



International colloquium

Religion and Mobility in Africa and in the African Diaspora

December 11 & 12, 2009

Royal Museum for Central Africa – Tervuren – Belgium

Organized by the Belgian Association of Africanists and the Royal Museum for Central Africa of Tervuren

With the support of: Royal Museum for Central Africa, FNRS and FWO

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PROGRAMME

Friday, December 11, 2009

8:15 – 8:45 : Registration

8:45 – 9 :00 Welcome : Guido Gryseels, Director of Royal Museum for Central Africa and Anne Mélice, Chair of the Belgian Association of Africanists.

9:00 – 9 :40 : **KEYNOTE ADDRESS:** Richard WERBNER (University of Manchester, UK)
: *Charismatics, Schism and Schismogenesis: An Apostolic Church in Crisis.*

THEME I : The Circulation of the Religious Imaginaries via the Media

Chair: Filip De Boeck (KULeuven, Belgium)

9:40 – 10:00: Patrick EISENLOHR (Utrecht University, The Netherlands): *Technologies of the Spirit: Devotional Islam and Sound Reproduction in Mauritius.*

10:00 – 10:20: Afe ADOGAME (The University of Edinburgh, UK) : *Visualizing God Online: New Religious Imaginaries, Media Emplacement and Religious Mobility in Africa and the African Diaspora.*

10:20 – 10:40: Discussion

10:40 – 11:00: Coffee break

11:00 – 11:20: Katrien PYPE (KULeuven, Belgium and University of Birmingham, UK) : *Religion, Migration and Media Aesthetics. Notes on the Circulation and Reception of Nigerian Films in Kinshasa.*

11:20 – 11:40: Marleen DE WITTE (VU University, Amsterdam, The Netherlands): *Religious Media, Mobile Spirits. Publicity and secrecy in African Pentecostalism and traditional religion.*

11:40 – 12:00: Discussion

12:00 – 13:00 : Museum visit

13:00 – 14:00: Lunch at the Museum

THEME II: Religions and Diaspora

Chair: Danielle de Lame (Royal Museum for Central Africa – Tervuren, Belgium)

14:00 – 14:20: Stefania CAPONE (CNRS/NYU, New York, US), to be confirmed : *Orunmilà n'a pas de frontières: implantation et reconfigurations du culte d'Ifà au Brésil.*

14 :20 – 14 :40 : Liliane KUCZYNSKI (CNRS, France) : *Des petits entrepreneurs religieux ouest-africains en France.*

14 :40 – 15 :00 : Knut GRAW (ZMO, Berlin, Germany, and KULeuven, Belgium) : *Labour, Law, and Prayer: Conversations with Senegalese Migrants in Spain.*

15:00 – 15:20: Discussion

15:20 – 15:40 : Coffee break

Chair: Mark Van de Velde (CNRS, France)

15:40 – 16:00: Anne MÉLICE (Université de Liège, Belgium) and Ramon SARRO (University of Lisbon, Portugal) : *Reterritorialization and religious extraversion: the dialectics of 'centre' and 'periphery' in the Kimbanguist Church.*

16:00 – 16:20: Ruy Llera BLANES (University of Lisbon, Portugal): *A church in a suitcase. Mobility, proselytism and belonging in the Tokoist church and its diaspora.*

16:20 – 16:40: Maïté MASKENS (FRFC, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium) : *Les pasteurs pentecôtistes en mouvement : mobilité religieuse et migration.*

16 :40 – 17 :00 : Joël NORET (FNRS, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium) : *Les Églises africaines en Belgique. Formes de reconnaissance et identités.*

17 :00 – 17 :30 : Discussion

17 :45-18 :45 : Viewing of the ethnographic film *Holy Hustlers* of Richard WERBNER (University of Manchester, UK).

