El Salvador, a country marked by political instability, corruption, and chronic states of poverty, warfare, and crime. In sum, this Central

American church is quite similar to the Ugandan church in terms of its origins of development in Los Angeles and characteristics marking its members.

Immigrant populations the world over are often marginalized, scapegoated, and forced to begin new lives at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder. As discussed earlier, a common experience for immigrants is negotiating their proximal host identity. Typically Central Americans in Los Angeles fall under the umbrella of "Mexican," and Ugandans, at least before they are heard to speak, are often identified as African-American. Embedded in this concept of the proximal host is an exoticization of immigrants, which in the United States has an undeniable connection to existing racial hierarchies (Glick-Schiller 1995:59). In negotiating their proximal host status, immigrants often quickly become aware, not only of these pre-existing hierarchies, but also of the shifting landscape in which they operate. Strategies may then be developed accordingly to help facilitate upward socio-economic mobility (Silverstein 2005:365). For example, it has been theorized that Asians and South Asians in the United States participate in the reproduction of stereotypes constructed in the white imaginary, so that their status as a "model minority" sets them apart from conceptions of African-Americans and Latinos and thus increases their opportunities for mobility (Palumbo-Liu 1999:174-175). Another method of contesting the proximal host to which a group has been assigned is to construct an identity based on conservative, American Evangelical Christianity, which counters popular notions of a group as "savage" or "politically chaotic" (Brodwin 2003:91). Here I am interested in how identity is constructed by the members of RPM and used to navigate existing social hierarchies among immigrant groups through the use of religion. In this case, the similarities between RPM and La Iglesia de Restauracion are striking in that each group identifies as Pentecostal and is identified as

immigrants. Nonetheless, Ugandans perceive themselves as different and cleaner (or better) than Central American Pentecostals. Why is this the case? I suggest this is one way my participants seek to gain discursive control over the ways they are perceived in Los Angeles.

Immigrants in the United States are viewed by competing logics. Immigrants are welcomed to the U.S. because of the labor they provide. Simultaneously, they are denied important social services because they are not considered to be full, legitimate members of society (Calavita 1996). They are hailed as contributors to society while condemned for maintaining loyalty to the sending location (Chavez 2001). Finally, they are at once celebrated and demonized for diversifying the cultural heritage of the United States (Johnson et al. 1997). It is into this maelstrom of confusion that immigrants to the U.S. emplace themselves when they arrive, and in which my informants at RPM and their downstairs neighbors must labor and compete with one another for a place in the social stratification of Los Angeles[2]. Therefore, symbols found in everyday intereactions become an important means for immigrants to distinguish themselves in a new social landscape. For Ugandan Pentecostals, bathroom cleanliness provides a useful set of symbols by which to emplace themselves.

[2]Immigration to the United States from both Central America and Africa was opened up in 1965 with the passing of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. This ended the previous policy, enacted in 1924, which privileged Northern and Western European immigrants over Southern and Eastern ones and virtually excluded all immigration from the Majority World. Yet despite the more flexible immigration laws post-1965, the legacy of white privilege in the U.S. has ensured a subjugated position for both Central American and Ugandan immigrants in the highly stratified society of Los Angeles. The immigrants' proximal host status only complicates an already tenuous situation and clearly impacts the ways that various immigrant groups see each other in the social stratification. With this in mind, there is much to be gained through developing a better understanding of religion's role in the construction of immigrant social hierarchies.

Toilet Paper and the Politics of Race and Immigration

The data analyzed here was gathered through participant observation at regular Sunday services and an interview with the pastor and nine other members of RPM in a focus group setting. Using the toilet paper incident as a starting point, we discussed the issue of engagement with La Iglesia de Restauracion on a Wednesday evening after a bible study meeting. Additional data has been gathered from one-on-one interviews with five individuals, three men and two women, conducted approximately one month after the focus group. Clearly any further study of this issue would benefit from research among the congregants of La Iglesia de Restauracion as well.

When asked to describe how they felt about toilet paper being discarded in the trash receptacle in the shared bathroom, the members of the focus group began with a discussion of life in Uganda. A male respondent began by stating that, in Uganda, nobody would think of disposing of human waste in this way. He explained that, "back home there are two kinds of toilets, modern Western toilets, and latrines, but with each of them we keep them clean." A latrine was described as a hole dug into the ground over which some sort of makeshift toilet is placed. One woman remarked that "children from the age of four know how to use a latrine, and everything goes into the hole." Another woman commented that any child over the age of four knows that they would be severely reprimanded for making a mess in the bathroom or latrine. They explained that, of the 65 tribes in Uganda, all are conscious of the need to keep bathroom practices out of sight. One "tribe" was singled out as being dirtier than others because they commonly sneeze into their hands and then wipe their hands on their clothing. All the respondents agreed that they would not eat at the home of any person from this group, and characterized the people as "living in the past." Indeed, there seemed to

be an emphasis throughout the conversation on the concept of modernity, with respondents quick to affirm the modern infrastructure of cities in Uganda. When I explained that discarding toilet paper outside of the toilet and then burning it later was a common tactic throughout Latin America to avoid clogging often outdated and inefficient plumbing systems, the respondents laughed. One woman stated "Kevin, the toilet works in this building! America is a modern place. Poo-poo belongs in the toilet. I don't want to see what you do in there." Another male added this:

> Right now it's the modern world. You're supposed to change I'm telling you. I grew up in the village with a latrine, but I would never behave this way. I promise you, God wants us to be clean, to have all of the modern things of this country.

The general theme of modernity is reflected in the five additional interviews as well, with respondents indicating the need to adjust to life in the United States. One woman cited the need for prayer in mediating life in Los Angeles:

> I pray every day that I will have a better house, a better job, and that my children will grow up with all of the modern things their classmates have. I want them to know they are Ugandan, but they don't have to go without all of the nice things this country offers as I did. Using the toilet properly is a basic thing. I want much more than that for them. God will make it happen. I know this. When I see the nice cars that their classmates' parents drive I know God will get me there if I continue to pray and tithe.

A male respondent had this to say on the subject of toilet paper:

> Yes that is a shame that they (the Salvadorians) don't know how to use a modern toilet. We come from a country that struggles. We are not used to all of the technology in the US when we arrive, but God helps us to understand and acquire these things. Do you know in Uganda the national mode of transportation is a motorbike? Uganda needs prayer in the same way that they (the neighboring church) do. With God's help everybody can experience breakthrough.

From these two excerpts it is possible to grasp the overarching theme from the interviews: equating God's favor with modernity. The last two participants cited here have each expressed a desire to acquire or understand the accoutrements of modernity as they perceive

them in Los Angeles. Significantly, all five of my additional respondents cited prayer as the primary strategy in the acquisition of modernity or "breakthrough."

On Being an Immigrant in Los Angeles

The general theme was positive when I asked my participants about how they feel they are viewed as immigrants in Los Angeles. Although some did feel as if they had been singled out by customs agents upon arrival because of the poor reputation of Ugandan politics, and others were concerned about their presentation to the world in the now infamous Kony video, the respondents all agreed that being African was advantageous for living in Los Angeles. One gentleman told a story of being pulled over by the police:

> I was pulled over for going too fast. The police man asked me if I had drugs in the car. I said 'What? I don't smoke sir, so why would I have drugs in the car.' He smiled at me and asked me where I was from. When I told him Uganda he asked me how I liked living here. I told him 'I like it well sir.' He told me not to drive so fast and I didn't get a ticket. I have a friend who changes his accent. He tries to sound like an American black person. He has had three tickets since he got here (laughing).

Other respondents shared similar stories:

> I go to the shops with friends. All of us are African. Sometimes they look at us wrong when we go in together. One time a security guard followed us for some time. I became very angry. I asked him "Hey! Why are you following us? Have we done something wrong? He said he was doing his job. I told him that many of us work as security guards when we first arrive and so I know the job. The shop owner came out and apologized to us. He asked us if we were African and then told us about his trip to Kenya. This happens sometimes. Before they know we are African they are more suspicious.

One woman claimed that white people in Los Angeles often ask her where she is from when she wears traditional African clothing, and when she tells them they invariably want to know about life in Uganda. Although they may assume that "Africa is only the bush; that we don't have cities, I always tell them about Kampala, about how modern we also live." The

implication from these three respondents' narratives is clear: being African is not only a safer proposition than being African-American in Los Angeles, but it has social advantages as well. However, it is important to note that in my five individual interviews themes of marginalization due to African-ness came through as well, such as this response from an elder female of the church:

> They always relate to us with Idi Amin, and think we are very poor. I am not a poor woman and I have never been one. It bothers me that they think we stay or live in jungles. I grew up with servants. My father had a car and we knew how to read from an early age. When I came here it was not with the intention of being somebody's nanny. Now my daughters have all gone to university here and will have good jobs. But people don't see this. They think all immigrants are poor. Jesus knows me though. He knows who I really am.

Perceptions of La Iglesia de Restauracion

The respondents varied in their opinions of the congregants from La Iglesia de Restauracion (apart from their bathroom habits). As expressed earlier in the interview, some felt that they represented a kind of "backwardness" and were thus poor representatives of Christianity. As one woman stated:

> They are God's people, God's creation, and because of this I love them. I'm sure they are good people the Mexicans who come here. But I don't understand why they don't learn English. If you live in America you must learn English. This shows that you are entering the modern world of America. Because of this I don't really know them. I work with some Mexican women, and they are nice, but they speak English. In our services we sometimes speak Luganda. And it's good to keep the language alive for your children. Also it reminds you of home. But if you want to experience the breakthrough that God wants for you, the pastor says that you should work hard and go to school. How can you go to school if you don't speak the language? How can you be successful and have nice things?

