



PONTIFICIA
UNIVERSIDAD
CATÓLICA
DE CHILE

PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE CHILE

FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES

INSTITUTO DE SOCIOLOGÍA

PATRONES, PRÁCTICAS E INSTITUCIONES RELIGIOSAS EN LA INSERCIÓN
SOCIAL DE LA POBLACIÓN MIGRANTE

Por

FELIPE EDUARDO ORELLANA GALLARDO

Tesis presentada al Instituto de Sociología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile,
para optar al grado de Doctor en Sociología

Profesor Guía:

Eduardo Valenzuela

Comisión Informante:

Patricia Imbarack

Andrew Webb

Marzo, 2020

Santiago, Chile

© Felipe Eduardo Orellana Gallardo

Se autoriza la reproducción total o parcial, con fines académicos, por cualquier medio o procedimiento, incluyendo la cita bibliográfica del documento.

AGRADECIMIENTOS

Primero que todo, quiero agradecer a mi esposa Paula Courriol, quien ha estado siempre junto a mí en todos los desafíos emprendidos. Ha estado durante todo este proceso y es quien me impulsó a decidir cursar este doctorado. De igual manera quiero agradecer a mi madre, Claudia Gallardo, por estar siempre alentándome y apoyándome sobre todo en los momentos difíciles. Mi hijo Ramiro ha sido una alegría inmensa estos años, él nació cuando iniciaba el doctorado y ahora tiene 3 años. Espero saber transmitirle a él la pasión por los libros y el estudio.

Quiero agradecer a mi colega y amigo Francisco Landeros por sus atentas lecturas y comentarios a cada uno de los artículos aquí incluidos. Muchos elementos fructíferos surgieron a partir de conversaciones con Francisco y de sus pertinentes comentarios. También quisiera agradecer a mi profesor guía Eduardo Valenzuela por creer en mi tema de investigación y a los miembros de mi comisión, Patricia Imbarack y Andrew Webb, por leer y comentar los artículos. De igual modo, señalo que el financiamiento para cursar este doctorado se realizó gracias a una beca del Programa de Capital Humano Avanzado de CONICYT¹

Un lugar muy importante lo ocupa mi tío Carlos. Desde muy pequeño mis inclinaciones literarias hallaron espacio en su fantástica biblioteca. De no haber tenido acceso a esos libros el alcance de mis lecturas y mis intereses académicos habrían sido muy menores. La pasión borgeseana por los libros que me transmitió mi tío Carlos y su biblioteca yo las he trasladado al ámbito académico en el estudio de la religión. La biblioteca de mi tío primero, y luego las bibliotecas universitarias han sido el espacio donde -mediante el impulso, la perseverancia y la constancia- pude completar este grado académico.

Por último, quisiera parafrasear una íntima frase de Borges que utiliza en el epílogo de *Historia de la Noche* y que refleja mi disposición:

“Como ciertas ciudades, como ciertas personas, una parte muy grata de mi destino fueron los libros. ¿Me será permitido repetir que la biblioteca [de mi tío Carlos] [ha sido uno de los hechos] capitales de mi vida? La verdad es que nunca he salido de ella, como no salió nunca de la suya Alonso Quijano”.

¹ Correspondiente a la Beca de Doctorado Nacional Convocatoria 2016.

TABLA DE CONTENIDOS

TABLA DE CONTENIDOS.....	3
ÍNDICE DE TABLAS.....	5
RESUMEN.....	6
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	7
The incorporation of immigrants through religious institutions.....	11
Religion and Ethnicity.....	15
Research Methods.....	18
This Thesis.....	21
CHAPTER 2. CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND RELIGIOUS REFLEXIVITY IN AN INTERCULTURAL CHILEAN PARISH.....	24
Abstract.....	24
Introduction.....	24
Religious Reflexivity.....	26
Research Methods.....	29
Results.....	30
Discussion and Conclusions.....	36
CHAPTER 3. HAITIAN PARISHIONERS IN A CHILEAN PARISH: THE ROLE OF HAITIAN CATHOLICISM AND ETHNIC CULTURAL FEATURES.....	38
Abstract.....	38
Introduction.....	38
Theory on Ethnic Churches.....	40
Haitian Catholicism.....	42
Research Methods.....	43
Results.....	44
Discussion and Conclusions.....	50
CHAPTER 4. CONVERSION AND INVOLVEMENT IN PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES: THE CASE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS ABROAD.....	52
Abstract.....	52

Introduction.....	52
A de-territorialized Community.....	54
Pentecostal Presence Abroad.....	57
Haitian Pentecostalism Abroad.....	59
Conversion from a Spiritual Basis.....	62
Conclusions.....	64
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS.....	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	74

INDICE DE TABLAS

Tabla 1. Religion and Immigrant Incorporation.....12

RESUMEN.

La presente investigación doctoral busca identificar el rol de las iglesias católicas y pentecostales en la inserción social de la población migrante. Qué rol desempeñan tanto en las dimensiones sociales y espirituales para los inmigrantes que acuden a ellas. Esta investigación se llevó a cabo de manera empírica en una parroquia con diversidad cultural (la parroquia Latinoamericana de Providencia) y en una parroquia con una pastoral haitiana (la parroquia Santa Cruz de Estación Central). Se utilizó una metodología cualitativa con observación participante y no participante, así como también entrevistas en profundidad a inmigrantes con participación en ambas parroquias.

La investigación doctoral se compone de tres artículos: primero, un artículo que tiene como objetivo identificar la relación entre reflexividad religiosa y creencia individual, todo esto porque la diversidad cultural en parroquias interculturales puede conllevar un relativismo y debilitamiento de la creencia individual. Segundo, se investigó si la participación en la pastoral haitiana constituía un elemento de distanciamiento y clivaje étnico o más bien permitía la interacción con la comunidad chilena de la parroquia, para los haitianos de la parroquia Santa Cruz de Estación Central. Tercero, se identificó los elementos inherentes al pentecostalismo haitiano en contextos migratorios y se reconoció que la conversión motivada por una dimensión espiritual es propia del pentecostalismo haitiano a diferencia del pentecostalismo latinoamericano donde puede hallarse una dimensión social que sustenta la conversión. Este último artículo fue realizado a partir de una revisión de literatura.