Saturday, December 12, 2009

THEME III : Pilgrimages

Chair : Michaël Meeuwis (Ghent University, Belgium)

9 :10 – 9 :30 : Baz LECOCQ (Ghent University, Belgium) : *The Hajj from West Africa in the 20th Century.*

9:30 – 9:50: Sophie BAVA (IRD, Caire, Egypt) : *Les pratiques de la mobilité dans le mouridisme contemporain : pèlerinage, études et cultes délocalisés.*

9 :50 – 10 :10 : Discussion

10 :10 – 10 :30 : Coffee break

10 :30 – 10 :50 : Emilie BREBANT (FRFC, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgique) : *Le rayonnement national et international du sanctuaire marial de Kibeho et du visionnarisme rwandais.*

10 :50 – 11 :10 : Peter CROSSMAN (associated with IARA, KULeuven, Belgium): *Pilgrimage in three movements: consecration, conception and consolidation in the Shembe-amaNazaretha church in South Africa.*

11:10 – 11:30 : Catrien NOTERMANS (Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands) : *African Migrants at Marian Pilgrimage Sites in Europe.*

11:30 – 11:50: Discussion

11:50: Conference closing

REGISTRATION FORM

The fee for attending the two days is 15 euros for non-members of the ABA/BVA and 5 euros for members who paid their fee for 2009. The registration fee includes conference materials and coffee.

Due to the restricted number of available places, registration takes place in two phases:

1. Please send the completed registration form by e-mail to **annemelice[at]yahoo.fr** or by regular mail to **Anne Mélice 33 / boîte 041 Quai Marcellis, 4020 Liège, Belgium**. If places are still available, you will receive a confirmation of your registration.
2. You can then transfer the registration fee to the account of the ABA/BVA (**068-8890838-39 --- IBAN : BE13068889083839 --- BIC : GKCCBEBB**), mentioning **colloquium 2009 + your name**. You are registered as soon as we received the fee.

Name	
Address	
e-mail	
Tel	

Note: if you wish to have lunch at the Museum cafeteria on Friday December 11th, please inform the cafeteria of your intention: **+32 2 203 54 53 or p.hofman[at]lsctraiteur.be**

ABSTRACTS

Afe ADOGAME (The University of Edinburgh, UK): *Visualizing God Online : New Religious Imaginaries, Media Emplacement and Religious Mobility in Africa and the African Diaspora.*

The contemporary global arena is characterized by rapid development and convergence of new communication technologies in religious, economic, political and socio-cultural spheres. Media texts are increasingly serving as one significant map through which African religions and African-derived religions discern themselves on diasporic, local-global religious landscapes. Scholars need to pay attention to the role of media in transforming religious belief and ritual praxis; but also in stimulating transnational religious activities. New African churches and religious organizations have appropriated new media technologies such as internet websites, satellite TV and interactive technologies in the transmission of their religious ideologies, as a recruitment strategy for new clientele, but also as a way of

maintaining links and contact to members and branches transnationally. There has been an unprecedented upsurge in the production, consumption, and commodification of religious paraphernalia such as Christian home video-films as one specific form of popular culture in Africa and the new African diaspora. This paper explores how versions of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity are increasingly engaging new media technologies, particularly with their appropriation of satellite TV, Internet spaces and proliferation of religious websites as new 'virtual' homes; as conduits for disseminating religious ideologies; as means of recruiting new clientele and developing new visual publics; and as channels towards negotiating old and new identities. It assesses how and to what extent these alternative strategies impact on old and the new emerging publics within Africa and the African diaspora.

Sophie BAVA (IRD/LPED, Caïre, Egypt) : *Les pratiques de la mobilité dans le mouridisme contemporain : pèlerinage, études et cultes délocalisés.*

Réputés pour être mobiles et initiateurs de pratiques religieuses transnationales, les sénégalais mourides ont en effet adapté leur matériel religieux à leur vie de migrant. La hiérarchie confrérique, à l'écoute de ses *taalibés*, a accompagné ce mouvement depuis près de 40 ans. Le grand magal de Touba qui célèbre le départ en exil du fondateur de la confrérie se manifeste par l'organisation d'une grande célébration dans la ville sainte de Touba, le grand magal. Cet événement annuel reflète et répond à la transnationalisation de la confrérie comme nous aurons l'occasion de le montrer. Pourtant si des milliers de personnes se déplacent à Touba, d'autres ne peuvent pas s'y rendre. Ne pouvant pas faire le pèlerinage dans ce lieu saint, grand magal est alors célébré dans les villes sénégalaises et les destinations de migration. Ces événements ont lieu de manière simultanés et l'esprit du grand magal est bien présent même si le pèlerinage n'a pas lieu. Comment les migrants qui célèbrent le grand magal, qui devient alors une célébration sans pèlerinage, sans mobilité vers les lieux saints, s'arrangent de cette contrainte, quelle organisation spécifique est déployé dans ces moments là.