When I explained that, from my very brief interaction with some of the congregants of La Iglesia de Restauracion, I had surmised that most of them were from El Salvador and not Mexico another man had this to say:

> You see Alice [woman cited directly above], it's just like they do with us. Everybody [here in Los Angeles] thinks Africa is just one place, one country. These people are not from Mexico. Are you from Nigeria? Are you from the country of Africa? We have to do better than that. We are Christian and they are Christian. We should try to know them.

At this point the group decided that we should all pray for the members of La Iglesia de Restauracion so that God will give them the breakthrough that they deserve. Instead of continuing with the line of reasoning put forth by the male respondent, the interview was halted for a period of about five minutes while the group engaged in spontaneous prayer for the Salvadorian congregation. Themes of financial and linguistic improvement were peppered throughout the prayer:

> Please God. Give these people the strength to learn English. Jesus…help them to find the time and the resources to go to school and to learn English so that they may have the breakthrough that they deserve…Lord give them the opportunity to make the most of your teaching so that they may be pulled out of poverty…We ask this in Jesus' mighty name.

Although none of my five respondents had ever spoken to a member of La Iglesia de Restauracion, four of them assumed that the Salvadorians had refused to learn English and mentioned that it was God's will for struggling immigrants to attend school.. One young man had this to say:

> It is important to go to school. God wants us to be the best we can be. I don't think you can be successful in this country in school or anywhere if you don't learn English. In this way we are fortunate that English is spoken in Uganda, but we also work very hard in school. Nothing is easy for us, but through prayer and tithing God will give all of us financial breakthrough. But God also wants us to work hard.

On Pentecostalism and Immigrant Identity

In the five individual interviews I asked about the specific role of Pentecostal belief and practice in mediating how individuals are perceived by the dominant culture in Los Angeles. Each response to this question included some type of subjective interpretation without specifically referencing any interaction or response with members of the public. The following are samples from those responses:

> Being a Christian allows me to walk proudly in this city. I know that I am setting a good example for Christians and for Africans in the United States because my actions are guided by God. I don't drink or smoke, and I behave properly with women.
>
> As a woman and a Christian I dress appropriately. I act appropriately. I know that I am representing not only my church, but Jesus also. I don't do anything to make Jesus look bad.
>
> If people see me driving a nice car, wearing nice clothes, and working a good job, and they also see me praying then I am doing my job. I want to show everyone that my love of Jesus is the reason I have these things. All the glory goes to God.

While I did not uncover any evidence for how Pentecostal affiliation helps shape the dominant culture's perceptions of RPM members, it is significant that my respondents believe this to be the case. However, what has been demonstrated are the ways in which the members of RPM frame their identities as immigrants and Christians in relation to the members of La Iglesia de Restauracion and to African-Americans.

The emphasis on modernity surfaced throughout the conversation. There are some interesting connections to be made between existing immigrant and racial hierarchies in the U.S. and the way that the participants from RPM chose to frame the members of La Iglesia de Restauracion. If we take the proximal host of "Mexican," which more than one respondent applied to their Salvadorian neighbors, it becomes apparent that pre-existing stereotypes from the social imaginary in Los Angeles have been adopted by Ugandans. The

stereotype that "all Mexicans," by default, refuse to learn English reappeared throughout the interview, as did assumptions of poverty and a lack of cleanliness. That these conditions were equated with the absence of "modernity" represents the discursive control of national debates concerning immigration (Glick-Schiller 1995). Many immigrant groups are portrayed as single-handedly winding back the clock in cities across the country with their "exotic" food practices, "primitive" religions, and in this case, their "backward" bathroom habits. It is clear that my participants at RPM are influenced by these immigrant tropes and take part in the racialization of the Salvadorian church members. Equally clear is the desire on the part of my participants to disassociate themselves from the members of La Iglesia de Restauracion. I argue that my participants see the Pentecostal concept of "breakthrough" as the homogenizing magic (Jacobson 1998:204) required for upward socioeconomic mobility. Class mobility for the racialized immigrant is difficult, but when framed in terms of Pentecostal theology it becomes possible to imagine and even a tangible reality. Financially successful members of RPM are held in high esteem, and much is made in casual conversation of the affluent neighborhoods of Pastor Kayongo and others who occasionally open their homes to members for parties and prayer meetings. These members of RPM represent success stories of de-racialization achieved through prayer and tithing.

Another contributing factor to Ugandan perceptions of their neighbors' place in modernity can be found in the particular type of Pentecostal worship at RPM, which is of the "prosperity gospel" variety. The prosperity gospel, as has been discussed, equates financial "breakthrough," good health, fecundity, and other accoutrements of success (modernity) with virtue and godliness, and is a constant theme in Pastor Kayongo's sermons. Embedded in this is the notion that poverty, poor health, unemployment, and sterility represent a failing on

the part of the individual to properly live up to the requirements of Christianity. This point is expressed each Sunday with constant requests for money to be "given to God" (one must give generously to receive God's favor in a gospel of prosperity), which seems to have contributed in no small way to their conceptualizations of the individuals attending the Central American church. The respondents from RPM by and large have assumed that the members of La Iglesia de Restauracion are poor, yet they have done little to engage with their neighbors. This assumption has discursive implications in that it frames the Salvadorian congregation (according to prosperity gospel logic) as "not right with God" and simultaneously presents members of RPM in a more favorable light to the dominant culture in Los Angeles. Before elaborating, however, some background information will help set the stage for my position.

The influence of national and civic debates concerning immigration is important when considering RPM members' lack of engagement with La Iglesia de Restauracion. While immigrants throughout the world are often viewed as pariahs, even becoming semantically allied with a phantom workforce of zombies (Comaroff and Comaroff 2002), current political discourse in the United States revolves around one group in particular: immigrants from Latin America (Wellmeier 1998, Menjivar 1999, Levitt 2001, Hagan and Ebaugh 2003). Based on these interviews, I argue that the members of RPM are aware of this and adopt a faith-based strategy to avoid the type of marginalization that has become commonplace for their neighbors.

Improving immigration status through prayer and tithing is another common theme in pastor Kayongo's weekly sermons. Testimonies from the members of RPM concerning even marginal changes in their immigration status constitute a large portion of the stories I have

documented over the last twelve months. I suggest that the politics of domination and exclusion found in modern political discourse concerning immigration are central to understanding the lack of engagement between these two religiously similar groups. One would expect that the central place that Christianity (with its message of reaching out to the most marginalized) occupies in the lives of the members of RPM would take precedence over strategies of social mobility and immigration status, but this is not the case.

Respondents at RPM describe immigration from Uganda to the United States as extremely difficult. Corrupt officials, a corrupt visa lottery, and the need to spend a great deal of money to ensure that all goes smoothly are recurring themes. Additionally, the distance between Uganda and Los Angeles makes travel between the two countries a major financial commitment. For all of these reasons, immigration status is constantly on the minds of individuals at RPM. The gospel of prosperity is one way that the folks at RPM deliberately separate themselves from their much maligned neighbors while also gaining discursive control over how they are perceived as immigrants in Los Angeles. Both the lack of engagement and the assumptions of poverty concerning the Salvadorian church reflect the need to craft an image of the Salvadorians that is in line with the current political discourse concerning immigration from Latin America. The Pentecostal doctrine of the prosperity gospel reframes this discourse and makes its logic infallible. The gospel of prosperity also allows the members of RPM to reify their own favorable position (expressed throughout the interview), exemplifying all that the Salvadorians are not: clean, English speaking, well deserved recipients of the modernity available in the U.S. This reproduction of stereotypes drawn from the white imaginary as a strategy for bolstering one's own status as a "model minority" has a precedent with the research in Palumbo-Liu's (1999) work cited earlier. In

this case, the religious justification adds a new dimension to understanding strategies of social mobility for immigrant groups on the peripheries of society.

Proximal Host Status and the Reproduction of Ethnicity

In order to consider the ways that members of RPM successfully mediate the difficulties tied to their proximal host status as African-Americans, it is necessary to first discuss some of the ways in which Africa, through the influence of the colonial project, has been represented to the West. Earlier I mentioned the Joseph Kony video, which reproduced the colonial trope of Africans as "savage" and "inhuman" to people across the United States. The congregants at RPM were quite concerned when this video went viral and held a community-wide prayer meeting of Ugandans in Los Angeles at RPM. There they discussed methods of countering this negative image of their country of origin, and themselves by association. However, the video reproduced another colonial trope in the process of tracking the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which, although not mentioned by the members of RPM, has some bearing on the way that they have been able to successfully divert attention away from the color of their skin in Los Angeles. The flipside of Kony's savagery portrayed in the video is a discourse of infantilization of Ugandans. The recurring theme throughout the video is that Africans are unable to protect themselves without the salvific influence of the West. The constant call for Western intervention to put a stop to the atrocities of the LRA successfully reproduces the colonial trope of Africans as innocent and helpless children in need of the modernizing, paternal efforts of the (neo)colonial project. By accepting the exoticization of their national identity in encounters with the police and other members of the public, the members of RPM may be capitalizing on this alternate trope of innocence and helplessness. Clearly it is possible to see the benefit in being African rather than African-

American in the young male's story of being followed in a department store. Beyond the immediate pragmatic benefits of avoiding the type of scrutiny that African-Americans experience in Los Angeles, this strategy has an additional benefit in that it constructs an altogether new and different (slightly de-racialized) version of "the immigrant" in Los Angeles and that it serves to, once again, craft an image of Ugandans as model citizens.