Los resultados muestran que la creencia religiosa se ve fortalecida ante el contacto con la diversidad cultural; que la participación en la pastoral haitiana constituye un mecanismo para interactuar con la comunidad chilena de la parroquia Santa Cruz y que la conversión al pentecostalismo en el caso haitiano está fuertemente motivada por terminar las relaciones y obligaciones monetarias con los espíritus del vudú (*lwas*). De manera global, se puede mencionar que el hallazgo de esta investigación doctoral es que no debe adoptarse sólo un ateísmo metodológico en materia de análisis de los fenómenos religiosos -es decir, dejar de lado cualquier alusión a lo trascendental y espiritual en el análisis- sino más bien adoptar un ludismo metodológico en estos temas -reconocer que lo material y lo trascendental están en interrelación- puesto que los inmigrantes entrevistados reconocen que Dios es una presencia permanente y que interviene en sus vidas.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The study of religion and immigration is a field that has gained a strong presence in the US and Western Europe, through research on the new immigrants from countries in Latin America, Africa and South East Asia which also includes Muslim groups. Indeed, since the groundbreaking book by Warner and Wittner (1998) *Gatherings in Diaspora. Religious Communities and the New Immigration* there has been a growing body of research on religion, globalization, migration and related topics, such as the use of technology by religious groups (Wuthnow & Offut, 2008), religion in borderlands (Vásquez & Marquardt, 2003), cultural hybridism (Burke, 2013) or religious groups in transnational contexts (Vásquez & Marquardt, 2003). However, in the Latin American context, the field on religion and immigration has only recently begun to be researched for reasons reviewed further.

On the one hand, in the US context, religion has been considered as a resource for the assimilation of immigrants as through religious participation it is possible to find a place in the US society. In the Western European context, religion is considered an issue, and there are hostile attitudes towards immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa. It should be noted that the US attitude towards religion and assimilation is due to the fact that religious pluralism and immigration have been present since the origins of the country (Foner & Alba, 2008). Indeed, there is a positive viewpoint on immigrant groups and their religious practices. In the European context, there is hostility towards the above mentioned immigrant groups because Islam represents the Other *vis à vis* the Catholic Church and the secularism that is present in Western Europe has resulted in a view on immigrants and their religious practices as a threat to the secular worldview (Foner & Alba, 2008).

On the other hand, Latin America is considered a Catholic region due to the presence of the Catholic Church since the colonial period until today (Chesnut, 2003; Hagiopan, 2009; Somma, Bargsted, & Valenzuela, 2017). Nevertheless, since the 1990s, growing diversification and pluralization of the Latin American religious field have been identified (Hagiopan, 2009; Parker, 2009b, 2009a, 2016; Ramírez, 2008). Both economic and cultural globalization are at the basis of this pluralization. Cultural globalization promotes a consumer culture that is in opposition to the traditional Catholic culture. The former type of globalization has produced an increment in the level of schooling as well as pluralization in educational options; there is also a strong influence by the mass media and technology in the population, and the emergence of new social movements together with the presence of immigrants. “All these factors have not only impacted Catholicism but transformed Latin American cultures” (Parker, 2016, p. 18). Also, there is the growing presence of Evangelical and Pentecostal groups (Gill, 1999; Somma et al., 2017). The above elements have allowed the characterization of the Latin American religious field as a pluralist market where the religious options are battling among themselves for the adhesion by the individuals (Chesnut, 2003).

In this sense, the Catholic church is trying to compete to get churchgoers not only with the protestant churches and the anti-clerical culture (which has been present since the independence days until the mid XX century) but also, since the 1970s, with the anarchist movement and the communist and socialist parties. In current times, there is competition in the religious field with: the Evangelical and Pentecostal churches, the independent churches (Mormons, Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses), the religious syncretism (indigenous and Afro-

Caribbean, Afro-Brasilian) from Christian origins but there is no under ecclesiastical influence currently; religious groups from oriental sources and the secular cultures and neomagics (Parker, 2016; Ramírez, 2008).

However, in spite of the assessment of pluralization and cultural globalization in Latin America, research on the religious life of the new immigrants in the region is very scarce. There is a lot of evidence from the US or European contexts, but in Latin America, there is very little literature and research on religion and immigration. There are some exceptions such as the research on religious practices by Bolivians in Ushuaia, Argentina (Mallimaci, 2016) or Cuban Santería in Mexico City (Cano Miranda, 2016) and others that are replicating the analysis on Latin American immigration in the US (Giménez, 2014; Osorio, 2012); but, as far as I know, there is not much research on the religious life of immigrants within Latin America. De la Torre and Martín (2016) confirm this statement when they argue on the novelty of the study of religion and immigration in Latin America. They claim that “nowadays, however, interest in religious studies is focused not only on shifts and reterritorialization but also on the new role religion plays in ethnicization and/or de-ethnicization processes and in helping believers withstand the displacements produced by globalization” (p. 474).

Furthermore, an essential topic in the research on religion and immigration is the transnational religion -that can be understood as the interactions between immigrants and religious communities in both the homeland and host countries (Levitt, 2007)-, although this type of transnationalism should be analyzed from a Latin American context, or more specifically within the Chilean context reviewed in this doctoral research. I support the last statement because the literature in the area has a lot of empirical research and theorization in the US (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2002). However, the situation changes when we focus on a country -Chile- that has recently received continuous flows of immigration and where the immigrants are trying to settle in the host society.

