Introduction

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Amid the new migration flows, global economic orders, and communication systems that have formed in the last decades, religion once again assumed a significant role in world affairs. During this time we have witnessed the emergence of religious movements, the revitalization of religion in postsocialist countries, and a global explosion of Pentecostal Christianity, Hindu nationalism, transnational Islam, and spirit possession cults. Religion has thrived because globalization provides fluid transnational networks that help transport religious messages from local to global audiences. But religion has contributed to those transnational networks just as much as it has been shaped by them. Rather than merely reacting to global processes, religion and religious practitioners generate global interconnectedness.

This volume explores the mutually-determining relationships between religion and globalization. Starting from the assumption that religion cannot be understood independently of politics, economics, consumer culture, and media, the contributions contextualize religion within transnational processes and migration movements. They investigate how religion goes global, how religious practices are transformed, reinforced, or newly invented when transferred to new places, how migrants rely on religion to become global actors, and how religious agents create and maintain transnational connections.

As a field of study, transnationalism seeks to understand how people—in single localities as well as in their movements between them —take part in multilateral national contexts through their economic, political, and social activities. Such transnational "ways of being and belonging" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004) require abandoning a geographically-fixed approach to identity and community without neglecting the continuing significance of border regimes and state policies in the control and regulation of movement.[1] This kind of broadened research lens is especially critical to understanding religious transnationalism, which has arisen from the conjoined processes of missionization, migration, and mobility (Csordas 2007).[2]

Maintaining and forging religious ties across borders has long been part of many religions (Hoeber Rudolph 1997). Christianity, in particular, has for centuries sought new followers across the globe. Today, Pentecostal forms of

Christianity[3] are the dominant force behind Christian missionizing. These Christian movements have been especially successful in regions undergoing rapid transformation and subject to extreme economic stratification such as Africa, Latin America, the South Pacific, and East Asia (Jenkins 2002: 2). But this shift southward and eastward in missionizing practice has brought with it new layers of religious and transnational complexity. For one, the areas on which Pentecostal missionaries focus produce large streams of migrants who transport local religions as well as their own understanding of Christianity in the opposite direction of missionization, namely northward and westward. For another, Pentecostalism has often had an antagonistic relationship with other spirit-centered practices[4]—spirit mediumship[5] above all—that are popular among locals and migrants.

In past research, sociologists and anthropologists have neglected the intricate nexus that joins Pentecostal Christianity and non-Christian spirit-centered practices such as spirit mediumship with transnationalism and migration.[6] One reason for this is the pervasiveness of the view that sees the Christian spirit as single, modern, global, universal, mobile, and ubiquitous, while regarding non-Christian spirits as many, occult, antimodern, traditional, local, particular, and stationary. This dichotomy, which is formulated explicitly in Pentecostal discourse, has all too often limited the scope of studies in religious transnationalism, which tend to presume such binary oppositions when examining Christian and non-Christian religious traditions in a global context. In our view, however, these oppositions are not as black and white as they appear. Instead, they represent the multiple possibilities that frame each religious tradition as it responds to—and shapes—processes of transnationalism and migration.

Below we explore four interrelated thematic fields constitutive in the creation of transnational religious networks. In the section on mobile spirits and portable practices we discuss the movement of spiritual entities and the circulation of ritual objects. For the next section we examine the ways media and mediation connect dispersed members of religious networks and convert religious messages from one format to another. Then we analyze the role of money and markets in maintaining religious networks before concluding with a discussion of religious place-making and spatial politics.

MOBILE SPIRITS AND PORTABLE PRACTICES

Previous scholarship has given little attention to the migration of spiritual entities and their effect on migrant life. In particular, the interrelations between traveling spirits, the circulation of religious imaginaries, and the journeys of migrants have yet to be adequately explored and theorized. How and when do spiritual powers become manifest while their adherents are in transit? Are spirits everywhere at any moment, just waiting to become active? Do they change their character when arriving in new environments? Do they

need airplane tickets and visas?[7] Or more generally: Is there something about spirit-centered religions that lends them particular mobility?