The ethnic affiliation with Africa is obviously connected [central?] to this idea of the newly constructed immigrant. If the members of RPM have a vested interest in reproducing their African ethnicity for their benefit in Los Angeles, then it is important to understand the ways in which ethnicity is reproduced through Pentecostalism. Current social scientific perspectives readily accept that religion and ethnicity are often interlinked (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:401), though this has not always been the case. In the 1970s the academic disciplines of ethnic and religious studies had very little engagement with each other (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:401), perhaps due to the theoretical paradigm concerning immigration that presupposed assimilation as the end result. This was challenged by Timothy Smith (1978) who argued for the primacy of religious affiliation in immigrant ethnic identity construction. Smith (1978) also contended that the experience of migration strengthened the religious element of ethnic identity. Other scholars have built upon this notion. Hammond and Warner (1993) identified the following three key typological aspects of the interconnectivity of religion and ethnicity:

> when religion is the foundation of ethnicity, such as in the case of Amish or Jews…[when] ethnic religion constitutes one of several foundations of ethnicity, as exemplified by the Greek and Russian Orthodox and by the Dutch Reformed Churches…[and when] religious ethnicity refers to cases where an ethnic group is linked to a religious tradition shared by other ethnic groups, such as Irish, Italian, and Mexican Catholics. [Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:401]

Contemporary scholarship tends to accept the *a priori* value of immigrant churches as sites of ethnic production and reproduction, as illustrated by numerous ethnographic accounts (Brodwin 2003; Ehrkamp 2005; Feher 1998; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Hepner 1998; Levitt 2001; McAlister 1998; 2001Wellmeier 1998). McAlister (1998) argues that Haitians in New York are able to resist the proximal host status they have been assigned through their ethno-religious identification and practice. Similarly, I argue that the members of RPM engage in the reproduction of ethnicity through Pentecostal belief and practice to contest their proximal host status of African-American and the marginalization that results from being black in Los Angeles. I contend that RPM is the central location where this occurs.

The pragmatic social benefits of immigrant religious association are well represented in the literature (see Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:385; Haddad and Lummis 1987; Kwon et al. 1997; Rutledge 1985; Warner and Wittner 1998; Williams 1988). Receiving location religious spaces are often seen as "safe" spaces in which sending location traditions and ethnic identity may be reproduced and taught to children (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:385). RPM members reproduce Ugandan ethnicity by bringing physical and spiritual aspects of Ugandan religious practice into the physical space of RPM. By incorporating aspects of Ugandan culture into the church experience, including music, language, foodways, gender norms, and traditional notions of African spirituality such as divination and witchcraft, ethnicity is reproduced each Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday at RPM.

It is common to see some form of instrumentalist discourse being employed in theoretical approaches to African Pentecostalism. One unfortunate result of this tendency is that Pentecostal belief and practice in Africa is rarely thought of as an African cultural form. Scholars debate the global or local nature of the religion in Africa, often at the expense of

African Pentecostal heuristics. Roberts (1985) introduced a conceptual alternative to arguments about local and global with the approach known as "glocalization." Glocalization is borrowed from the Japanese *dochakuka*, a micromarkerting strategy for adapting a global outlook to local conditions (Kalu 2008:190). Applied to African Pentecostalism, glocalization explores the "interior dynamics and processes of culture contacts in [the] context…of asymmetrical power relations" (Kalu 2008:190). Rather than focusing on the globalized nature of the religion and pursuing a theoretical path of increased homogeneity and sameness, glocalization explores Pentecostalism as a global, transnational cultural form "set on wheels, domesticated,…[and] refracted through local cultural lenses" (Kalu 2008:190). It emphasizes the agency of Africans and the creativity of local responses to global Pentecostalism rather than portraying Africa as a blank slate onto which colonial or neo-colonial culture bearers are free to write their scripts with abandon (Kalu 2008:190). This is the position I take with regard to Pentecostalism as it is practiced at RPM: local agency and creativity matter. Religions are not multinational corporations, no matter how similar their tactics may be. Africans consciously embrace Pentecostal theology, and would not do so unless it directly addressed and met local spiritual needs. It is important not only to remember Marx's view of religion as an opiate in this case, but also his contention that it represents the heartbeat of a heartless society (Kalu 2008:191). Pentecostalism is, in a very real way, the heart of Africa. It is, to follow Kalu (2008:189), "colored by the texture of the African soil and derives idiom, nurture, and growth from its interior."

The Pentecostalism as practiced at RPM is textured by traditional African beliefs such as divination and witchcraft. As Meyer (1998) suggests, it is a way of simultaneously breaking with the past upon which you also depend. For many African Pentecostals breaking

with the past, traditional beliefs in divination and witchcraft represent that past and also the failure of the post-colonial African nation-state. Both are then recast through Pentecostal theology as agents of Satan. They are then re-envisioned and reenacted, having been sanitized in the blood of Christ. When Pastor Kayongo or visiting pastors and prophets address the congregation at RPM to exorcise demons, to combat witchcraft, or to interpret dreams or glossolalia, it represents a connection to Ugandan ethnicity not available in other churches in Los Angeles. RPM is a safe space for maintaining and reproducing Ugandan ethnicity.

The physical manifestations of tradition that are performed each week, including clothing, music, language and food practices, also reproduce Ugandan ethnicity. The role of women in this ethnic reproduction cannot be emphasized enough. In my fieldwork with this community I experienced special events such as Christmas Eve at the home of a participant, as well as Easter, the church anniversary, and a baby shower for the first lady, all of which took place at RPM. Each of these events included a feast of grand proportions, prepared and served by the women of the community. On Easter, my offer to help the women serve on the long buffet line earned me some dubious stares from men and women alike. One of the female elders later praised me for helping and suggested that I was setting a good example for the men of RPM as she had never observed a man helping in that way. However, as I was serving the food I could not escape the feeling that I had crossed a line: that I had been reduced to the trope of the ethnographer as a foolish child, who was tolerated but who would never *really* understand. I had intruded on a very particular way of reproducing ethnicity. The women who cooked and served were not only reproducing ethnicity through the food, but also by "doing gender," and thereby recreating normative gender expectations. Although

he seemed as uncomfortable as the other men at the time, I later received praise from the pastor in an email for joining in to help the women in this way. The tension that was palpable as I helped serve the food reflects the tension between tradition and modernity that is heightened in the transnational location. Just as when the Imam invoked Allah from the pulpit, something "new" was happening at this church in Los Angeles. Although women expressed a need to "do gender" in the traditional manner, they were also pleased when I helped out and began flexing traditional gender norms in the transnational setting. RPM is clearly the physical and social "safe" space where this tension can be addressed and worked through.

Similarly, ethnicity is reproduced at RPM with traditional attire, traditional ululations during praise and worship, and the distinctly Ugandan music and song often performed in Luganda. Ethnicity, which helps mediate the participants' experiences as they contest their proximal host status and navigate the shifting landscapes of immigrant hierarchies in Los Angeles, is reproduced through affiliation with RPM. The church and the homes of members hosting events become not just sites of reproduction, but also sites of dissemination through the ongoing efforts to increase membership. All are welcome at RPM, even students of anthropology, and subsequently ties between religion and ethnicity are presented to the outside world and disseminated.

The Ugandan migrants of RPM have developed effective strategies for removing themselves from the national and civic discourse surrounding immigrants while also sidestepping some of the politics of domination associated with race in the U.S. These strategies have incorporated religious doctrine and popular media representations of Africans rooted in time honored colonial tropes. These strategies have contributed not only to the lack

of engagement between RPM and La Iglesia de Restauracion, but also to the members' vested interest in that lack of engagement. It has not been my intention to portray the members of RPM as calculating saboteurs of their Salvadorian neighbors. Rather, they are increasingly savvy inhabitants of the transnational landscape of Los Angeles, whose social and religious lives include strategies for upward mobility. I believe that their intentions are driven not by ill will but by self-preservation and continuous re-interpretation of the symbolic terrains of tradition and modernity. As stated in the introduction, ethnicity is not some static entity to be conjured up with particular cultural forms. It is not simply the clothing or the music that "makes" Ugandan ethnicity at RPM. Instead, ethnicity is a discourse, requiring a constant reimagining of past and present. For my participants, ethnicity is reproduced not only through music, clothing, and food practices, but also through processes such as the renegotiation of gender roles. In the transnational context RPM is the physical and social space where the discourse of ethnicity is "continually reinterpreted and reconstructed as 'regulated improvisations' subject to their continued intelligibility and legitimacy" (Spear 2003:26). As women push the boundaries regarding Ugandan gender roles in the home, the workplace, and the church they are participating in the evolution of Ugandan ethnicity for the community. The women of RPM simply have more of a need to push against traditional Ugandan gender norms in Los Angeles than do their male counterparts. This is work. It is the imaginative, interpretive, and improvisational work that redefines the intelligibility and legitimacy of Ugandan ethnicity in Los Angeles. Because women have a greater stake in all of this I will now discuss some of the key ways in which they do the symbolic work required of settlement in Los Angeles as seen through their commitment to Pentecostal teaching at RPM.

Women as Makers and Breakers of Tradition and Modernity

Women represent the majority of members at RPM but their influence goes beyond their numbers. They are the facilitators of nearly every church event, the most active participants in receiving the gifts of the Spirit, and key players in the reproduction and reimagining of ethnicity and tradition. Women are also the greatest proponents of RPM, promoting the pastor and his ability as a healer at jobs, bus stops, and to an ever increasing flow of Ugandans to Los Angeles. In considering how this community imagines and actualizes modernity, it is crucial to have some understanding of these experiences from the point of view of its most active members. In this next section I examine women's experiences with Pentecostalism at RPM and what this means in terms of their own marginalization as both immigrants and women. I begin by discussing women's roles in the practice of giving testimony at Sunday services, which is fundamental to imagining tradition and modernity in Los Angeles. Next, I discuss the role of the Holy Spirit in the lives of women and make the case that domestication of the past and the movement towards modernity in the new setting are achieved largely through facilitation of this relationship. Finally, I examine women's roles as "makers and breakers" (De Boeck and Honwana 2005) of tradition and modernity in the transnational setting through an analysis of their experiences of health and healing, increased economic empowerment, and resisting abusive relationships. As we have seen, women are key agents in imagining the past to emplace themselves and the community within a vision of Western modernity: hence the borrowed phrase "makers and breakers." Here I discuss specific ways in which women interpret Pentecostalism in the new setting and explore the extent to which they appear to alter the religion for the entire community as well as for themselves in the process.