Chile has become a country with significant flows of immigration from Latin America and the Caribbean in recent years (Yáñez, 2017) with an increase of 4.9% each year between 2010 and 2015. In effect, according to a UN report in 2010 there were 369,346 immigrants in Chile and in 2015 they were 469,435, this means an increase of 27% (Yáñez, 2017). Since 2015, the immigrant population in Chile rose from 2.7% to 4.4%. This means that in 2018 there were 777,407 immigrants in Chile (Cárdenas, 2018) and this data is increasing. In this case, it is difficult to find a transnational characteristic for the religion of immigrants because the immigrants have not established permanent communities, nor have they travelled and interacted between their homeland and host country continuously. Instead of researching the transnational practices of religious immigrant communities, the focus of this doctoral research is to analyze the role of the religious institutions in the incorporation of immigrants into Chilean society.

In the study of religion, transnationalism has allowed an understanding of current immigration -that produces a continuous interaction between homeland and host country due to the use of modern media in transport and communications- this is different to the older immigration processes. Secondly, transnationalism has produced the idea that this way of interaction is broadly diffused among immigrants, and that it will be the way of communication for the next immigrant generations with their homeland. Nevertheless, “all

three of these assumptions have been challenged on empirical and conceptual grounds, and in the process, transnationalism is now generally seen as one possible mode of immigrant incorporation that applies to some but not all immigrants” (Kivisto, 2007, p. 499). A critique by Kivisto (2007) makes sense in relation to the Chilean context, where there are immigrants that have been arriving since 2000 (Cárdenas, 2018; Rojas & Koechlin, 2017; Yáñez, 2017), but do not have any economic resources to travel between their homeland and Chile -as in the Haitian case that is reviewed and evidenced further.

It is crucial to move the study of religion and immigration from the central regions - the US and western Europe- and to focus on areas that are receiving immigration flows. In fact, “scholarship too has tended to focus on migration flows from the global South to the global North (South-North migration), even when migration within and across the global South (South-South migration) is arguably more significant numerically speaking” (Saunders, Snyder, & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016, p. 8). For this reason, research on other regions -such as Latin America or Chile- is justified from an exploratory approach. Latin America has recently experienced a flow of immigrants from within the same region, and the Caribbean, meaning that in the first decades of the XXI century more than three million Latin-Americans live in another Latin American country that is not their home country (Cerrutti & Parrado, 2015; Nieto, 2014). This also means a more significant number even for the case of the Latin-Americans in the US (2.7 million) and Spain (2 million) (Cerrutti & Parrado, 2015). In this context, Chile has become a country that receives immigration flows (Cerrutti & Parrado, 2015; Yáñez, 2017) where it is possible to find migration from neighboring countries such as Bolivia, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, Brazil and Ecuador, and in recent years immigration from the Dominican Republic and Haiti has enormously grown (Cubides & Bortolotto, 2013; Rojas & Koechlin, 2017).

Moreover, the research on religion and immigration in the Chilean context is an area worthy of study because there is Latin American immigration that makes the Chilean churches increasingly intercultural churches -where it is possible to find inculturation religious practices from different places across Latin America-. At the same time, there is Haitian immigration that diversifies the national religious context with the inclusion of new religious beliefs. Indeed, research on religious and immigration is at the basis of the pluralization and diversification of the religious field in Chile.

Furthermore, as an example of the current research themes in the area of religion and immigration -and with its possible application outside the central regions- Stepick (2005) shows the evident, emergent and unknown elements in the field. The evident elements are that religion is important for immigrants, that immigration pluralizes the religious area and that the scope of some religious practices can be transnational. In terms of both the emergent and unknown elements, Stepick (2005) identifies the formation of identity; religion and cultural continuity; nationalism and ethnicity; multi-ethnic congregations; changes in gender roles; inter-generational differences, social capital, and civic compromise; and the structure of religious organizations.

It is essential to specify that the above elements were based in the US context. However, in Chile, the research on these topics are beginning and exploring these issues is a novel area of study due to the current immigrant flows (Aguirre, 2017; Cubides & Bortolotto, 2013). What is more, religion is a crucial protagonist in the immigration process -it provides

spiritual, psychological, and social support, and in some cases is a motivation for immigration (Hagan, 2002)-. So, it is of interest for the present research to analyze the characteristics and services that religious institutions adopt with the immigrants that come to these institutions. The aim is to comprehend the role that religious institutions develop in the first steps of the settlement of immigrants into Chilean society. At the same time, it should be noted that research on religious institutions is a crucial step in the religion and immigration area because these institutions are continuously playing a leading role in the incorporation and settlements of immigrants. The resources mentioned above are only some examples of the elements that the churches provide to the people who are participating in their activities. The crucial aspect is that churches have a prominent place in the settlement of immigrants, and other institutions that immigrants establish contacts with do not have that status -schools, hospitals, foreign offices, and so on-. Churches are places where immigrants can feel a sense of community, make social links, contact spiritual support, and find a solution, distraction, or protection from the problems which other institutions should be supporting. For example, school bullying is absent in churches. Finally, churches provide spiritual and social resources to their parishioners, two dimensions that other institutions cannot offer. Therefore, there is a sociological interest to research the key role of these institutions.

The contribution of this research is to analyze the role of churches in settlement of immigrants in Santiago. Also, the spiritual and social resources are overlapping dimensions in the life of immigrants with participation in churches. This research will show that the spiritual and social aspect of the religious phenomena can be linked and not separated, as the methodological atheism has usually proposed (Berger, 1992, 2004, 2013, 2014; Porpora, 2006).

Coupled with this, it is of interest to research how the mechanism through ethnicity is reproduced (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b) in the Haitian case. That is to say, to investigate the practices and mechanisms through which an ethnic group reproduces the homeland culture, gastronomy, religious traditions, and so on, to ameliorate the impact of the migratory and settlement processes.