In an obvious sense, the movement of spirits goes hand in hand with the migration of people. As religious adherents travel, so do the spirits they serve. All spiritual entities—from the Holy Spirit to Vietnamese *len dong* deities and the Ogou of Haitian Voudou—move as part "of local as well as global or transglobal cultures" (Behrend and Luig 1999b: xiii). At the same time, as Michael Lambek argues in Chapter 1, movement and traveling are part of the very nature of spirits. For even when hosts and followers remain in one place, spirits continually, as Lambek puts it, "come into presence" as part of a never-ending process of arrival and departure. To understand how spirits travel, we must first look at how they appear.

In most spirit-centered religions spirits come into presence through specific routines and practices carried out by their adherents. What differs is the ways those religions link spiritual embodiment with ritual behavior. In many spirit possession cults, for instance, consumption is part of the ceremony. Food, drink, perfumes, creams, and oils are consumed by the spirits through the body of the medium, while specific costumes and accessories indicate a spirit's identity and signal its appearance. In Pentecostal practice, by contrast, the arrival of the Holy Spirit is marked by abstinence. In preparing for the Holy Spirit and the charismatic gifts, a believer is required to fast, give up smoking, alcohol, gambling, and avoid non-marital sexual relationships.[8] Pentecostal Christians do not reject all forms of consumption, however. The body—the temple God created in His image—must pay respect to its Maker by bearing proper attire. And in Pentecostal health and wealth teachings, signs of prosperity such as name-brand clothing, jewelry, new cars, and the latest consumer electronics indicate the nearness of the Holy Spirit.

Musical performance is crucial for spiritual invocation in both traditions. In possession cults, song and movement accompany, in some cases compel, a spirit's coming into presence (Chernoff 1981; Norton 2006). In Pentecostal churches, gospel choirs and blasting sound systems enhance the experience of the Holy Spirit, and songs of praise and worship express shifts in mode and mood. Another feature these traditions share is language. Spirits signal their presence by speaking through their mediums, while Pentecostals communicate directly with God in a language only He can understand and receive responses in the words of prophecies, dreams, and inner thoughts.[9]

The ways in which spirits come into presence in both Pentecostalism and spirit mediumship share one feature that make them particularly suitable for travel: eminent portability. As Thomas Csordas has argued, traveling religions rely on portable practices and transposable messages (Csordas 2007: 261).[10] Fasting, praying, singing, offering, playing music, and dancing can be performed anywhere. Pentecostals need only internalize a specific set of beliefs and attitudes, and spirit mediums and their followers can fit most of the paraphernalia for their rituals in a suitcase, while everything else— altars or temples, say—can be easily erected in living rooms or yards.

Portability is not just the ease with which religious rituals can be transferred to new locations and contexts, however. It is also the ability to create transnational continuity and belonging between different cultures and social contexts. This can produce hybridized and creolized forms of religious practice, which in turn can lead to new tensions, conflicts, and power struggles. Sometimes new political circumstances prevent a spirit from appearing in its new surroundings. Other times, politics prompts new types of portable practices. In Chapter 3, Karen Fjelstad describes how tensions between Vietnam and the United States forced spirit mediums in Silicon Valley to take creative measures. Barred from travel to Vietnam—the only place to procure the goddess statues used in *len dong* rituals—mediums resorted to using dolls instead, and asked friends and family to ship audio cassettes of the accompanying ritual music.

Occasionally, a spirit's mobility has unexpected consequences. Spirits may be unwanted in their new home,[11] or geographical displacement can alter a spirit's identity. In Chapter 2, Heike Drotbohm mentions the case of Ogou, a spirit once worshiped as a god of iron by the Yoruba of West Africa, who came to Haiti with slaves and later became closely associated with that country's struggle for independence.[12] Drotbohm then describes how Michel, a Haitian migrant living in Canada, draws strength from Ogou to declare independence from his family back home.