À travers de multiples terrains à Touba, Marseille, Paris et le Caire, nous tenterons de questionner cet événement religieux majeur dans le mouridisme contemporain en nous attachant plus particulièrement au sens que les migrants donnent à cet événement. D'autre part nous nous proposons d'interroger le rôle de la mobilité au sein de la confrérie à travers les récits des étudiants azharis (étudiants de l'Université Al Azhar au Caire) car la mobilité est aujourd'hui au cœur de l'entreprise mouride.

(Deux problématiques transversales seront dégagées :
Le grand magal de Touba qui peut être vu comme symbole de l'internationalisation du mouvement et de la réussite économique de certains migrants et les réseaux d'études azharis qui peuvent correspondre à une continuité des parcours religieux des grands cheikhs soufis mais vers quel avenir ? Ces projets au sein de la confrérie sont-ils opposés ou complémentaires ?)

Ruy Llera BLANES (Univ. Lisbon, Portugal) : *A church in a suitcase. Mobility, proselytism and belonging in the Tokoist church and its diaspora.*

"If you build a church that you can just drop into a suitcase and go back to Angola, then what's the point?" With these words, Bishop Afonso Nunes, leader of the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ on Earth (or 'Tokoist Church', one of the most important Christian movements in Angola) explained to me, in his suite on the 7th floor of the Lisbon Marriott hotel, his disapproving attitude towards Tokoist churches in the diaspora.

The bishop had expressed this criticism in his second visit to the Tokoist church of Lisbon, in November 2008, the day before our meeting at the Marriott. The church had recently commemorated its eighteenth birthday in this city (as the first Tokoist church inaugurated outside Angola since its official recognition in 1974, and place from where the creation of seven other European churches was promoted), so these harsh words could seem, at first hand, uncalled for.

Nevertheless, the tension they express was also revealing: despite the historical claims of 'universality' in the church (that nonetheless competed with ethnic Bakongo or African conceptions), over the last year the leadership in Angola developed a new understanding of this prophetic movement's place 'in the world' and promoted a reconfiguration of proselytism strategies. Hence the bishop's visit to Europe with the mission to 'set things straight'.

In this paper I propose to explain the development of a Tokoist diaspora in Europe and its consequences in terms of an 'ideological territorial ascription' for the church – a focus on the relationship between mobility, place and church ideology. I will also describe, through the ideological reconfiguration mentioned above, the tensions between different senses of belonging, and the debates regarding proselytism and evangelism related to them.

Emilie BREBANT (ULB-CIERL, Belgium): *Le rayonnement national et international du sanctuaire marial de Kibeho et du visionnarisme rwandais.*

Dans les années quatre-vingt, une série d'apparitions mariales alléguées mobilise l'attention des médias rwandais et déplace des foules importantes vers Kibeho, une petite localité du sud-ouest du pays. Interrompus par la guerre civile à partir du début des années nonante, ces pèlerinages spontanés reprennent graduellement après le génocide de 1994 pour s'instituer suite à la reconnaissance des apparitions mariales par l'Eglise catholique en 2001. En constant développement, le sanctuaire Notre-Dame des Douleurs commémore aujourd'hui les événements. Dès les origines du phénomène et dans un contexte politique tendu, des Rwandais réfugiés dans les pays limitrophes n'hésitent pas à traverser la frontière pour assister à des apparitions publiques à Kibeho ou en d'autres lieux où se produisent des voyants. Certains de ces visionnaires se feront prophètes itinérants, propageant leur message à travers le pays mais aussi en Ouganda et au Congo et – suite à la vague migratoire consécutive au génocide - jusqu'en Belgique où une association de catholiques s'est constituée autour d'une voyante rwandaise au début des années 2000. La célérité des flux d'acteurs et de représentations générés par le visionnarisme rwandais augmente avec le temps et l'introduction des nouvelles technologies. Soulevant notamment la question du transculturalisme (au sens de Augé, 2006), ces flux en disent long sur le rapport des catholiques rwandais au territoire et à l'identité religieuse et nationale, et participent d'une forme de globalisation « par le bas » (Appadurai, 2000). Ils représentent à la fois un défi et une opportunité pour l'Eglise catholique rwandaise, garante de l'orthodoxie et fragilisée par l'histoire récente.