In summary, this doctoral research aims to analyze the role of religious institutions in the incorporation of immigrants, instead of focusing on the process of assimilation of the latter group. I decided on the first theme as the assimilation process implies elements such as knowledge of the language, marriage with native people, involvement in the job market, and socioeconomic and spatial concentration (Kivisto, 2016; Waters & Jiménez, 2005). However, among the Haitian immigrants that have recently arrived in Chile, it is difficult to find these elements of assimilation (Sánchez, Valderas, Messenger, Sánchez, & Barrera, 2018). Therefore, the research aims are seeking to understand the role of religion in the first steps of settlement by migrant churchgoers. In the same way, the specific aspects are as follows: an intercultural parish with cultural diversity and the relationship of this diversity with the individual belief. Second, the Haitian community and the development of an ethnic church in a Chilean parish, as well as the case of Haitian Pentecostalism abroad and its fundamental characteristics, are the key themes that will be researched and analyzed in specific articles.

Finally, the general research aim is:

- To comprehend the role that religious institutions develop in the first steps of the settlement of immigrants to Chilean society.

And the specific objects are as follows:

- To examine the role of cultural diversity in the personal belief in an intercultural parish.
- To analyze the reproduction of Haitian Catholicism, and the interaction of Haitian parishioners within the Chilean community, in a Chilean Parish.
- To identify, in the literature on Haitian Pentecostalism, the fundamental characteristics of this movement abroad.

The Incorporation of Immigrants through Religious Institutions

The incorporation of immigrants in the host society through religious institutions can be understood “as the process of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals become linked to an [religious] institution recognized by one or more nation-states” (Glick Schiller, Caglar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006, p. 614). Indeed, organizational and personal network ties provide access to resources. These resources include money, material rewards, employment, social recognition, training, and prestige (Glick Schiller et al., 2006). The participation of immigrants in Catholic or Pentecostal churches, as well as ethnic churches, provides them with the opportunity of establishing social links, to meet people of the same nationality or cultural background, to access information on housing, immigration issues, job searching, and so on (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b). Thus, through this involvement in the religious institutions, immigrants can get a lot of information or social links that can be very useful in the first steps of settlement in a host country.

Indeed, Portes and Rumbaut (2014) have identified that “religion has accompanied the process of migration as a means of seeking to ameliorate the traumas of departure and early settlement, to protect immigrants against external attacks and discrimination, and to smooth their acculturation within the new environment” (p. 308). This accompanying role of religion in the incorporation of immigrants can be illustrated with the following table:

Table 1: Religion and Immigrant Incorporation.

Secular Side	Religious Side
1. Economic and political conditions prompt individual and families to emigrate.	1. Churches, synagogues, etc. in sending countries guide migrants and facilitate their departure.
2. Host societies adopt different attitudes toward newcomers, ranging from sympathy and support to open hostility.	2. Religious institutions in the host country support favourable receptions and try to counterbalance negative ones.
3. Host country states adopt various policies to incorporate or exclude newcomers, affecting their choices for successful incorporation.	3. Religious organizations collaborate with authorities in promoting incorporation, while protecting immigrants from exclusionary policies.
4. Pressures from civil society on already established immigrant groups to assimilate promptly to the linguistic/cultural mainstream.	4. Immigrants join churches, synagogues, etc. seeking to protect their cultural heritage, as they learn the host country language and culture.
5. The second generation emerges and grows up under conditions of relative advantage or disadvantage.	5. Churches, mosques, etc. support parents' efforts towards overcoming discrimination and other barriers to the successful adaptation of their offspring.

Source: Adapted from (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014, p. 312).

Other characteristics of religion and immigrant incorporation are as follows:

First, the immigrants in host countries can actively decide on his/her religious identification because they do not need to follow a religious identification by cultural heritage or tradition in the new setting. The religious identification by immigrants is an active process, not a nominal identification for tradition (Warner, 1998). Second, the religious communities are “free” spaces where the immigrants neither need to speak the host language nor to follow the social practices of the host society (Warner, 2000).

Third, the religious institutions on immigrant issues adopt a “de facto” congregationalism (Warner, 1998, 2000), what it means: 1) a voluntary association of members whose identity, 2) is defined mainly by the people themselves, instead of the place which is inhabited. 3) There is a layman leadership (a body of elderlies, deacons, and so on), 4) a financial and representational system through taxes, like in a non-profit organization; 5) due to the layman leadership and the taxes, there is a tendency to hire clerical representatives as if they were employees in the institution. Also, 6) in some churches, there is a tendency to the ethnic exclusivity because of the voluntary participation by the members and due to the many necessities that immigrants experience. 7) The church becomes multi-functional (it develops not only the religious service. Instead, there are educational, social, cultural activities). 8) The religious ceremonies are performed on Sundays (in spite of the sacred day of the religious tradition) because of the busy weekdays of the immigrant churchgoers. Finally, there is a valorization of the place of women, that is to say, “women are likely to serve on boards of directors and even to be worship leaders” (Warner, 2000, p. 280).

Moreover, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000c) propose a type of organization and administration of the immigrant issues that is named “communitarian centers”. In detail, they understand that religious congregations are composed of two dimensions: 1) the structural characteristics of the congregation (financial system, leadership, etc.) and 2) the development of communitarian centers that provides non-religious services to immigrants. The features of these centers are 1) to celebrate secular holidays, 2) to teach secular classes on topics such as host languages and courses on the culture of the host country. 3) To provide information and assistance in matters such as a financial organization, searching for a job, health services, housing, guidance on immigration issues, 4) to have rooms and halls for recreational use, and 5) to facilitate a communal hall for the development of social activities. In summary, a communitarian center is focalized on a range of secular and social services to the immigrant members of a religious institution. The former center and the church provide help to the incorporation of immigrants in the host country (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000c). In fact, “in addition to their religious functions, religious organizations become more and more concerned with functions that could facilitate the full participation of their members in their host society” (Breton, 2012, p. 97). This participation through religious institutions is achieved by the development of the following mechanisms: 1) to facilitate social services and social opportunities, 2) to develop the civic and social participation, and 3) to facilitate cultural tools for the settlement in the host society (Breton, 2012).