While spirits may be mobile, the effect of spiritual forces on the mobility of people is ambiguous. Spirits can initiate journeys by calling adherents to distant sacred places, they can provide protection, and they can ensure the well-being of travelers. Sometimes, though, they impede movement. Migrants' experiences with seemingly arbitrary visa decisions and big government bureaucracies have given rise to a separate industry specializing in ridding people of immobilizing spells caused by evil spirits. Migrants ask spirit mediums for amulets and powerful portions to charm consular officers, or call upon the Holy Spirit to send away the obstructing demon.[13] Whether spirits succeed in increasing human mobility appears unpredictable, however. In Chapter 4, Girish Daswani tells the story of a Pentecostal prophet who despite his reputation for obtaining visas through prayer has never been able to procure one himself. Daswani explores the sources of authority Ghanaian prophets use in assisting the mobility of their followers and discusses the ambiguities of travel and migration when the Holy Spirit turns out to be no more reliable than other spiritual entities.

MEDIA AND MEDIATION

For those prevented from travel—be it by spirits or other forces—there is another means of participating in transnational religious networks: media technology. A crucial tool in transnational religious movements, media can transport messages over vast distances and connect religious adherents

dispersed across continents. Via TV and radio, Pentecostal churches reach the farthest corners of the globe; via the Internet, followers of spirit mediums conduct virtual consultations; via print media, photos of sacred places are circulated across religious networks.[14] According to Vasquez and Marquardt, digital, visual, and audio media "obliterate distance" and "dispense physical presence" (2003: 93); as a result, they facilitate translocal exchange, contribute to the appropriation of religious rituals from different cultures, and form new places of ritual sociality. Through them, migrants and locals create transnational ways of religious belonging (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004).

But media assume a more fundamental function in religion than merely transmitting religious ideas between distant places. Since every religious practice mediates between the transcendent and the immanent, religion "cannot be analyzed outside the forms and practices of mediation that define it" (Meyer and Moors 2006b: 7). This broader understanding of religion in terms of practices of mediation is particularly useful when looking at spirits who cannot show themselves without a mediating body to channel them. Media technologies contribute to the mediation process by increasing the potency of the ritual practices that bring spirits into presence. This is particularly evident in mediations of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostal healing ceremonies use behemoth screens to magnify believers' experience of the spirit of God, while broadcast equipment transmits its power into the living-room TVs and car radios of countless believers. Some converts even claim to have been filled with the Holy Spirit after touching their TV screens—the visual and the haptic merging into what Simon Coleman in Chapter 11 calls "charismatic corpothetics."

In spirit mediumship traditions, media—particularly visual representations—become ritual objects that connect the spiritual and human worlds. Pictures serve as dwelling places for spirits (Meyer 2008: 85; 2006b: 444f) and work like ritual paraphernalia that convey "harming and healing powers" (Behrend 2003: 135f). These spirits and powers not only travel through pictures; they can be channeled to affect persons whose images the pictures contain. Behrend discusses people who refuse to let themselves be photographed lest the pictures fall into the hands of witch doctors, who could use them to curse their subjects (2003). In Chapter 5, Marleen de Witte describes how diviners in Ghana cast spells on people in photographs sent to them by migrants living abroad.

Visual representations in spirit mediumship are so powerful they can even mediate others forms of mediation. Karen Fjelstad writes how master mediums in Vietnam send pictures of votive offerings—miniature paper replicas of worldly objects for the spiritual realm[15]—to US temples as replacement for actual votives, which are rarely produced outside Vietnam and difficult to ship. This twofold representation solidifies the relationship between mediums in Vietnam and the US, as well as that between spirits and humans.

Visual media do not always function as a means of mediation, however. Many possession cults believe that film and photography can arouse spirits' anger by trapping them in a fixed image at odds with their ephemeral and wind-like existence, which is why such practices are forbidden at shrine consultations in many parts of Africa (cf. Meyer 2006b: 443). But visual media need not always hinder a spirit's coming into presence. Some spirit practitioners post films of their latest rituals on YouTube and operate websites to attract new clients.[16] And it is not uncommon for spirit mediums to film ceremonies and record ritual music on CDs for sale and self-promotion.