Women's Experiences with Giving Testimony

Through the course of my interviews all of the women characterized the role of giving testimony as a way of letting God know that you are thankful for all that He has done. Testimonies at RPM are "offered up to God" after the praise and worship portion of the service, just before the official sermon begins. Folklorist Elaine Lawless (1983:435) has analyzed women's speech in church during Pentecostal services and concluded that "women sing, women pray, women testify, women even preach. However for all this activity, women manipulate the creative force of their verbal art only in the performances of their testimonies." Lawless (1983), although skeptical of the liberatory potential of Pentecostalism for women, does acknowledge that women can often "take over" a service through the creative use of testimony. At RPM there are women to whom the pastor is reluctant to hand the microphone because of their tendency to take over the service with their testimony. One such woman is Mama Sarah, a 65 year old Ugandan immigrant who has lived in the United States for the last 11 years. Mama Sarah's testimonies can last anywhere from ten to 20 minutes if she is not mildly admonished by the pastor to keep it short, and she often excites the members of the church in the same way as the pastor's sermons. This woman is something of a matriarch at RPM, and her experience of claiming a voice within the genre of testimony is but one of many.

The following testimony from my field notes provides a glimpse into one woman's experience doing the work of the imagination in the transnational setting. In it she refers to the practice at RPM of making lists to be prayed over by the pastor on New Year's Eve:

> Many of you know I was in Uganda recently. In the church in Uganda they don't make lists to pray over. I did it anyway because last year pastor told us to make a list

> and when he prayed over my list so many things came to pass. Our pastor is really special isn't he? I remembered his words and so I brought my list to the church in Uganda even though their pastor doesn't do this. I kept it in my pocket and I prayed over it all night until the new year came. Do you know, five days later all of my siblings received their visas. They are all coming here. Praise Jesus!

This woman's testimony demonstrates one way in which Pentecostal practice has been altered in the transnational setting: specifically, the practice of praying over a list of hopes for the New Year. The story that was told about this event, whether by this woman, by her siblings, or by friends in the Ugandan church represents a particular global flow, an ethnoscape (Appadurai 1995:33) with the power to influence ritual practice in both Los Angeles and Uganda. By demonstrating that transnational religious practices can be returned to Uganda as social remittances, Mama Sarah is taking an active role in defining what it means to be a Ugandan transnational Pentecostal in both locations. In the context of Los Angeles this testimony acts to bolster the reputation of the small transnational church, which knows things that larger churches in Uganda still have not figured out. A dichotomy emerges as to the efficacy of Pentecostal ritual practice in the two settings, with implications for the modernity of practice at RPM. Finally, this story reveals a concrete way that Pentecostal practice at RPM works in the lives of women. As a result of "doing" transnational Pentecostalism, Mama Sarah experienced empowerment through the legitimization of the power of prayer in her life and well-being from the knowledge that her family would soon be reunited. This testimony, and hundreds more like it, are evidence that women at RPM are involved in the work of the imagination that gives meaning to both homeland and the transnational setting.

The Holy Spirit

When asked about the role of the Holy Spirit in their lives in a general sense, each of my ten respondents became animated and seemed pleased to discuss the topic. Some of what they had to say about the nature of the Spirit can be synthesized into the following ideas: the Holy Spirit is God or the person of God; the Holy Spirit is the soft voice in the back of your head to whom you may or may not listen; the Holy Spirit is God but also an instrument of God that he uses to communicate with us, to heal us, and to save us; the Holy Spirit is a gift. In one incredibly touching statement, a female respondent characterized the Spirit as "the mother of all of us." The prevailing theme was that the Spirit operates in every aspect of their lives at all times. However, that each woman recognized the voluntary nature of her relationship with the Holy Spirit, indicating that she makes an informed decision whether or not to accept the positive influence of the Spirit in her life.

Experiences of being "filled with the Spirit," including speaking in tongues, healing and being healed, and receiving prophetic voice, were described as powerful, life sustaining, and invigorating. One woman stated that speaking in tongues feels like "being one with God," while another claimed that "it is the reason I know I am worthy in God's eyes." Other women were adamant that "the Spirit is God…it is God Personified…it is the way God speaks to us and through us…to speak through God is a powerful thing." Without exception the women interviewed expressed that it was a great physical and spiritual joy to be filled with the Spirit. When asked if it made them more confident each woman confirmed that it did. One woman gave this answer:

> One day I knew I had to speak to my boss about the way he was treating me. The Sunday before I went to work I was filled with the Spirit several times. I received the

> gift of tongues many times that day. I left church feeling good. I was no longer scared to talk to my boss. The next day I did, and I made sure that he heard me. Things got better for me. This is the power of prayer, the power of the Spirit in my life.

This example of the perceived power of the Holy Spirit extending into the secular arena was something that came up often in my interviews and in casual conversation; indeed, I witnessed it firsthand in a profound way one afternoon during an anointing ceremony.

Anointing the forehead with oil is a fairly common rite in many Pentecostal churches. Anointing may be done to mark the installation of elders or deacons, ordination, or as is often the case at RPM, for healing and/or prophecy. Although healing sometimes takes place, at RPM, anointing ceremonies are marked by an expectation that Pastor Kayongo (and sometimes others) will receive prophetic voice. I have been present for a total of five anointing ceremonies at RPM, and each time the pastor claimed to be receiving direct messages through the Spirit concerning each member of the congregation present. Anointing at RPM takes place on particular Sundays and Fridays, as well as on holidays such as New Year's Eve, but may also occur without notice if the pastor is moved to do so by the Spirit. When an anointing ceremony has been announced in advance it appears to be a major factor in drawing attendees to church. One Sunday in October, 2012, I participated in a spontaneous anointing ceremony that took place at the close of the service. I observed what was later described to me as the Spirit working to heal a woman of an affliction. The following account (in italics) is taken directly from my field notes, written down during event:

> *The pastor called us all up for the anointing ceremony (this was not in the bulletin). About 20 of us stood lined up around the pulpit waiting our turn for the pastor to give us a direct message from God concerning our lives. This is the first time I have*

joined the others for an anointing. I was anxious about what message the pastor would receive about me. I watched quietly as he approached 15 people before me with Siima holding the oil and speaking in tongues behind him. The pastor placed his right hand on the forehead of each person and closed his eyes before speaking the message…Before me he called two young women together, and told them the discomfort they were experiencing before their periods was not normal, that it was the work of a demon. He began speaking in tongues as he anointed each of them. One fell down afterward, was caught by Mr. Jones, and then had her legs covered by Mama Mary with a shiny blue modesty cloth. The other did not fall out but walked away with a smile on her face…After anointing me and speaking my message from God the pastor moved on to the woman standing next to me. I don't know her. I only know from her introduction today at the start of the service that she has recently arrived from Uganda. She looks to be in her late 20s or early 30s. As the pastor walked up she was already crying. He placed his hand on her head for about three or four minutes before speaking. He then said "I am getting a message from God. He says that the things your aunts did to you, the things they did to your body and what they let happen to your body and your heart…these are things they did out of jealousy. This was a demon who came to afflict you. A demon that your aunts allowed in to torment you. We will release the demon today." Once the pastor began speaking about a demon and alluding to what was done to her body, several women gathered around her and began pounding their fists into their palms. Siima has handed the oil to a male usher and is speaking in tongues very loudly while pounding her fists. The women all seem to be watching her as they also pray and pound their fists into their palms. At this point the pastor yelled very loudly and pushed the woman's head back. Mr. Jones was standing behind her. Suddenly and violently she began to lose control, flailing backward as Mr. Jones follows skillfully. Even though he is accustomed to caring for those who receive the Spirit in this way he cannot stop her from knocking over chairs as she makes her way to the rear of the church. She almost steps on a small child playing near the back of the church but someone picks him up just in time. She is crying uncontrollably and the pastor is still praying and attempting to keep his hand on her forehead. Siima and the women have followed them all the way to the rear of the church where the woman finally falls to the floor. The pastor removes his sportscoat to cover her himself and then returns to the pulpit where about four more people await anointing. Siima and four other women are furiously praying in a circle around her as they continue to pound their fists into their palms. I don't pay attention to the remaining anointings as I am transfixed by this scene. The woman remained unconscious for about ten minutes, and then got up and walked with Siima and the other women to the front of the church to sit down. She had a smile on her face as she walked by. Though I don't know for sure, I strongly suspect that the young woman has suffered some form of sexual abuse. I am crying as I write this. It seems like the women rallied around her and protected her, all the while pounding out the demons of sexual abuse.

I include this powerful scene from my field notes as one example of healing through the spirit to preface the discussion of women's experiences of health and healing. When I asked

Siima later about the pounding fists she informed me that it is a way of releasing the fire of Holy Spirit; that the pounding created the spark, which allowed the pastor to receive the prophetic voice required to properly identify the ailment in the young woman. Although I did not speak to the young woman described above in the collection of data to be discussed, I did interview her briefly a few weeks after the incident. She did not disclose the nature of her predicament except to say that she had been the victim of a witchcraft spell which had originated in Uganda. However, she did inform me that she had been victimized by a demon unleashed through witchcraft for a number of years, and that the experience during the anointing ceremony had released her. Her symptoms had included nightmares, depression, and an inability to receive the gifts of the spirit. She now claims to be rid of the symptoms and gives all the credit for her spiritual release to the Holy Spirit and to the pastor's abilities as a harnesser of the Spirit's healing power. Since that day I have observed her speaking in tongues, and she recently gave testimony that she has found a job after only a few months in the country. She continues to give all the credit to the power of the Holy Spirit in her life.