The churches are fundamental institutions where immigrants can obtain social capital. That is to say; they may access social and economic resources through the development of social links. Individuals have different levels of social capital through their set of relationships with others (Verdaguer, 2009), and it can be understood collectively, as well (Portes, 2000). Moreover, social capital is a set of resources that is present in different social settings and is based on the expectation of reciprocity (Portes & Landolt, 1996). The rich and the poor have access to different social or economic means through the networks that they can develop. The difference is that some networks advance or improve the social capital while others constrain or impede the access to opportunities of highest quality (Verdaguer, 2009).

However, obtaining goods, opportunities and means through participation in social networks has a negative side, too (Portes & Landolt, 1996, 2000). For example, “the same mechanisms appropriable by individuals as social capital can lead to a set of negative outcomes for others” (Portes & Landolt, 2000, p. 532). The negative outcomes of social capital are as follows: excess demands on members of the group, exclusion of outsiders, restrictions on member’s freedom and downward levelling norms (Portes & Landolt, 1996, 2000). The strong ties that help the members of a group can exclude other individuals or groups. It can be seen in the fact that some ethnic groups dominate some industries or occupations. Also, those ties can undermine business and entrepreneurship because some family and friends ask their kin entrepreneurs for support (Portes & Landolt, 1996). In the religious field, as will be analyzed, the participation in social networks and ethnic churches can produce isolation from the host society because the interaction of the parishioners is kept mainly inside the limits of the church’s community (Brazal & Guzman, 2016; Ryan, 2016; Serrao & Cavendish, 2018; Tsang, 2015).

Equally important, regarding the Catholic and Pentecostal attitudes to immigrant incorporation, is the Catholic position based on biblical worldviews and teachings. For

instance, the principle that “all persons are created in the image of God” means that the Catholic church aims its assistance towards different migrants. By the same token, some biblical passages, such as Matthew 25:35 – “For I was hungry, and you gave me food, I was thirsty, and you gave me drink, I was a stranger, and you welcomed me” -, the gospel, and religious revelation of the concepts of human rights are at the basis of incorporation of immigrants (Mooney, 2007). These doctrines teach the Catholic faithful that they are responsible to a higher authority than the political power “their duties as Christians may often go beyond their duties as citizens. Even if a person is undocumented, and thus does not have any political rights, Christians are supposed to welcome that person as if he or she were Christ” (Mooney, 2007, p. 163).

On the other hand, Evangelical-Pentecostal incorporation is based on the idea of Christian universalism. In other words, through the born-again conversion the person is linked to a global religious discourse and set of practices that can be analyzed in the religious belief system, religious practices, cultural identities, and organizational and individual networks (Glick Schiller, 2009; Glick Schiller et al., 2006; Karagiannis & Glick Schiller, 2006). An essential element is that for the born-again conversion worldview, there are no national identities (such as German, Brazilian or Egyptian), instead there is a global community of followers of Christ. In the same way, born-again conversion provides a sense of being in the world that is shared by immigrants who are displaced from their previous life. The above understanding of being is influenced by the idea that God gives the land to all those who will spread the Christian message and win the foreign nations for God. Indeed, “the right to claim the land is linked to the responsibility of all church members, migrants and non-migrants alike to bring ‘the good word’ to the locality and country of immigration” (Glick Schiller, 2009, p. 136; Glick Schiller et al., 2006). Instead of identifying with particular national affiliations, church members see themselves as representing true Christians whose mission is to bring God back to the host country. So, the personal relationship with the Holy Spirit joins Christians throughout the world into the mission of spreading and bringing the Christian message to the world (Karagiannis & Glick Schiller, 2006). Therefore, “the churches founded by migrants do not regard themselves as immigrant organizations or immigrant churches but as Christians who serve an ever-living and world-spanning God. And God has nothing to do with national origins or culture” (Karagiannis & Glick Schiller, 2006, p. 163).

In relation to the Catholic and Evangelical-Pentecostal approaches to the immigrant incorporation, Garces-Foley (2008) has claimed that immigrant incorporation is due to the fact that “as Catholics and evangelicals proceed to create integrated churches, the trajectory of institutional change and subsequent outcomes are shaped by their polity and theology, as well as their unique histories of managing intergroup relations” (p. 17). Coupled with, Garces-Foley (2008) argues that the Catholic attitude to immigrants changes from the acceptance of cultural diversity (the existence of a variety of cults and practices according to the ethnic origin) toward multiculturalism (the integration in the same community of practices and religious influences from different backgrounds). In contrast, the Evangelical-Pentecostal attitude tries to unify the differences under a shared Christian community. In fact, beyond national or cultural identities, these churches emphasize the unity in the belief in Jesus after a conversion process (Garces-Foley, 2008). In other words, “evangelicals have

traditionally viewed race, ethnicity, and culture as epiphenomenal and inessential to the identity of the born-again Christian” (Garces-Foley, 2008, p. 22).

Religion and Ethnicity

There is a continuum between the incorporation of immigrants -through the types of churches commented above- and the topic of religion and ethnicity. This relationship is because, among the members of the same ethnic and cultural background, the religious communities in churches mean a communitarian safeguard. Indeed, Matthews, Bartkowski and Chase (2016) argue, in a recent contribution to the literature on religion and ethnicity, that:

One major focus of scholarship in the sociology of religion-related to race and ethnicity deals with the question of the composition of religious organizations, particularly at the congregational level. The composition of congregations is particularly important, as the local faith community is one of the more significant in-groups to which individuals and families form attachments in their lives (p. 427).

There is a stronger basis for the construction of sense and cohesion among their churchgoers, in the institutions where religion and ethnicity conflate. It is because, through the participation in ethnic churches, the churchgoers can become part of a community with a shared cultural background and can form their religious identity. Ethnic churches are sources of sense and solidarity (Kim, 2011).