Media carry other risks in addition to trapping spirits. For his contribution, Girish Daswani presents the case of a traveling prophet in Ghana who came under pressure when leaders of the Church of Pentecost saw a DVD of him performing controversial exorcisms on migrants in Europe. In Chapter 8, Gertrud Hüwelmeier notes how underground Pentecostal churches in Vietnam live in constant fear that their DVD production and circulation will be detected by the secret police.

Another problem with media is that not everyone can afford or access them. In countries where the state controls the television and newspapers, the majority of people, particularly those in the countryside, have neither print nor digital media at their disposal. What is more, transnational public spheres can be dominated by specific media formats, as in the case of televangelism. In Chapter 5, de Witte describes how Pentecostal churches in Ghana have built powerful media production companies that determine the appropriate form of religious expression.[17]

MARKETS AND MONEY

The circulation of media technology, people, and spirits via mediation readily suggests another form of circulation crucial to religion on a transnational scale: the circulation of money and goods. In one sense, this is nothing new. Markets and religions have long existed symbiotically. Ancient Asian temples offered blessing services for the dead, markets for Christian relics formed in the earliest days of Christianity, and missionaries propagated new forms of trade and consumption.[18] In recent decades, however, the "onslaught" of free market capitalism (Salemink 2008: 148) and the multiplication of transnational ties have expanded the regions in which religious and economic spheres overlap.

The intersection between religion and economics today is most palpable in transnational religious movements. Often, these movements are organized like international corporations (Ukah 2008). Pentecostal megachurches deliver standardized products (Tong 2008: 188), adapt marketing and branding strategies that include recognizable logos, ads, and employee uniforms, and outsource the manufacture of stickers, pamphlets, DVDs,

and CDs to small companies often owned by members of the congregation (Ukah 2003; de Witte 2003). By accommodating global consumer culture, religious organizations benefit consumerism and consumption (Featherstone 2007: 110-126; Lyon 2002), leading researchers to speak of "religious commodification," "McDonaldization," "sacralized economies," and "spiritual marketplaces."[19] In his contribution on Ghanaian migrant women who work as hairdressers in Botswana (Chapter 6), Rijk van Dijk explores how Pentecostal churches promote an "entrepreneurial ethic" that pressures members to start their own businesses and engage in other types of economic activity. Challenging the common understanding of religion as a source of solace for migrants, van Dijk argues that members of Pentecostal churches are often coerced into making financial breakthroughs and threatened with excommunication if they fail.

Though the role of economics is most obvious in transnational religious movements, it is no less important in local traditions. In Vietnam, the opening of the market has contributed to the emergence of what Kirsten Endres in Chapter 7 describes as a "spirit industry." An increasing number of people—both tourists and diaspora migrants living abroad—visit temples, pagodas, diviners, and spirit possession cults on a regular basis, leaving money offerings and asking spirits for financial good luck. Capitalizing on this influx, *len dong* spirit mediums work with wholesalers and retailers to sell participants package sets complete with all the items needed for a ceremony. This new industry is so powerful it even affects otherworldly habits: It is not uncommon to see *len dong* spirits receive offerings of Coca-Cola and canned beer alongside traditional objects.

Another economic force in religion is donation. Priests, nuns, and pastors, along with their organizations, move large sums of money across borders to fight AIDS, provide disaster relief, and build orphanages, schools, and houses for the homeless (Hüwelmeier 2006; Adogame: Chapter 10). To support these activities, religious groups encourage their members to donate more, emphasizing spiritual wealth over economic prosperity (Weller 2008: 21f). Yet practices that at first glance appear purely charitable are often part of complex networks joining geographically disparate religious communities. Other times, the path of donations is more overtly circular. In Pentecostal churches, money leaves the pockets of believers for the sacred realm only to end up back in the secular world (Coleman 2004: 432). A brand new Mercedes Benz for a leading pastor, the funding of air travel for missionaries, and the construction of sacred places all depend on the generous financial support of religious community members.