Embedded within this vignette is a powerful testimony concerning Pentecostalism and its negotiation of tradition and modernity in the transnational setting. This woman from RPM and her deliverance from the "demons" unleashed in Uganda represent an ideal case study on how Pentecostalism acts as a mediator of modernity. Modernity for my participants is not so much a matter of building on the past as it is one of domesticating the past "so that mnemonics, remembrance and forgetting are turned into a politics of nostalgia" (van Dijk 2001:216). Just as the Ghanaian post-colonial state sought to regulate remembrance of African tradition with its "Go Back and Take it" campaign (Meyer 1998), Penteostal belief and practice at RPM regulates my participants' remembrance of homeland through the

politics of nostalgia. For the woman healed in the anointing ceremony, a painful, threatening, and altogether haunting past was not easily domesticated. If modernity demands taking control of the past, then these women's embrace of Pentecostalism "can be seen as creating the ritual practices and discourses that negotiate with 'tense pasts' within the context of modernity" (van Dijk 2001:217). This woman's commitment to a relationship with the Holy Spirit relegated what was clearly severe psychological and physical trauma to the past, domesticating the memory by reframing it within a Pentecostal dualistic worldview. The trauma (whether sexual, psychological, or otherwise) became another of Satan's losses in the perennial battle between good and evil. This woman has now begun to situate herself within the new modern social landscape of the transnational setting by finding steady employment, whereas before she was prevented from doing so by depression and chronic nightmares.

Health and Healing

When discussing healing at RPM, Pastor Kayongo explicitly frames it in a Penetcostal, dualistic worldview: "Sickness and disease is the work of the Devil." This easy dualism characterizes all of the women's responses to questions about RPM's role in health and healing, and yet the pragmatic, physical benefits of healing at RPM are not lost in this cosmological explanation of illness. None of the ten women interviewed have access to affordable health insurance and access to prayer services where healing is routinely conducted is thought of as a primary benefit of membership at RPM. Two of the ten women reported that they had been healed of serious illnesses through prayer (one woman disclosed that the illness was cancer and the other cited witchcraft, which she perceived as a terminal condition before being healed). Eight out of the ten women claimed to know another woman

who had been healed of a serious illness. Four of the ten said that their conversion was initially predicated on firsthand knowledge of a friend or family member's experience with healing through prayer. Finally, of the 182 testimonies recorded in my year of research at RPM, 97 of them included episodes of healing through prayer. Of those 97, 75 are women's testimonies. These results echo similar studies, such as that conducted by Andrew Chesnut with Brazilian Pentecostals (1997). Chesnut (1997:8) found that the lack of adequate access to Western bio-medicine influenced the decision of many women to seek help through prayer, concluding that Pentecostal conversion was a pragmatic choice made by his female informants to access the most available, effective, and affordable health care for themselves and their families. While this argument is compelling, I argue that ultimately it is limiting due to its assumption that women convert to Pentecostalism solely for the desirable social effects. Clearly the women at RPM would not frame their association with RPM in terms of access to health care. For these women the primary reason for their belief and practice at RPM is salvation. This is important to note, even as I identify other desirable social effects to Pentecostalism in this research.

Economic Empowerment

When asked about how RPM facilitates economic empowerment, Ssanya, a 35 year old female, answered this way:

> I remember one day I did not have a job but had a few dollars left on my account. A voice in my heart told me to offer all of it and the next day I was called for a greater job. This is the power of the Holy Spirit in my life. Nothing could convince me otherwise.

Indeed, all ten of my respondents cited the importance of offerings, tithes, and first-fruits as sacrifices proven to bring an even greater financial reward greater. Offerings are an arbitrary

amount given each week, tithes are ten percent of what the church member has earned that week, and first fruits, which are encouraged at the beginning of the year, are expected to be one's entire earnings for the week or even the month. All ten women had a personal experience narrative to share concerning the benefits of giving generously to God. Of my 182 recorded testimonies, 55 women shared stories of financial empowerment through giving to God, including having one's rent mysteriously paid, finding jobs, and in one case the overturning of a previous immigration decision in favor of the respondent, leading to the legal right to work in the United States..

Of the ten women interviewed, eight claim to tithe regularly. The remaining two admitted that tithing was an essential part of experiencing financial breakthrough but not always possible. As mentioned earlier Pentecostalism at RPM is of the Prosperity Gospel variety, which dictates that tithing is also an essential part of experiencing financial breakthrough. According to the women, resisting worldly pursuits such as alcohol, drugs, gambling, and non-marital sex is important, but this alone does not guarantee financial breakthrough. They believe that God recognizes and rewards maturity with financial success, and adhering to scripture that calls for sacrifice is a central part of becoming mature in Christ. Financial empowerment is highly valued by the women at RPM, and the consensus among my respondents is that successful women are Godly women, who have likely cultivated an advantageous relationship with the Holy Spirit.

Resisting Abusive Relationships

When I asked the women of RPM about how Pentecostal association might help in dealing with a partner who was abusive, either emotionally or physically, the responses took

an interesting turn back toward financial empowerment. I should note that as I expected, none of the women were willing to share personal narratives of abuse with me (nor do I have any recorded testimonies concerning domestic abuse), but they did have a bit to say concerning friends that had suffered abuse at the hands of men. The first thing each participant advised for a woman facing abuse was intensive prayer followed by sharing the abuse with the pastor. The consensus was that the pastor would both offer counsel to the couple and serve as a deterrent to further abuse. One 55 year old woman put it this way:

> This is something that should be dealt with on a case by case basis. At all times the woman should pray and seek assistance in prayer from her pastor. God will help her if she prays hard enough, however, she must listen to the voice of the Holy Spirit in her life because it is also possible that she will be advised by God to leave a dangerous situation.

Once again, listening to the voice of the Holy Spirit is an optional, but in this case essential, strategy of avoiding danger. Even biblical requirements to obey the husband can be superseded by the influence of the Holy Spirit, which makes the Spirit a tremendous ally to Pentecostal women facing abuse. What I find suspect, however, is an ideology that requires counsel from the pastor for both the abuser and the abused in the same context. While my limited and exploratory research here paints a rosy picture of female empowerment, it is important to note the voices countering this notion. Fraser, (2003) conducting research among middle to upper-middle class Australian Pentecostal white women, found rampant androcentrism, particularly concerning the covenant of marriage. Fraser (2003:146) reported that cases of abuse that went before pastors often worked in favor of men, endorsing their emotional immaturity and allowing oppressed and brutalized women to bear the responsibility for their own victimization. Fraser's study of white, middle class women is significant not only because the majority of scholarship on this issue has been with the

economically oppressed Pentecostals of the Majority World, but also as a reminder not to essentialize Pentecostal experience.

Nearly all of my respondents indicated that converting men to Pentecostalism can be employed as a strategy for both resisting abuse and facilitating economic empowerment. The consensus from my interviews was that men who are "washed in the blood of Christ" will be less likely to use violence as a means of gaining absolute control over women's lives. These men are also thought to be less vulnerable to becoming "de-toothed" by other women. De-toothing, metaphorically removing a man's teeth one at a time until he is left with nothing, is code in Uganda for the behavior of women who use the promise of a future sexual encounter to bargain with men for money or goods (Sadgrove 2007:122). One woman shared the following narrative concerning de-toothing:

> The man is the head of the house. God says it should be this way. But this doesn't mean that a man can do anything he wants to a woman. I have a friend back in Uganda whose husband is always out. He spends the money. He has girlfriends who spend the money too. My friend joined the church (a Pentecostal church) and he refused to go. For a long time he refused to go. One day when he had spent all the money he decided to go with her. After the service she took him to the pastor who prayed over him. You know, now they go to church together every week. The money stays at home now, or goes to God. But money comes in. They are doing well and will come to the United States soon. All the glory to God for washing away her husband's sin.

Another woman had this to say:

> Scripture tells us that men and women are created differently, that women are there to serve and help men become strong. But it does not say that men are better than women. A woman should be there to support her husband but God also wants her to find fulfillment… Men who pray and love Jesus, who are open to the Holy Spirit are less likely to commit adultery, or to squander money needed in the home. The pressure from the church community to treat women properly works in a woman's favor. Of course she is also held to a high moral standard. It works out better for everyone.

Here I examine Pentecostal conversion as Brusco (1993:148) described it: as a way of transforming existing gender inequalities to increase women's sense of well-being. My respondents overwhelmingly believe that Pentecostal conversion may be utilized as a strategy to eliminate abuse in the home and to exercise greater control over financial matters. Conversion of men represents a re-moralization of men, which my female respondents have indicated is the only absolutely certain method a woman may employ to resist abuse in her relationships. Thus RPM is seen as a safe space in the transnational setting, with a built in remedy for empowerment and avoiding danger. The women I spoke with believe wholeheartedly that they have a Christian duty to bring others into the church, and that fulfilling this requirement can improve their relationships with men, and indeed, their overall feelings of well being.

Women play an enormous role in every aspect of the functioning of RPM. Women are the driving force of RPM as an institution not only because they represent the majority of members attending each week, but also because of the multitude of roles they fill. Women clean the physical space; they organize special events and prepare and serve the meals; they pray over the physical space before Sunday services and care for the children's space and Sunday school activities; they organize and actively proselytize to bring new members into the fold; their stories make up the bulk of testimonies and, as singers, they preach and skillfully guide members to ecstatic states; and they are active agents working to change traditional attitudes about their own emplacement in the transnational setting. If, as I argue, the members of RPM flex Pentecostalism to emplace themselves within a particular vision of modernity (and thus life in Los Angeles), then women's role in this cannot be overstated.