Stefania CAPONE (CNRS/New-York University, USA) : *Orunmilà n'a pas de frontières: implantation et reconfigurations du culte d'Ifá au Brésil.*

Ma communication analysera la négociation rituelle engendrée au Brésil par la rencontre de différentes modalités régionales – nigériane, cubaine et brésilienne – du culte des *orisha* (dieux d'origine yoruba). Depuis la fin des années soixante-dix, le culte d'Ifá, qui avait disparu au Brésil dans les années trente, avec la mort des derniers *babalawo* (spécialistes de la divination), a été revitalisé grâce à des étudiants nigériens, devenus professeurs de langue yoruba pour les initiés dans le candomblé. Au début des années quatre-vingt-dix, un *babalao*

cubain, radiqué à Rio, a joué un rôle central dans l'implantation du culte d'Ifá, selon la tradition afro-cubaine. L'analyse de la réintroduction de ce culte dans les maisons de candomblé de Rio de Janeiro visera à mettre en lumière les enjeux d'une transnationalisation religieuse qui modifie en profondeur l'équilibre, parfois fragile, entre modalités de culte afro-brésiliennes. Les actuelles reconfigurations de la pratique religieuse afro-brésilienne mettent en évidence ceux qui sont les points de tension entre les différents modèles de tradition en présence : le rôle attribué à la médiumnité, la division du travail religieux entre hommes et femmes, le bouleversement de la hiérarchie et ses conséquences dans l'obtention du pouvoir et du prestige religieux. Cet exemple nous aidera à repenser les relations complexes entre le local et le global, ainsi que la tension structurelle entre homogénéisation et hétérogénéité des pratiques culturelles dans un contexte de globalisation religieuse.

Peter CROSSMAN (associated with IARA, KULeuven, Belgium): *Pilgrimage in three movements: consecration, conception and consolidation in the Shembe-amaNazareth church in South Africa.*

The Ibandla lamaNazareth, officially known as the Nazareth Baptist Church and colloquially known as 'Shembe', was founded by the charismatic preacher and healer Isaiah Shembe in the early 1900s in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. One of the first independent churches in South Africa, it has grown to be the second largest African-initiated church there and even has small followings in neighbouring countries. Geographically speaking there are three distinct pilgrimage movements within Shembe life: first the annual trek to the Holy Mountain of Nhlankakaze in January, second the annual September retreat at the Holy City of Ekuphakameni/Ebuhleni, and third the yearly calendar of week-long celebrations at sacred sites across KwaZulu-Natal. Though the whole of the ritual movement presupposes the relation to the sacred and the deployment of spiritual forces, these three moments can be said to address the needs for, respectively, intense contact with the sacred, social re-generation and political consolidation. These movements can be interpreted in the light of southeastern Bantu concepts of spirituality, homestead, kingship, fertility and pollution, but they also imply serious attempts to deal with the 19th century South African forces of modernity, namely colonialisation, western Christianity, urbanization, industrialization and an increasingly apartheid state. It is advanced that the Shembe pilgrimage movements are highly centripetal and that, while clearly providing a strong core to the church in earlier times, they weaken its capacity to continually adapt in the interface with contemporary South African society and globalization.