PLACE-MAKING AND SPATIAL POLITICS

All the transnational processes we have explored so far—circulations of movement, media, and money—are grounded in, and shaped by, particular

localities. These spatial particularities have different positions within global hierarchies. Some positions provide privileged access to flows of power and interconnection; others require extra effort; still others are excluded. To establish a position, migrants must anchor themselves in localities from which they can practice their religion and negotiate their identities. We refer to the activity of establishing a particular locality for religious practice as religious place-making. This process goes beyond physical space alone. The new surroundings in which religious practitioners emplace themselves are bounded jurisdictions that overlap with de-localized imaginations of religious life and thus belong to multiple spaces at once. Place-making, therefore, is about the simultaneous process of being engaged globally while being situated locally.[20]

For migrants, place-making also brings with it major challenges. Differing concepts of the religious and the secular and the power relations through which public space becomes articulated (Asad 2003: 184) determine the availability of space for religious veneration. As a result, spatial politics always goes hand in hand with place-making. Sacred sites function as markers in the religious landscape, reflecting the social position of the respective religious group. That place-making can erupt in conflict should come as no surprise—the controversies surrounding new mosques in Europe and the US[21] are only recent examples.

The quest for recognition through spatial visibility is part of a struggle for social parity.[22] This struggle involves a movement from private to public, and from invisibility to visibility. Its development can be observed in the typical spatial career of a migrant's religious network: At first, a few people start out meeting in a private space; eventually they pay for a location on an hourly basis; then they rent a place entirely for themselves; and finally they buy or build their own place of worship (Krause 2008; Adogame 2000 and Chapter 10).

Since space in inner city areas is more expensive and religious groups often have difficulties obtaining a lease, some move to urban outskirts, where they acquire former warehouses or rent garages. Many Pentecostal Christians appreciate the practical advantages of former industrial buildings for their mega-churches: They can easily seat large crowds, employ elaborate media equipment, and display the power of the word on a huge stage (Coleman 2000: 155). For many small churches founded by migrants in Europe, the most important practicality of industrial areas is the fact that nobody cares about the sound-system-enhanced praying and preaching that accompanies their ritual practice.

Religious practitioners not only create new sacred places; they can also transform secular localities. From spaces of leisure and consumption such as cinemas, bowling alleys, and discotheques come shrines, temples, and churches (Meyer 2006a: 295ff; Ukah 2003). These reconfigurations of space can also be achieved through effective mediation—recorded sermons in taxis, religious films on buses, preaching broadcast over market loudspeakers (Meyer and Moors 2006b: 8f; Hirschkind 2006: 43f).

Religious groups can demonstrate their public presence by appropriating streets and squares through mediation, performances, and parades.[23] In Chapter 8, Hüwelmeier examines such activities in Vietnam, where the appropriation of public space for evangelizing campaigns is restricted by heavy government regulations. She notes how in one case Pentecostal migrants returning from Germany were able to negotiate access to a popular football stadium. Pictures of the mass gathering were circulated among other Vietnamese Pentecostal networks, extending the event well beyond the public sphere in the capital to become part of a transnational evangelizing strategy.

This shows that even when religious actors are constrained by the spatial politics of their localities, they still manage to create transnational religious spaces. In Chapter 9, David Garbin explains how Kimbanguists create "symbolic geographies of the sacred" by linking churches in the diaspora with Nkamba in the Democratic Republic of the Congo—the city where the movement is headquartered and the birthplace of their founder, Simon Kimbangu. Migrants transport and consume holy water from Nkamba and visit as often as possible, while Kimbanguists across Europe create a "diasporic sense of belonging" by devoting a special collection at every service for keeping the buildings of their Holy City in good condition.