The women of RPM are both promoting and taking control of Pentecostal belief and practice to craft RPM's vision of what it means to be modern in Christ. Significantly, the women of RPM are engaged in a type of dual emplacement within modernity. As African immigrants they must inscribe their modernity for the host of reasons previously discussed (in relation to the dominant culture, in relation to other immigrants, etc.), but as Ugandan women in the diaspora they face other internal challenges as well. In describing their traditional roles in Uganda, the women of RPM spoke of supporting their husbands (significantly whether he is wrong or right), raising and instilling traditional values in their children (teaching culture), and being respectful women in the community. Sometimes these expectations may clash with the realities of life in the new setting, as when children are dropped at day care centers so that women can work outside the home. This causes anxiety for many women who feel as if they are not fulfilling the fundamental role of teaching their children manners, language, how to do chores, and other aspects of Luganda culture. However, the church provides ways of ameliorating that anxiety by functioning as a safe space from which to begin making sense of tradition and modernity. For example, women run the Sunday school classes, which give them the opportunity to manage the spiritual instruction of children at RPM. This provides a time and space that is set aside for "doing" traditional gender, and there is never a shortage of volunteers. However, at other times women express a desire for men to "catch up" with changing gender roles in the new location, as they need help with children and housework after working all day. This point in particular receives consistent support from the pulpit when pastor Kayongo talks about helping his wife with the children, which the women are quite proud of. Women also [approvingly?] cited the fact that the First Lady of RPM had a college degree and a good job

as proof that roles are changing. They seem themselves as involved with a religion that accepts and promotes these changes. That anxiety exists or identity is problematized in the transnational location is unsurprising, but it is significant that RPM is where these women find solutions to that anxiety. Appadurai (1996:6-7 cited in Meyer 2010:117) notes that one of the most salient aspects of globalization is the "possibility for people to deploy alternative imaginaries that give rise to new kinds of public cultures." In this way, transnational religious and ethnic groups are mobilizing and making sense of their environments in ways that go beyond national identity. Women of RPM are imagining and crafting new identities with the help of Pentecostalism. Though proud to be Ugandan, they believe that the United States is where God wants them to be. In treating ethnicity as a discourse, they are able to culturally code switch; more importantly, they are able to use the physical and social space of RPM to forge new identities which, like themselves, are not fixed either spatially or temporally. They are becoming situated into the landscape of Los Angeles through the construction of these new imaginaries, which become infallible when complemented by the Pentecostal dualistic view of the world. Every experience, from the personal to the political, can be neatly placed into the dualistic cosmology of Pentecostalism. Women use the mutually constitutive nature of RPM's vision of good and evil to identify all manner of misfortune and to provide the necessary protection. All the while they are certain in their knowledge that belief and practice at RPM carries with it the possibilities of salvation and a new beginning.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Religion has always been a form of culture through which individuals and communities define themselves and carve out their place in society. Within the community of RPM religion is the testing ground upon which modernity is fashioned and acted out, both in relation to the lives that were left behind and the lives in the new setting. Religion is not a static entity, no matter how often or how forcefully some groups will claim it is. Instead, it evolves as it shapes and is shaped by the cultures with which it comes into contact. Pentecostalism at RPM it is a highly processed form of religion. Originally fashioned at a time of great social change in the United States, it reflected that change in remarkable ways such as increased opportunities for women and other marginalized minority groups to interact with one another and to experience the gifts of the Spirit equally. As it was exported around the world it was processed further, reflecting the changing cultural dynamics and political processes encountered along the way. Within modern global frameworks the structure of the religion has been described as ideally suited to helping people cope with the differential access to goods and resources and the failure of post-colonial states under the neo-liberal project that has accompanied globalization. I have argued that Pentecostalism in the transnational setting is malleable and that my participants have transformed it into a template of sorts, well suited for doing the collective work of imagining new identities within the competing logics of tradition and modernity that characterize their lives.

In the Ugandan context I discussed the rupture with the past that is expected in conversion, in which traditional African ways of experiencing the world are fit into a dualistic Pentecostal worldview of war between God and Satan. In this framework

"tradition" is recast as the work of Satan, and converts are expected to adopt the more "modern" Pentecostal view of the world. Conversion discourse, relying as it does on the constant need for deliverance, envisions a never-ending battle between God and Satan over the soul of the individual. Meyer (1998:340) points out that the past which a convert seeks to eliminate from her life is in fact necessary for imagining the "new self." Rather than the break with the past implying a simple exchange of the old self for a new and improved model, Pentecostal conversion actually mediates between the two, allowing a continual reimagining of the past reframed as the embodiment of Satan. Meyer (1998) argues that African Pentecostals may keep the past, albeit in a different form, as a means to achieving Pentecostal notions of progress. In this way:

> members are enabled to focus on the ambiguity of the modern, Pentecostalist notion of progress which opposes freedom to cultural roots and, at the same time, asserts the practical relevance of these roots – an ambiguity which also characterizes their own lives and which they experience with their own bodies. [Meyer 1998:340]

What I have been investigating at RPM, however, is the processing of the religion once it has been returned, through transnational migration, to the city of its birth. Specifically, I have been concerned with how my participants re-imagine Pentecostalism so as to help them adapt and adjust to the changing circumstances they encounter in Los Angeles. It is apparent that the break with the past as defined by Meyer (1998) and others is not set in stone.

Consider the effect of the transnational setting on my participants. While Pentecostals are expected to make a break with non-believers, traditionalists, and any other part of a "fallen world," what can we make of the Imam being permitted to praise Allah within the physical space of RPM? Is this evidence that the break with the past described in so much of the literature on African Pentecostalism becomes malleable in the transnational

setting? I would argue that it is. The discussion of contemporary Ugandan Pentecostals and their political efforts to criminalize homosexuality is another example of Pentecostal religion being flexed to accommodate the social landscape of Los Angeles. The message from Pastor Kayongo and other Ugandan transnational pastors (recall the visiting female pastor) of "love the sinner, hate the sin" is a sizeable departure from actively promoting policy calling for the death penalty for LGBT individuals. This research tracks the processing of Pentecostalism in the transnational setting through a case study of a particular group of Ugandans and their lived experiences with the religion. Given the speed of globalization and the increase in migration that must result, this case study contributes to a discussion of the future of Pentecostal Christianity and how it will be used by future migrants.

The members of RPM use this highly processed form of Pentecostalism in different ways to emplace themselves within a particular vision of modernity in order to more successfully adjust and adapt to the changing conditions of life in Los Angeles. First, they use the concept of modernity to separate themselves from the location they left behind. Throughout this research the past, synonymous with tradition and ethnicity, has been skillfully imagined to construct my participants' vision of modernity. Recall the car stuck in the mud in Uganda, and Jesus as the bulldozer that gets it out. This analogy was used by Pastor Kayongo to describe the healing through Jesus of one of his congregants, but it represents a recurring theme in discussions of homeland. Pastor Kayongo is also fond of describing modernity in terms of maturity in Christ. Recall the excerpt from his sermon when he questions why the number one mode of transport in Uganda is the motorbike, and his answer that the nation as a whole has not matured enough to accept the true teachings of Christ. Maturity is another theme that congregants then latch onto when framing modernity,

as the women in this research did when they equated successful women with women who have become mature in Christ. Homeland is treated as a much beloved child who has not yet fully matured, and by association my participants see their participation in migrating to the global north in relation to this child. Migration is not only for the lucky few. Through adherence to the prosperity gospel it also represents proof of one's maturity (modernity) in Christ.

The members of RPM utilize the Pentecostal discourse of modernity and tradition to imagine and reify the self in specific ways. Based on my research I concluded that the members of RPM have developed two clear strategies to contest the dual marginalization they experience as immigrants and as perceived African-Americans. In order to contest their proximal host status as African-American,the members of RPM work to reproduce and sustain their Ugandan ethnicity in the physical space of RPM, with clear connections to Pentecostalism. In other words, for the members of RPM, ethnicity and Pentecostalism are mutually constitutive aspects of identity. Here I have drawn upon Appadurai's (1996:33) work of the imagination as it pertains to transnational migrants, as my participants take their knowledge from the ever-shifting global landscapes and use these -scapes as building blocks. Appadurai (1996:33) extends upon Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities" to say that migrants use these building blocks in the construction of "imagined worlds," which are today so common that they are often employed to "contest and subvert the imagined worlds of the official mind" (Appadurai 1996:33). I suggest that members of RPM use the imagined world they have constructed to contest and subvert the official narrative concerning their place in society and modernity. The building blocks in this case include colonial and post-colonial tropes of infantilized (helpless) Africans and exotic wayfaring Africans "on

safari in the big city," both of which constitute an identity that the dominant culture can digest and appreciate and which differentiate them from African-Americans in the white imaginary. In this way the reproduction of ethnicity has much in common with Ranger's (1983) invention of tradition, at least in terms of the opportunism involved.

I argue that, as imigrants to Los Angeles, my participants carefully monitor contemporary political discourse and come to understand the politics of exclusion and racism that characterize that discourse. In reaction to this they have adopted a strategy of self-deracialization, which involves consistent adherence to the Prosperity Gospel and appraisal of their position from within that logic. This became evident in the conversations concerning the Salvadorian immigrants who practice Pentecostal Christianity downstairs from RPM, as my participants assumed negative immigrant tropes from the white imaginary about the Salvadorians. In contrast, narratives of cleanliness, linguistic competence, and upward socio-economic mobility through adherence to Pentecostal Doctrine were used to describe their own immigrant identities. Throughout the conversations and the prayer that ensued, a Prosperity Gospel logic was employed to make sense of the stark differences between the two groups, with modernity at one end and tradition (or even "primitive" when considering the toilet paper incident) on the other.

For this community of transnational migrants, sending and receiving locations are in a constant state of cultural flux and important life choices must be made in the migration process. Finding a steady point of reference is increasingly difficult (Appadurai 1996:44). For my participants RPM is that reference point; hence the intimate and heightened connection between religion and identity. Appadurai (1996:44) tells us that in this atmosphere of global cultural flux the production of ethnicity, kinship, and other markers of

identity become slippery endeavors: that "culture becomes less what Pierre Bourdieu would have called a habitus (a tacit realm of reproducible practices and dispositions), and more an arena for… representation…often to multiple and spatially dislocated audiences." I argue that RPM becomes a site of habitus for its members, where a stable and easily understood set of reproducible practices and dispositions are learned and internalized. It is where they go to navigate the slippery slope of identity construction in a de-territorialized, global, and transnational space like Los Angeles.