Also, there is a close relationship between religion and ethnicity because through the participation in these churches the immigrants are recreating the cultural, linguistic and identity conditions of their homelands and keeping their ethnic characteristics (Kim, 2011). In other words, there is a reproduction of ethnicity in these churches (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b). This reproduction is obtained through a) replicating some aspects of the churches of the homeland, b) incorporating ethnical practices in the religious ceremonies. c) Through the realization of domestic religious practices -it means those practices that are developed in the home and private life and act as a complement to the participation in the churches-, and d) through social activities related to the religious life and activities. The reproduction of ethnicity means a high degree of commitment and involvement by the immigrant churchgoers (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b).

The close interrelationship between religion and ethnicity is due to the latter is viewed about a group that shares a common culture and religion is a crucial element in the preservation of that culture. The ethnic churches are a vital example of the above interrelationship (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015). At the same time, it is possible to evidence the proximity between religion and ethnicity in the inculturation phenomenon. It means the relationship between religious practices and local cultures, the modification of the former practices to reflect the values of local culture, through symbols and rituals (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015).

The inculturation phenomenon is a crucial element for the immigrant communities because of the link with the religious side of the migration process, between the homeland and host country. In fact, on the one hand, the continual religious practice in the host country

can act as a bridge toward the culture of homeland because it renews the sense of belonging to a shared origin and remembers a shared past, key aspects in the ethnic identification. On the other hand, if there is a low degree of inculturation, the capacity of connecting with the homeland is lower, because there is no identification with a shared memory or past (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015).

In this sense, Catholicism in Latin America represents a crucial example of religious inculturation due to its close interrelationship between religious practice and local culture. It can be shown in the existence and devotion toward different national Virgins throughout the continent. For instance, the Virgin of Guadalupe for Mexicans, or Our Lady of Suyapa for Hondurans, or the Copper Charity for Cubans, are religious practices which are placed locally; but, at the same time, these religious devotions are reproduced through home shrines and altars in transnational contexts such as in the US (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015).

On the contrary, the Latin American Protestantism has an emphasis on religious literalism and makes a break with local religious practices, such as the devotion to the Virgins, and celebrations. Also, the protestant worshippers must make a break with the past, and there are no practices for remembering and connecting with the homeland. In effect, “Latino Protestant churches, then, may more often convey to their members a transformed individual identity characterized by a broader Christian association, rather than one tied to homelands and, thus, past particularities” (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015, p. 63). As a result, Catholic and Latin American Protestantism reveal two approaches in regard to religion and ethnicity: a retrospective approach (it acts as a “bridge” with homeland and ethnic culture) and the other a prospective approach (it makes a break with the past, rejecting elements of the ethnic culture and focusing on the self-transformation) (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015). At the same time, “Latino Catholic religiosity differs from Latino Protestantism in its inculturation in the sending context and orientation toward ethnic culture in the host context. In doing so, it displays a retrospective element, increasing the salience of homeland cultural materials available for Latino ethnic identification” (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015, p. 74).

What is more, the relation between religion and ethnicity is directly linked with two main topics of social sciences: assimilation and secularization. These two topics consider the same destiny for ethnicity and religion: either both will decline or disappear in the modern world (Kim, 2011). The assimilation theory is understood as a product of the modernization processes -industrialization, urbanization, development of means of transport, etc.- the adscript criteria -such as the racial categories- will disappear, instead of identification by status achieved through the attainment and rationality of the goals (Kim, 2011). In the same way, the secularization approach foresees the increasingly disappearance of religion from the modern world, both at an institutional level (the decline of the influence of religious institutions) and at an individual level (through an internal process of secularization of the conscience in which the persons aim their lives without the guidance of religious themes) (Kim, 2011).

Nevertheless, through the effect of current immigration, classical notions of assimilation and secularization commented above should be analyzed. It is not possible to sustain the idea of decline, instead there is a need to understand religious change and ethnic identification. In other words, the immigration has proved that religion is not declining, as immigrants and their beliefs diversify the religious scenario -like in the US since 1965- and

traditional assimilation is no longer the approach for the incorporation of immigrants because nowadays there is no similar assimilation approach to the host society.

In terms of the concepts of race and ethnicity, the former is related to the idea of immobility or biological patterns that are transmitted through heredity. In contrast, the idea of ethnicity is linked to cultural trends that are learnt -religious beliefs, language, family life, social and cultural expressions-. “It also usually implies [ethnicity] at least some fluidity, some potential for change” (Haines, 2007, p. 286). Moreover, ethnicity considers how the persons view themselves and how they are viewed by others (Haines, 2007), and it changes concerning different situations. For instance, the ethnic distinctions in homeland are transformed in racial differences in the US-the case of African and Haitian immigrants-, the class distinctions are changed into ethnic ones -the case of Latin American immigrants-; the national and ethnic differences are transformed in religious differences -the case of Muslim immigrants- and former religious differences are modified into ethnic ones -the case of religious minorities- (Haines, 2007).

Also, there is a close relationship between ethnicity and class, and other elements such as gender, because they are categories associated to the formation of identity in both personal and collective realms (Healey, Stepnick, & O’Brien, 2019; Verdaguer, 2009). There has been a close connection between ethnicity and class from a Marxist approach that understands race and ethnic relations as forms of class exploitation. Indeed, “the cultural and physical differences between African labour and white domestic workers helped capitalists and big business to keep the working class divided along lines” (Malesevic, 2004, p. 32). Moreover, a post-Marxist approach has tried to understand how ethnic relations have become forms of group solidarity stronger than class. However, in the current capitalism, the model of two antagonist classes cannot be sustained due to the proliferation of multiple economic sectors and groups (Malesevic, 2004). There are class resources and ethnic resources. The former are private property, investment in human capital, personal wealth, knowledge and attitudes that are transferred intergenerationally, shared values, and so on. These resources can lead to social and cultural capital; however, are class-specific not ethnic. The latter resources (ownership derived from ethnic-social relations) are inherent to an entire ethnic group, regardless of the different class background (Verdaguer, 2009). In current capitalism, some occupations and industries are related to specific ethnic groups (e.g. white construction industry in New York) (Portes & Landolt, 1996) but, at the same time, there are differences between the educational and professional background within the same ethnic group. In Bourdieu’s terms “members of the same ethnic grouping do not necessarily possess a similar or homogenous habitus. Class distinctions get embodied in the habitus” (Brazal & Guzman, 2015, p. 57).