The identification with distant places is also visible in territorial religious practices that express belonging to an imagined community. Afe Adogame, in Chapter 10, describes a Pentecostal church in Hamburg founded by Ghanaian migrants that displays the flags of those countries in which the church has successfully established branches or aims to launch others. As Simon Coleman highlights in his work on a Sweden-based church, these techniques of visualization can also include maps presented during sermons that invite believers on imagined journeys around the globe. Coleman analyses how such spiritual cartographies connect people attending religious services with the rest of the world. Here, practices of prayer across cultural territories generate a charismatic agency unlimited by geography and contributing far more to the intensity of believers' religious experience than mere physical proximity to a particular holy place.

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In this introduction we have sketched out some of the elements of religious transnationalism: the movement of people and religious entities; the circulation of money, imaginaries, and ideas; and the embeddedness of global religions in markets and localities. We have also emphasized the way migrants cross geographical and cultural boundaries to forge and maintain transnational religious ties. And we have made clear that the spirits that travel with them are as much a part of the complex processes of globalization as the migrants themselves. They impact people's religious lives by creating religious belonging and by offering a sense of place to those in diaspora. The chapters that follow will continue to illustrate and analyze this complex interplay of religion and globalization.

Of the many forms of religious practice today, Pentecostal Christianity and spirit mediumship particularly exemplify the dichotomies of global and local, movement and stasis, center and periphery that structure transnationalism itself. Though the terms that constitute them are diametrically opposed, they are also intrinsically connected by a messy middle ground. The tensions between them link not just two disparate forms of religious practice; they also connect local and global processes as well as northern and southern, western and eastern cultures. And it is precisely these ambiguities that scholars must tackle as they seek to understand the heterogeneity of an increasingly fragmented and disconnected world.

NOTES

1. For more on transnationalism in general, see Vertovec and Cohen (1999), Vertovec (1999, 2009), Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2003), and Levitt et al. (2003).
2. Over the last decade, a vast amount of literature on transnationalism and religion has appeared, especially in the US. Early studies focused on the adaptive role of religion within the process of settlement (Tweed 1997; Warner and Wittner 1998), while more recent research has studied the relationship between transborder ties, civic engagement, and religious belonging (Ebaugh and Saltzman Chafez 2000, 2002; Vasquez and Marquardt 2003; Vasquez and Williams 2005; Leonard et al. 2006; Levitt 2007a, 2007b; Hansing and Mahler 2005; Stepick 2006; Kniss and Numrich 2007; Stepick, Mahler, and Rey 2009). European studies on migration and religion have mostly concentrated on Islam and the supposed threat it poses toward Europe's perceived Christian heritage (Asad 2003: 159ffM; Maréchal et al. 2003; Casanova 2003).
3. We use Pentecostalism here as an umbrella term for forms of Christianity that differ greatly historically and culturally but nevertheless all assign a central role to the Holy Spirit. These include (but are not limited to) the charismatic, revivalist, and "born-again" movements. For an overview of the extensive studies on Pentecostalism, see Meyer (forthcoming), Robbins (2004a), Anderson (2004), Martin (2002) and contributions in Coleman (2002). For edited volumes and monographs that discuss Pentecostalism in different regions, see Meyer (1999), Corten and Marshall-Fratani (2001), Anderson and Tang (2005), Wanner (2007), and Robbins (2004b).
4. "Spirit-centered religions" refers generally both to Pentecostal Christianities and the traditions of spirit mediumship. Though vastly different in history and outlook, Pentecostal and spirit possession practices share the experience of disembodied external powers (Lambek 1996: 440; Boddy 1994: 407). Unless indicated otherwise, our use of the term "spirits" always includes the Christian Holy Spirit as well.
5. Spirit mediumship is used here as an umbrella term for various possession cults. Some key publications are: Lambek (1981), Ong (1987), Wafer (1991), Boddy (1994), Kramer (1993), Rosenthal (1998), Behrend and Luig (1999a), Masquelier (2001), Richman (2005), Kendall (1985), and Kwon (2008).
6. But see Werbner (1989), Behrend and Luig (1999: xiii) and Richman (2006), Allman and Parker (2005).
7. In our fieldwork, we have learned of rituals performed in Vietnam to enable spirits of the dead to visit their kin abroad, Vietnamese migrants in Germany

who travel to Hanoi to burn votive paper passports at the tombs of deceased relatives, and mediums in Ghana who charge migrants for airplane tickets in order that spirits can join them.