Women's Roles in Imagining RPM

I have attempted to illustrate that women play a crucial role in the work of imagining modernity both for themselves and the larger community. The simple act of testifying in church is a practice through which women define their role in the community as purveyors of modernity. Recall the woman who prayed over her wish list on New Year's Eve in Uganda. This woman took on the role of disseminating a uniquely transnational ritual practice to the sending country, drawing clear lines between the national and transnational by "doing maturity (modernity)." Then, by giving testimony back in the transnational setting, she reinforced the efficacy of the new "modern" form of Pentecostalism to her fellow transmigrants. She provided explicit and infallible proof that RPM's ritual practice was the updated version, not yet used in Uganda. Testimony is a powerful work of the imagination, and just this one testimony speaks volumes about the contribution of women in general. The fact that women testify in far greater numbers than men indicates that they are shouldering a larger portion of that workload.

The relationship that women seek to cultivate with the Holy Spirit is also directly related to their empowerment and feelings of well being. They are the recipients of both internal and external marginalization in the transnational setting and, as such, they have a greater stake in imagining modernity for the community and for themselves. To contest the marginalization they experience, with its intersections of race, class, gender, ethnicity, and immigration status, women utilize strategies of empowerment through their relationships with the Holy Spirit. In the arena of health and healing, women actively support each other both within and outside of the physical space of RPM. Recall the woman healed of a witchcraft spell in the anointing ceremony and the way that other women immediately came to the pastor's aid by pounding their fists to release the spark of the Holy Spirit. When a woman is ill, pregnant, or depressed, or even if she stops coming to church for a while, other women will visit her like a community of spiritual medics to pray and to keep her within the community of RPM. Although these women had largely vernacular understandings of feminism and denied being feminists, they nevertheless work to support and protect each other in ways that mirror feminist discursive models.

The women of RPM must combat the internal pressures rooted in traditional Ugandan gender norms. In doing so they have a hand in re-imagining tradition as well as the face of the religion in the new setting. Both men and women commented on the differences for women in Los Angeles as compared to "home," and always the conversation was about justifying the expansion of their roles outside of the home. The pastor is quick to praise the women in the community and to remind men that things are different here:

> Now when your wife is out working, don't come to me the next day and say pastor I had a dream about my wife doing this and that. I tell you God wants your wife to work! There may come a time when God has given you that breakthrough that allows

> her to stay home, amen? (response of amen). But until then you need to help her, to support her. God says that man is the ruler in the home, but that means we have a greater responsibility. Do you know I help with the children. I know when the First Lady is tired, and I know when to step in.

Interestingly, the pastor still places a greater emphasis in sermons on occupational breakthrough for men, and fertility and marriage for women. Nevertheless, several women cited the differences between the ways in which gender expectations are negotiated Los Angeles and Uganda, making explicit references at times to the elasticity of the church in the new setting. One 34 year old female had this to say:

> Here we have a greater opportunity to attend university, and many of us have this goal. Look at the First Lady. She is highly educated, successful, and a good wife and mother. We can be all of these things here in ways that we can't in Africa. Here the men understand that we can be good Christian women and also have a life outside of the home that helps contribute to the prosperity of our households.

A 29 year old woman added this:

> Back home we take care of everything, cooking, cleaning, children, and sometimes we are expected to work on top of it. Here we still take care of all of that but it's different. Even the pastor talks about helping with the children in his home. In Uganda most men don't do this. It helps us when the pastor mentions it…it reminds our husbands that we need help.

There is a consensus among the women of RPM that, although they are expected to maintain fairly traditional gender roles in the receiving location (and indeed they often have an interest in maintaining those roles), church teaching in Los Angeles is malleable in ways that it is not in Uganda, and they are clearly the most active agents in that process. The women of RPM work hard to imagine homeland and recreate a sense of being "home" in Los Angeles by "doing gender" within the church. However, RPM is also the safe space to begin doing the symbolic work of stretching the religion to help make sense of life in Los Angeles.

In resisting external marginalization, the women work to reproduce ethnicity in the confusing and sometimes troublesome new social landscape. Here I am referring to notions of "African-ness" that are employed to work in the community's favor in one setting (as with the trope of "Africans in the big city"), but which are framed in an alternative and more sanitized modernity in relation to La Iglesia de Restauracion. In either case, women are in control of the community's place in modernity through their considerable efforts to reproduce ethnicity. This cultural reproduction, even in the most intimate arenas such as the marriage relationship, is no small task. Appadurai (1996:44) reminds us that the new location is "both politicized and exposed to the traumas of deterritorrialization as family members pool and negotiate their mutual understandings and aspirations in sometimes fractured spatial arrangements." Once again, I would argue that RPM stands for the non-fractured spatial arrangement, the place of stability that makes women's work possible.

Case Studies Revisited

Finally, in terms of the three case studies that I chose to draw from, the following conclusions can be made. McCalister's (1998) work with Haitian transnational shows that religion can be used as a strategy of alterity in order to draw distinct lines between migrants and the proximal hosts to which they have been assigned. In each case migrants flex the religion in order to emplace themselves in the social landscape and to avoid becoming further marginalized. Brodwin's (2003) work with Haitian Pentecostals in the transnational setting demonstrated that the religion can be used as a means of acquiring discursive control over perception of the community as immigrants. In both Brodwin's (2003) research and my own we see migrants, viewed with similar colonial tropes by the host culture, employing Pentecostalism to frame themselves more favorably to the dominant culture. Brodwin's

(2003) participants, through their manner of dress and comportment, chose to employ a Pentecostal identity based in conservative North American evangelical ideology, thereby framing the host society as morally corrupt. The community of RPM, operating under an entirely different social and political landscape, celebrate their "Ugandan-ness" through the reproduction of ethnicity at church and frame themselves as well deserved recipients and bearers of Western modernity, in contrast to other marginalized groups in the city. Although Brodwin's (2003) theory is useful in explicating the experiences of the RPM community, it becomes immediately evident that the transnational and cultural contexts are obviously important variables in determining how the processes he describes play out. The island of Guadaloupe is not Los Angeles and the differing strategies reflect this. Finally, with regard to van Dijk's (2001) theory of African and transnational technologies of the self, we see that, as with his Ghanaian Pentecostals in Europe, pastor Kayongo stresses dividuality among the community over individuality. In an African context much of the literature reflects van Dijk's (2001) findings that Pentecostal conversion involves breaking with traditional kinship obligations. However, in the transnational setting kinship is created and nurtured, with an emphasis not on the past but on immediate and future prosperity. This emphasis on communalism is evident in every aspect of RPM, underscoring the fact that modernity is not always "a matter of freeing the subject from the past by means of a singular and monolithic move towards individuality" (van Dijk 2001:219). Cultural context is obviously important, and any future research among Ugandan transnational religious communities would benefit from an analysis of the Ugandan side of the transnational equation to further test the efficacy of van Dijk's (2001) theory.

References

Aihiokhai, Simonmary Assese
2010 Pentecostalism and Political Empowerment: The Nigerian Phenomenon. Journal of Ecumenical Studies 45(2):249-264.

Anderson, Allan
2004 An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2010 Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions. *In* Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods. A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers, and C. van der Laan, eds. Pp. 13-29. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Anderson, Benedict
1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. New York: Verso.

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

Awondo, Patrick, Peter Geschiere, and Graeme Reif
2012 Homophobic Africa? Toward a More Nuanced View. African Studies Review 55(3):145-168.

Basch, Linda G., Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc
1994 Nations Unbound : Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States. [S.l.]: Gordon and Breach.

Bermudez, Anastasia
2010 The Transnational Political Practices of Colombians in Spain and the United Kingdom: Politics Here and There. Ethnic and Racial Studies 33(1):75-91.

Blanes, Ruy Llera
2006 The Atheist Anthropologist: Believers and Non-Believers in Anthropological Fieldwork. Social Anthropology: The Journal of the European Association of Social Anthropologists 14(2):223-234.

Bowen, John Richard
2007 Why The French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, The State, and Public Space. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brodwin, Paul E.
2003 Pentecostalism in Translation: Religion and the Production of Community in the Haitian Diaspora. American ethnologist : The Journal of the American Ethnological Society.

Calavita, Kitty
1996 The New Politics of Immigration: "Balanced-Budget Conservatism" and the Symbolism of Proposition 187. Social Problems 43(3):284-305.

Chavez, Leo R.
2001 Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus
1986 Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California.

Coakley, Sarah
1993 Why Three? Some Further Reflections on the Doctrine of the Trinity. *In* The Making and remaking of Christian doctrine : essays in honour of Maurice Wiles. S. Coakley and D.A. Pailin, eds. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.

Comaroff, Jean Comaroff John L.
1993 Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
2002 Alien-Nation: Zombies, Immigrants, and Millennial Capitalism. The South Atlantic Quarterly 101(4):779-805.

Cox, Harvey
1995 Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century. New York: Addison-Wesley.

D'Alisera, JoAnn
1997 The Transnational Search for Muslim Identity: Sierra Leoneans in America's Capitol, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign.

De Boeck, Filip, and Alcinda Honwana
2005 Introduction: Children and Youth in Africa: Agency, Identity and Place. *In* Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Post-Colonial Africa. F. De Boeck and A. Honwana, eds. Pp. 1-18. Trenton: Africa World Press Inc.

Deno, Vivian
2004 God, Authority, and the Home: Gender, Race, and U.S. Pentecostals, 1900-1926. Journal of Women's History 16(3):83-105.

Dorier-Apprill, Elisabeth
2001 The New Pentecostal Networks of Brazzaville. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 293-308. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Droogers, Andre
2001 Globalization and Pentecostal Success. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 41-61. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ebaugh, Helen, and Janet Chafetz
2000 Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press.
2002 Religion Across Borders: Transnational Immigrant Networks. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.