Marleen DE WITTE (Univ. Amsterdam, The Netherlands): *Religious Media, Mobile Spirits. Publicity and secrecy in African Pentecostalism and traditional religion.*

This paper examines the relationship between religion and mobility from the perspective of religious media and the nexus of publicity and secrecy they produce. It does so by comparing the role of media in the movement of spirits in three types of religion in Ghana : charismatic Pentecostalism, neo-traditional African religion, and traditional spiritual practices. It shows how a transnationally circulating format of televangelism has become paradigmatic for local charismatic churches' media production. At the same time, it shows how in the local religious and media landscape, such publicly visualized styles of worship, preaching, and body movement are appropriated outside Pentecostalism by neo-traditionalists seeking publicity. The power of local spirits and their mediums, however, thrives on secrecy and invisibility and they move through very different, less publicly visible media. Through an analysis and comparison of the specific relationship between visual mediation, mobility, and

the spiritual in the three cases, it shows how different kinds of media and different patterns of circulation construct publicity and secrecy as separate yet closely connected realms for the mobility of the Holy Spirit and African spirits respectively.

Patrick EISENLOHR (Univ. Utrecht, The Netherlands): *Technologies of the Spirit: Devotional Islam and Sound Reproduction in Mauritius.*

Uses of contemporary media technology in religious settings often oscillate between immediacy in spiritual interaction and the increasing complexity and visibility of media technology as human artifacts. In this paper I examine Mauritian Muslims' uses of sound reproduction in performing a devotional genre to show how theological assumptions about mediation shape the domestication of media technology in religious settings in different ways, centering on the wish for technical solutions to bypass established forms of interacting with the divine. Uses of electronic media in religious practices in Mauritius are also closely linked to struggles over religious authenticity, and the implications such struggles have for both the position of Mauritian Muslims in a Mauritian nation, and for the kind of relationships they entertain to differently conceived diasporic homelands. The legitimacy of performing a particular popular devotional genre, na't, has become a main issue in these debates. I discuss how the adherents of na't as a religious practice are now using sound recordings of the genre as a guide to organize devotional events known as mahfil-e mawlūd and have drawn on them as authoritative examples of Islamic practice in order to defend the performing of na't against its detractors.

Knut GRAW (KULeuven, Belgium and Zentrum Moderner Orient, ZMO, Berlin, Germany) : *Labour, Law, and Prayer: Conversations with Senegalese Migrants in Spain.*

Given the importance attributed to religious practices and identities by migrant communities today, recent approaches in religious anthropology and migration studies have emphasized the necessity to study religion and migration in relation to each other, rather than as separate phenomena. Drawing on conversations with Senegalese migrants in Spain between 2006 and 2009, the paper attempts to trace the personal significance of religious praxis in the emerging Senegalese diaspora in Spain, a context marked by increasingly difficult economic, juridical and social conditions. The paper especially aims at understanding the changes implied in the transition from religious praxis as an unchallenged part of everyday life in a Muslim majority society to religion as a marker of cultural difference and sign of otherness. Interrogating issues ranging from access to the labour market and questions of legal regulations to religious and ritual practices such as prayer (*saloo*) and the consultation of marabouts for divination (*jubeeroo*), the paper's analytical interest is twofold. On the one hand, the paper aims at contributing to the ethnographic study of transnational and diasporic forms of religious praxis in relation to the socioeconomic conditions under which they unfold. On a more theoretical level, the paper analyzes the complex interplay of inscription and ascription informing and underlying different articulations of religious praxis as well as the study of migration and religion more generally. Methodologically, both aspects are linked through the paper's focus on personal accounts and narratives as important forms of social commentary.