In summary, there is an abundant body of research and literature on religion and ethnicity among immigrants in the US context (Edwards, Christerson, & Emerson, 2013). However, in Chile, the current immigration and the assistance to churches by the same ethnic group (Haitians) (Aguirre, 2017) are emergent fields of research in a novel context. The Chilean context, different from the decades of immigration and study in the US, and the religious life of immigrant communities are topics of research that have only begun to be researched.

Research Methods

The qualitative methodological approach will be used in this doctoral research because instead of separating a social phenomenon of its context, this research aims to understand the religious incorporation in its specific context and through its actors (Lareau, 2012; Small, 2009). Instead of a quantitative methodology that recognizes the research variables as independents among them, in this doctoral research, there is an interrelationship between the religious incorporation and ethnicity (Lareau, 2012).

First, ethnography is the research strategy used in this research. Ethnography is understood as a form of research that is based on the naturalist principle of the qualitative methodology, that the social world should be researched in its “natural” state without the intrusive presence of the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994). At the same time, it views the social world as a phenomenon that cannot be understood through causal relations or universal rules. “It is because the human actions are based on social means: intentions, motifs, attitudes and beliefs” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994, p. 21).

The ethnography is carried out in the field, in this case in the Latin American Parish, placed in INCAMI (Instituto Católico para las Migraciones), and the Santa Cruz parish placed in Estación Central. In the field, ethnography allows the description and observation of the activities that are being developed by the subjects, as well as the possibility to participate in those activities (Ameigeiras, 2006). The fieldwork is developed through observant participation, non-observant participation and qualitative interviews. The first one is the primary way of getting data in the ethnography research, through the active involvement in the group under study and in the religious services of the churches. The non-observant participation is developed with a minimum intrusive presence by the researcher, in order “to focus the attention in a non-intrusive way on the actions [and activities of the subjects under research]” (Goetz & LeCompte, 1988, p. 153). In this case, the non-observant participation is developed in the religious processions in the Latin American parish and the socio-cultural activities in the Santa Cruz parish -theatre play on Haitian independence-.

Second, the qualitative interview “in the scientific sense is a qualified interrogatory to a key witness about facts of his/her personal experience” (Quoted in Valles, 2009, p. 54). In these interviews, there is no coercion to the interviewee, and the interviewer might listen to information that is not a precise answer to the questions. Instead this information can be opinions or even gossip. However, they can be the origin or source of new questions. The interviewee is considered a subject of study rather than an object of study (Valles, 2009) and in the responses or testimonies from the interviewees it is possible to discover their worldviews. Therefore, it is crucial to record the natural language and responses from the interviewees (Valles, 2009) because “the interviews give voice to common people, allowing them to freely present their life situations in their own words” (Kvale, 2006, p. 481).

The complementarity between ethnography and qualitative interviews should be highlighted because both receive the information in different ways. Ethnography through the description and the details obtained in the observation process in the field and the interviews through a conversation guided by the interviewer -in an artificial situation where the interviewer has the monopoly of the interpretation (Kvale, 2006)-. However, the interviews cannot get as much detail as the ethnography through observant participation (Lareau, 2012). There is a complementarity because ethnography get details and descriptions on religious

practices and through interviews it is possible to comprehend how the subjects understand the role of religious institutions in their incorporation process into a host society.

The Grounded Theory approach of interpretation of data -these are being interpreted throughout the research process- is used in this doctoral research. However, the aim of the research is not to produce a theory from the object of study. The Grounded Theory is an empirical approach to study social life, and usually the Grounded Theory is done through observant participation and qualitative interviews (Clarke, 2007). This approach is not only a description of social life but also interprets why, when, where, what and how the different events of social life are occurring (Strauss & Corbin, 2002).

About the data treatment, it is essential to specify that important segments of the interview transcripts and descriptions of observant participation should be analyzed and chosen. Therefore, the codification of this information is a crucial process. The codes are understood as linking different examples or segments from data. The codes unify these segments about the common property (Coffey & Atkinson, 2003)

Moreover, a manner of transcending the local or particular level is through the generation of concepts. In this way, the abductive inference allows to identify specific cases and to move toward more generical levels and other social contexts (Coffey & Atkinson, 2003). The development of categories and concepts arise from the comparison of data, for example, the comparison of interviews. The formulation of new knowledge begins through the contrast between the new data with the categories (Soneira, 2006). There is a transition from the description to the formulation of categories and concepts that allow comprehending the social phenomenon under research (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2007).

About Ethical Issues, the role of the researcher is of a 'faithful reporter', that is to say, the aim is to illustrate a social context in which the subject of research can speak for themselves. To obtain viewpoints from the research subjects, the researcher should engage with the context that is being researched (Blaikie, 2007).

Also, this research adheres to the principles of procedural ethics (Tracy, 2010). The former involves the ethical actions developed by organizations, institutions and organisms; among its patterns, there is no hurt, to give consent with information, to secure privacy and confidentiality to the subjects of research. In this sense, "procedural ethics also suggest that research participants have a right to know the nature and potential consequences of the research -and understand that their participation is voluntary. Such procedures not only attend to ethics but also lead to more credible data" (Tracy, 2010, p. 847).

These criteria in the present research are developed through a consent with information on the research for all the interviewees, it is stated in this consent that participation is voluntary, that the participant can decide to withdraw his/her participation at any moment of the research process, that confidentiality and anonymity is guaranteed for every subject that is participating in the research, that the information obtained through the study will be used only for academic and non-profit, purposes. It is hoped that through the above ethical criteria the participation in the research will be viewed as a secure involvement and, at the same time, the aim is to give confidence to the people in the research about the his/her voluntary participation and to secure that there is no harm through participation.