Eck, Diana L.
2006 What is Pluralism? The Pluralism Project at Harvard University.

Ehrkamp, Patricia
2005 Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 31(2):345-364.

Englund, Harri
2001 Time and Transcultural Technologies of the Self in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 235-255. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Escobar, Arturo
2004 Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements. Third World Quarterly 25(1):207-230.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
1976 Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Feher, Shoshanah
1998 From the Rivers of Babylon to the Valleys of Los Angeles: The Exodus and Adaptation of Iranian Jews. *In* Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. S.R. Warner and J.G. Wittner, eds. Pp. 71-96. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Foucault, Michel
1988 Technologies of the Self. *In* Technologies of the Self: A Seminar With Michel Foucault. H.M. Luther, ed. Pp. 114-131. London: Tavistock.

Fraser, Meredith
2003 A Feminist Theoethical Analysis of White Pentecostal Australian Women and Marital Abuse. Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion 19(2):145-167.

Geertz, Clifford

1973 The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books.

Glick-Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc
1995 From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. Anthropological Quarterly 68(1):48-63.

Guest, Kenneth
2003 God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York's Evolving Immigrant Community. New York: New York University.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and Adair T. Lummis
1987 Islamic Values in the United States: A Comparative Study. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hagan, Jacqueline, and Helen Rose Ebaugh
2003 Calling upon the Sacred: Migrants' Use of Religion in the Migration Process. The International Migration Review 37(4):1145.

Hage, Ghassan
2000 White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society. New York: Pluto Press.

Hagerty, Barbara Bradley
2010 U.S. Church Lends Help to Ugandan Anti-Gay Pastor. *In* All Things Considered. NPR.

Hall, Stuart
1996 Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity?'. *In* Questions of Cultural Identity. S. Hall and P. du Gay, eds. Pp. 1-17. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Hammond, Phillip E., and Kee Warner
1993 Religion and Ethnicity in Late-Twentieth-Century America. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 527(1):55-66.

Hardt, Michael Negri Antonio
2000 Empire. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Heiss, Jan Patrick
2009 How to Explain Access to the Field: Lessons from Fieldwork Among the Yedina (or Buduma) of Lake Chad. Anthropos. 104(1):25-40.

Hepner, Randal L.
1998 The House That Rasta Built: Church Building and Fundamentalism Among New York Rastafarians. *In* Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. S.R. Warner and J.G. Wittner, eds. Pp. 197-234. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Inda, Jonathan Xavier, and Renato Rosaldo
2002 Introduction: A World in Motion. *In* The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader. J.X. Inda and R. Rosaldo, eds. Pp. 1-34. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye
1998 Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, James H., Jr., Walter C. Farrell, Jr., and Chandra Guinn
1997 Immigration Reform and the Browning of America: Tensions, Conflicts and Community Instability in Metropolitan Los Angeles. International Migration Review 31(4):1055-95.

Jones, Ben
2005 The Church in the Village, the Village in the Church: Pentecostalism in Teso, Uganda. Cahiers d'études africaines 45:497-517.
2007 The Teso Insurgency Remembered: Churches, Burials and Property. The Journal of the International African Institute 77(4):500-516.

Kabiri, Ngeta
1999 Ethnicity as a Category of Analysis in African Studies. *In* National Conference of the National Association of African American Studies and the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies. Houston, Texas.

Kaduuli, Stephen
2008 Poverty and Migration: The Ugandan Experience. Pp. 1-8.

Kalu, Ogbu
2008 African Pentecostalism: An Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Karagiannis, Evangelo, and Nina Glick-Schiller
2008 '...the land which the LORD your God giveth you': Two Churches Founded by African Migrant in Ostastadt, Germany. *In* Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage. K.H. A. Adogame, and R. Gerloff, ed. Pp. 265-278. London: Continuum International Publishing.

Kwon, Victoria Hyonchu, Helen Rose Ebaugh, and Jacqueline Hagan
1997 The Structure and Function of Cell Group Ministry in a Korean Christian Church. Journal for the scientific study of religion. 36(2):247.

Laurent, Pierre Joseph
2001 Transnationalisation and Local Transformations: The Example of the Church of Assemblies of God of Burkina Faso. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 256-273. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lawless, Elaine J.
1991 Women's Life Stories and Reciprocal Ethnography as Feminist and Emergent. Journal of Folklore Research 28(1):35-60.

1992 "I Was Afraid Someone like You... an Outsider... Would Misunderstand": Negotiating Interpretive Differences between Ethnographers and Subjects. The Journal of American Folklore 105(417):302-314.

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

2003 "You Know, Abraham was Really the First Immigrant": Religion and Transnational Migration. International Migration Review 37(143):847-873.

Lowe, Lisa
1996 Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics. Durham: Duke University Press.

Marshall-Fratani, Ruth
2001 The Global and Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 84-105. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mascia-Lees, Frances E., Patricia Sharpe, and Colleen Ballerino Cohen
1989 The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions from a Feminist Perspective. Signs 15(1):7-33.

Mayrargue, Cedric
2001 The Expansion of Pentecostalism in Benin: Individual Rationales and Transnational Dynamics. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 274-292. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McAlister, Elizabeth
1998 The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism. *In* Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. S.R. Warner and J.G. Wittner, eds. Pp. 123-160. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Menjívar, Cecilia
1999 Religious Institutions and Transnationalism: A Case Study of Catholic and Evangelical Salvadoran Immigrants. International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society 12(4):589-612.

2000 Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America. Berkeley: University

of California Press.

Meyer, Birgit
1998 'Make a complete break with the past': Memory and Post-colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse. Journal of Religion in Africa 28(3):316-349.

2004 Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches. Annual Review of Anthropology 33:447.

2010 Pentecostalism and Globalization. *In* Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods. A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers, and C. van der Laan, eds. Pp. 113-132. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moreiras, Alberto
2001 The Exhaustion of Difference: The Politics of Latin American Cultural Studies. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mutema, Gaudencia
2005 Rebuilding Lives After Genocide: Life Stories of Rwandan Refugees in Zimbabwe and Norway, University of Bergen.

Nzayabino, Vedaste
2005 The Role of Refugee-established Churches in Integrating Forced Migrants: A Case Study of Word of Life Assembly in Yeoville, Johannesburg, Faculty of Arts University of the Witwatersrand.

Ong, Aihwa
1996 Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States. Current Anthropology. 37(5):737.

Palumbo-Liu, David
1999 Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pasura, Dominic
2012 Religious Transnationalism: The Case of Zimbabwean Catholics in Britain. Journal of Religion in Africa 42(1):26-53.

Peterson, William, and Thomas Brinley
1968 Migration. *In* International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. D. Sills, ed. Pp. 286-300. New York: Macmillan.

Ranger, Terence
1983 The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa. *In* The Invention of Tradition. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds. Pp. 211-262. New York: Cambridge University Press.

1993 The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case Of Africa. *In* Legitimacy and the State in 20th Century Africa. T. Ranger and O. Vaughan, eds. Pp. 62-111. London: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.

Robbins, Joel
2004 The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. Annual Review of Anthropology 33:117-143.
2010 Anthropology of Religion. *In* Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods. A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers, and C. van der Laan, eds. Pp. 156-178. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.

Robeck, Cecil M.
2006 The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement. Nashville: Nelson Reference & Electronic.

Rosaldo, Renato
1993 Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rutledge, Paul
1985 The Role of Religion in Ethnic Self-identity: A Vietnamese Community. Lanham: University Press of America.

Sadgrove, Jo
2007 'Keeping Up Appearances': Sex and Religion Amongst University Students in Uganda. Journal of Religion in Africa 37(1):116-144.

Said, Edward W.
1978 Orientalism. New York: Pantheon Books.

Shandy, Dianna J.
2002 Nuer Christians in America. Journal of Refugee Studies 15(2):213-221.

Sheringham, O.
2010 Creating 'Alternative Geographies': Religion, Transnationalism and Everyday Life. Geography Compass 4(11):1678-1694.

Silverstein, Paul A.
2005 Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe. Annual Review of Anthropology 34:363-384.

Smart, Barry
1990 Modernity, Postmodernity and the Present. *In* Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity. B.S. Turner, ed. London: Sage.

Smith, Timothy Lawrence
1978 Religion and Ethnicity in America. Washington, D.C.: American Historical

Association.

Sommers, Marc
2001 Young, Male and Pentecostal: Urban Refugees in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Journal of Refugee Studies 14(4):347-370.

Spear, Thomas
2003 Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa. The Journal of African History 44(1):3-27.

Tobar, Héctor
2005 Translation Nation: Defining a New American Identity in the Spanish-speaking United States. New York: Riverhead Books.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1991 Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness. *In* Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. R.G. Fox, ed. Pp. 17-44. Santa Fe NM: School of American Research Press.

Turner, Bryan S.
1990 Periodization and Politics in Postmodernity. *In* Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity. B.S. Turner, ed. London: Sage.

Ukah, Asonzeh
2003 Advertising God: Nigerian Christian Video-films and the Power of Consumer Culture. Journal of Religion in Africa 33(2):203-231.

van Dijk, Rijk
2001 Time and Transcultural Technologies of the Self in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora. *In* Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America. C. Andre and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds. Pp. 216-234. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vertovec, Steven, and Robin Cohen
1999 Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Wade, Peter
2007 Modernity and Tradition: Shifting Boundaries, Shifting Contexts. *In* When Was Latin America Modern? S. Hart and N. Miller, eds. Pp. 49-68. London: Palgrave.

Warner, Stephen R.
1998 Introduction. *In* Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. S.R. Warner and J.G. Wittner, eds. Pp. 3-36. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wellmeier, Nancy J.
1998 Santa Eulalia's People in Exile: Maya Religion, Culture, and Identity in Los Angeles. *In* Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration. S.R. Warner and J.G. Wittner, eds. Pp. 97-122. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Williams, Raymond Brady
1988 Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry. New York: Cambridge University Press.