Liliane KUCZYNSKI (CNRS, Laboratoire d'anthropologie urbaine, Ivry, France) : *Des petits entrepreneurs religieux ouest-africains en France.*

La venue en France et dans d'autres pays d'Europe, depuis les années 1960, de marabouts d'origine ouest africaine présente l'originalité d'être une migration individuelle qui, si elle a fait tache d'huile jusqu'au milieu des années 1990, est restée atomisée, ne donnant naissance à aucun groupement religieux mais à des « petits entrepreneurs religieux » indépendants. Si l'implantation des premiers arrivés a correspondu au besoin ressenti par les familles ouest-africaines immigrées de maintenir leur identité culturelle et religieuse, l'activité des marabouts s'est très vite concentrée sur des rôles plus ciblés ; elle s'est aussi ouverte vers d'autres publics au contact desquels les pratiques se sont modifiées. On analysera divers aspects de ces transformations et permanences en s'appuyant sur une connaissance approfondie des marabouts parisiens et sur des études de cas. La comparaison de la présence des marabouts entre la France métropolitaine et la Martinique permettra de montrer le poids du contexte culturel, social et historique dans ces évolutions.

Baz LECOCQ (UGent, Belgium): *The Hajj from West Africa in the 20th Century.*

This paper inquires into the history of the Hajj in the 20th century, departing from West Africa. In this period, the pilgrimage underwent important changes of technical, economical, social, cultural, theological, and human geographical nature. These changes are all intimately connected to Colonial Rule over Africa and the Middle East (excluding the Hejjaz), and the introduction of motorised transport in these regions. The paper focuses on changes in the performance of and attitudes towards the Hajj in West Africa and the Sahel in the 20th Century. On the one hand, the colonial authorities introduced a state organised pilgrimage by steamships from the ports of West Africa in an effort to control the pilgrimage and the influence this experience could have on the attitudes toward colonial rule of colonial subjects. On the other hand, the overland roads changed from a North-South trans-Saharan axis to a West-East trans-Sahel axis, leading to the Red Sea and across to Djeddah and then on to Mecca. This change, provoked by the introduction of railways and motorcars, was enhanced by the social, economic and political circumstance created by colonial rule: new labour opportunities, new (interreligious) connections and fissures provoked by a reshaping of African geopolitics and the spread of Islam, and a desire to escape colonial authority and control.

Maïté MASKENS (ULB – FRFC, Belgium) : *Les pasteurs pentecôtistes en mouvement : mobilité religieuse et migration.*

En considérant les aspects spatiaux et identitaires des déplacements des acteurs religieux, cette contribution entend interroger l'articulation entre itinéraire migratoire et religieux des pasteurs de quatre assemblées pentecôtistes bruxelloises différentes, toutes composées par une majorité de fidèles d'origine congolaise.

L'analyse des récits de pasteurs, retraçant le périple les menant de la République Démocratique du Congo à la Belgique, donne à voir un entremêlement de mouvements géographiques et d'actions divines, nous offrant l'opportunité de réfléchir à un double processus impliquant mobilité et religion. D'une part, il s'agit de la manière dont le pentecôtisme transforme l'expérience migratoire en permettant une mise en mot alternative de cette expérience. Et, d'autre part, il s'agit de décrire les incidences de cette expérience sur les discours et les pratiques religieuses dans le nouveau contexte d'accueil, notamment au travers des positionnements identitaires des « enfants de Dieu » et des visées missionnaires de ceux-ci en direction des autochtones.

Anne MÉLICE (ULg-LASC, Belgium) and Ramon SARRO (Univ. Lisbon, Portugal):
Reterritorialization and religious extraversion: the dialectics of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ in the Kimbanguist Church