8. These are not the only differences between Pentecostal Christianity and spirit possession cults. One of the most essential is that spirit possession cults generally integrate all spirits into the social world—whether gods, goddesses, souls of the dead, territorial spirits, spirits of waters and trees, or even the Holy Spirit (e.g., Heike Behrend describes the appropriation of Christian discourses and practices by spirit mediums in Northern Uganda [Behrend 1999: 20–33]). Pentecostal Christianity, by contrast, is predicated on a dualistic notion of good and evil that negates all spirits that are not the Holy Spirit. This dualistic world view never quite succeeds, of course. The "occult" spirits Pentecostalism disavows remain firmly linked to it as its ever-present Other (Meyer 2004: 455, 2006a, 2006b). In spirit mediumship, spirits are not perceived as being essentially good or evil. At worst, a spirit is harmful—such as when a relationship is denied or the demands of a spirit are not met. In this sense, what spirit possession cults consider "evil" is the antisocial—the refusal to engage with the specific sociality of spirits.

9. The incomprehensibility of "speaking in tongues", or glossolalia, ensures that the Devil does not gain knowledge of believers' communications with God. Glossolalia should not be confused with xenoglossy, the speaking of an existing language previously unknown to the speaker. On ritual language within Pentecostal Christianity, see Csordas (1997: 170ff). Tanja Luhrmann has shown how the ability to recognize God's voice is acquired through fine-tuned practices of careful self-inspection (2004).

10. Csordas describes portable religious practices as "rites that can be easily learned, require relatively little esoteric knowledge or paraphernalia, are not held as proprietary or necessarily linked to a specific cultural context, and can be preformed without commitment to an elaborate ideological or institutional apparatus" (2007: 261).

11. Ghosts, witches, and restless souls are some of the unwanted spirits that may haunt individuals. See Parish (2000) on new forms of witchcraft connected with international migration. Kwon, in his work on wandering spirits in postwar Vietnam, argues that "forced mobility" is constitutive of a ghost's identity (2008: 89).

12. See also (Brown 1991: 93–139).

13. On Pentecostal pastors and prophets who pray for visas, see Richman (2006: 172f) and van Dijk (1997).

14. See contributions in Meyer and Moors (2006a), Ukah (2003), Harding (1994), and Vasquez and Marquardt (2003, especially Chapters 4 and 8).

15. Votive offerings are "ritual vehicles to send a sponsor's message of a wish for good luck and prosperity" (Nguyen Thi Hien 2006: 131).

16. See, for instance, the Web site of Nana Kwaku Bonsam, a spiritual healer living in Ghana, http://www.kwakubonsam.com/index.aspx (accessed April 21, 2009).

17. Interestingly, neo-traditionalists, who in their own ritual practice try to preserve traditional African culture from the influence of Pentecostalism, often appropriate the media formats used in large Pentecostal churches as described by de Witte in Chapter 5.

18. See Weller (2008: 18f). Today, missionary institutions continue to bring about far-reaching transformations in diet, hygiene, and fashion (Comaroff and Comaroff 2005; Meyer 1998).

19. See contributions in Kitiarsa (2008). On spirituality as a form of consumption, see Carette and King (2005).

20. This broad definition departs from an understanding of space as bounded entity and follows authors who look at space as socially produced (cf. Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1993; Smith 2001; Knott 2005; Tweed 2006).
21. See contributions in Metcalf (1996b) and Cesari (2005).
22. See Metcalf (1996a: 12f). Nancy Fraser raises the important point that recognition is more about distributive injustice of resources than identity (2000).
23. See Slyomovics (1996), Jacobsen (2008), Salzbrunn (2004).

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