In this paper we want to joint our ethnographic efforts and insights to offer a view of the Kimbanguist church in Europe, centring on Portuguese and Belgian diasporas and their connections among themselves and with the African countries where they come from (mostly, Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola). Portugal and Belgium case-studies may offer different perspectives on Kimbanguism for two reasons. Firstly, while Belgium has been very much central in the making of the contemporary European Union, Portugal still remains quite ‘marginal’. One could even say it is a ‘liminal’ country in between and betwixt the continents, and this liminality is often perceived by African migrants and commented upon, either positively or negatively. Secondly, the relationship between the diasporas and the African countries where they come from are very different: Belgium was the metropolis to Belgian Congo, where the prophetic movement was born in 1921, while Portugal was the metropolis to Angola, a country where the movement was and still is in a much weaker position. Yet, as the Pope visits Angola, the Portuguese kimbanguists prepare themselves to receive the visit of Simon Kimbangu Kiangani, the spiritual Chief of the Church (living in Nkamba, in today’s Democratic Republic of Congo) to Loures, the deprived neighbourhood of Greater Lisbon where their church is located. Why he has chosen this place to make his first trip ever to Europe is at this stage irrelevant as has to do with events and politics that will be described in the paper. What needs to be highlighted in any case is that he has chosen a city that, according to Kimbanguists themselves, is as marginal to Europe as Bethlehem was to the Roman Empire or Nkamba was to Belgium Congo when, respectively, Jesus Christ and Simon Kimbangu were born. ‘God always chooses those in the weakest position’, told us a Kimbanguist pastor in Lisbon. This in itself is an interesting comment about the self-perception of their presence in Europe. While they are not active proselytisers and do not use ‘reverse mission’ arguments (in our experience, they dislike the very idea of “mission”), they do perceive that Europe has quite a lot of ‘marginalized’ people in need of a new spirituality that they are confidently able to provide. In this paper we want to discuss these dialectics between ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’ (Nkamba vs. Luanda, Belgium vs. Portugal, Europe vs. Africa) and suggest, following Bayart’s powerful notion of ‘a long history of extraversion’, that the Christian religion is not to be seen (only) as something that has been imported *onto* Africa, but that it must also be seen as one of the mechanisms by which Africans reaffirms a presence in world and mobilize external actions upon their societies. Not only do we want to show that migrant churches must be studied with a multi-sited ethnographic outlook and methodology, but that collaboration among scholars is becoming more and more necessary in order to map out the increasingly complex networks that religious diasporas establish among their branches in Europe and in Africa.

Joël NORET (ULB – FNRS, Belgium) : *Les Églises africaines en Belgique. Formes de reconnaissance et identités.*

Pas plus que les chrétiens africains en Belgique ne forment une “communauté”, les Églises africaines présentes en Belgique ne constituent un bloc homogène. Selon leur histoire, leur taille et le style de christianisme dans lequel elles s’inscrivent, notamment, elles peuvent progressivement devenir des interlocutrices pour les hommes politiques et/ou les administrations, ou au contraire se trouver confinées dans les marges du champ religieux. A partir des situations contrastées de l’Église du Christianisme Céleste et de La Nouvelle Jérusalem, deux Églises aux profils religieux et sociologique fort différents à bien des égards,

ce papier proposera une réflexion sur la diversité des trajectoires et des formes de reconnaissance que peuvent obtenir (ou pas) les Églises africaines en Belgique, et sur leurs modes d'inscription possibles dans l'espace public.

Catrien NOTERMANS (Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands): *African Migrants at Marian Pilgrimage Sites in Europe.*

In contrast to prevailing theories of secularization and the assumed disappearance of the social force of religion in Dutch society, recent theorizing on diasporas and identity claims that religion acquires considerable significance within processes of migration, place-making, transnational networks and continual identifications with home and homelands. Migrants try to make sense of their world through religious symbolism and practices like making pilgrimages, sharing rituals, constructing altars and shrines, or forming religious associations. Rather than considering religion as an anti-social force, preventing migrants and refugees from integrating in Dutch society, the project aims to investigate religion as a social force, enabling migrants to deal with multiple belongings, to articulate their private and hidden suffering at different homes, and to give meaning to ethnic, gender, and transnational identities.

This paper explicitly focuses on female migrants from predominantly catholic African origin, living in the Netherlands and regularly going to Marian pilgrimage sites in Europe (f.e. Lourdes, Fatima, Banneux, Kevelaer, Heiloo). As a previous study of the researcher has revealed that Mary is especially meaningful for pilgrims in situations of family trouble and disconnections in the kin network, the focus is on transnational family trouble of migrant women going on Marian pilgrimage. Central questions are: How do migrant women connect to home, homeland and the family through Marian devotion and pilgrimage? Which shrines do they regularly visit? Do they make their pilgrimages individually or are the journeys family-based or organised by churches or religious organisations? What transnational networks are involved in Marian pilgrimage? And how do pilgrims, in a European religious context, use Marian devotion to address issues of identity and belonging?

Katrien PYPE (KULeuven, Belgium- Univ. Birmingham, UK): *Religion, Migration and Media Aesthetics. Notes on the Circulation and Reception of Nigerian Films in Kinshasa.*

The presentation deals with the circulation and reception of Nigerian films in Kinshasa, which relate dialectically to the establishment of a social and moral imagination that can be qualified as apocalyptic. The popularity of these imported films derives from the triangular of migration, religion and the liberalization of media. In order to theoretically refine the interaction between media and religion, I attempt to identify the different kinds of brokers who act as intermediaries between Kinshasa spectators and the Nigerian films, and the ways in which these brokers engage in the localization of these culturally foreign media texts. Pentecostalist leaders, who travel back and forth between Nigeria and Kinshasa, and Christian dubbers appear as fundamental in the process of appropriation. So, instead of privileging in my analysis the narratives of the Nigerian films, I treat practices of movement and the localization strategies performed by Christian media brokers as the primary sites of the intersection between the global flows and local reception of these narratives. The material enables us to correct persistent ideas on, first, African migration, which is not always south-north oriented or economically inspired. Apart from commerce, religion motivates Africans to move, and it inspires them in particular to travel within the continent. Second, the fact that south-south migration co-occurs with the circulation of electronic media, which in their turn

modify local aesthetic regimes, challenges the assumed Western cultural dominance in postcolonial Africa.

Ramon SARRO (Univ. Lisbon, Portugal) : cf. Anne Mélice and Ramon Sarro

Richard WERBNER (Univ. Manchester, UK) : KEYNOTE ADDRESS: *Charismatics, Schism and Schismogenesis: An Apostolic Church in Crisis*.

My argument about religious change among Apostolics and charismatics in Botswana advances the concept of reformation in Christian history. Reformation is a process which, once begun against original belief and practice, has the prospect of becoming not a single moment or phase in history – The Reformation - but a reactive spiral on-going from generation to generation. Each generation's accomplishment in reformation becomes, in turn, grist for succeeding generations. Spiralling over several generations, the turn taking returns on itself – reprise re-occurs, for example when a third generation, bringing back certain original beliefs or practices, refreshes them as another reformation.

The comparative and theoretical interest in such reformation is all the greater, because it often takes place, at least among Apostolics, through repeated schisms, each distinguished in turn by what Gregory Bateson calls schismogenesis. My keynote address illuminates schismogenesis among Apostolics in the transnational Christian Church of Eloyi and its offshoot the Conallius Apostolic Church . What reformation is not, I argue, is merely new, or nothing but 'a break with the past'.

Some of the past is so very present that it continues unquestioned, underlying or informing predicaments from generation to generation. My argument is that such axiomatic continuity holds fundamentally for personhood among the Apostolics.

One could well argue otherwise. With Christianity comes the rise of the individual, much scholarship suggests for many parts of the world. It is, some would also say for the most recent spread of Christianity, a fact or, perhaps, artefact of modernity, or even capitalism and globalization.

Against that, however, my argument looks to the *longue duree*. I find that among Apostolics, in particular across southern Africa, over generations and from a pre-Christian past, what endures is alternative personhood. That is, over the *longue duree*, the person continues to be variable. One might say two persons exist in one: an individual and, alternatively, a dividual; i.e., someone who is composite or partible and permeated by others' shared substances, including body dirt or sexual and other fluids. The implications of the unstable yet long-term twining of individuality with dividuality are many. They are problematic, for the people themselves no less than for the anthropologist.

Applying the concept of alternative personhood and the processual view of reformation, I seek to illuminate the repeated schisms so strikingly endemic among Apostolic churches. Throughout my address, I foreground the religious predicaments of street-wise young men, living in the capital of Botswana. In the Eloyi Christian Church and its offshoot, the Conallius Apostolic church, these young men exercise power and command a Christian domain of prophecy. They are seers of the cinematic, of the moving image. I show how and why, in their séance experience, the prophetic *is* the cinematic, especially through a crisis involving iconoclasm and religious innovation.