The information will be recollected and kept secure by the researcher himself; however, some interviews will be transcribed by undergraduate sociology students and others by the researcher himself. All possible sources of identification of the interviewees will not be included in the interviews, and the interviewees will be identified by pseudonyms. In some cases, when the interviewees or the religious institutions wish to be identified, the real name of both persons or churches will be provided.

In the fieldwork process, observations of the masses and cultural or social activities were carried out. In effect, the researcher's focus is on the interaction among the parishioners themselves and with the priest. It was crucial to identify the following elements: the content or type of message in the sermon to an immigrant flock, the decoration of both parishes, the type of social, religious or cultural activities performed outside the schedule of the mass, the elements of Haitian Catholicism in the Santa Cruz parish, and so on. In the activities outside the mass, it was important to identify the composition (nationality) of the people involved in the social and cultural activities (to recognize the interaction or not of people of different national backgrounds) and among Haitian and Chilean parishioners, respectively.

The sample in the Latin American parish was composed of fifteen Latin American parishioners (from different home countries) more three religious specialists (priest, deacon, seminarian). There were two types of interviews, one for the parishioners and another one for the religious specialist. The average length of every conversation was 20-30 minutes, and they were developed the Sunday before or after the mass. Some of them were done in social and cultural activities after the ceremony. It is important to specify that all interviews were carried out in Spanish. Therefore, there were no problems in understanding the questions and answers.

However, in the Santa Cruz parish, the assistance of a translator was necessary (the gatekeeper) for the interviews because the researcher himself does not speak any Haitian creole and some Haitian parishioners have an elementary level of Spanish. In this case, the interview questions were translated by the gatekeeper, and with the answers he did the same. The sample was fifteen Haitian parishioners and the Chilean priest. However, some interviews were poor in information therefore a lot of information was taken from the interviewees that gave more details to the different answers.

The assistance of the translator was of crucial importance. I could not have interviewed Haitian parishioners without his help. In the Santa Cruz parish, the linguistic differences produced more challenging interviews than in the Latin American parish. In the former case, the translator explained the main ideas of the interviewee to me in Spanish. This method could be useful to understand the main ideas of the answers, but through the translation and sometimes the summary of the interviewee's responses, a lot of details and valuable information were lost.

Finally, there are some challenges in interviews with a foreign sample (with no knowledge of the language by the researcher) or through the assistance of a translator. First, it is more difficult to establish "rapport" with people in a foreign sample who speak another language, and secondly, translations can lose rich information because the answers from interviewees are explained and translated by another person who is not the interviewee.

This Thesis

The thesis is composed of two empirical articles, that use a qualitative framework, based on fieldwork in the Latin American parish placed in INCAMI (Instituto Católico para las Migraciones) and in the Santa Cruz parish. The last article corresponds to a theoretical article on Haitian Pentecostalism and identifies the core elements of this type of Pentecostalism abroad. In the following section, the three articles will be summarized:

The first one, named “Cultural Diversity and Religious Reflexivity in an Intercultural Chilean Parish” tries to identify the relationship between cultural diversity and individual belief in the Latin American parishioners. The fieldwork was carried out every Sunday from March to July 2018 in the Latin American Parish and in the Mass (the Latin American Mass) and social and religious celebrations after the Mass. The sample was composed of core parishioners (people with continuous participation in the Mass and the social or religious activities of the parish) and the religious leaders of the Latin American parish. Specifically, it looks for understanding of what happens with the individual belief (its strengths, weaknesses, changes, etc.) in Catholic immigrants that participate in a parish with a high degree of cultural diversity. This parish was selected because its parishioners come from different countries throughout Latin America, Europe, and Africa. The priest, the deacon and the seminarian are immigrants, as well.

The Mass is oriented every week to a national community, and it has several national Latin-American devotions (figure of the Virgin Mary). On the one hand, the interviews seek to analyze the trajectory of participation, the individual motives that underlie the participation in the parish, to comprehend the relationship between cultural diversity and individual belief, and the role of religion in the immigration process. On the other hand, the observant participations wish to know the Latin American Mass, in terms of the place of the different national communities in the building, the message from the priest, the religious songs, the decoration of the parish, and so on. At the same time, the observations in the religious processions and social activities aim to identify the interrelationship among different national communities or the involvement by only one community.

The results show that the parishioners participate in the Latin American parish as a way of continuity with a Catholicism practiced in the homeland. Also, the participation in a parish with cultural diversity reinforces a revalorization of the national religious practice and higher tolerance and enrichment in spiritual terms, in the individual belief. This revalorization and tolerance are evidence to the vigour and force of the Catholic faith and the national Marian devotions in different latitudes mean that the Catholic message transcends any geographical or cultural boundaries.

In relation to the observations of the Masses, the parish is decorated with a Marian devotion and the flag of a country, the message by the priest is aimed at a national community every week, there is a very active choir and a final greeting to every national community present in the parish, and they reply in a very cheerful way. In the religious procession that is composed of only one national community a division of labour where the men hold on their shoulders the Marian figure and women pray the rosary can be observed.

The second article named “Haitian Parishioners in a Chilean Parish: The Role of Haitian Catholicism and Ethnic Cultural Features” is focused on the reproduction of Haitian

Catholicism in a Chilean Parish and the interaction among the Haitian parishioners with the Chilean community of the parish. The Santa Cruz parish was chosen for the fieldwork because it has a Haitian community and chorus, and they meet in a Mass in Haitian Creole every Sunday. The Mass is performed by a Chilean priest with knowledge of Haitian Creole. The main objectives are as follows: a) to identify the features of Haitian Catholicism in this parish, and b) to understand if through participation in both the Haitian Mass and community Haitian parishioners become isolated from Chilean community or otherwise if through the involvement in the Haitian pastoral the parishioners can establish contacts and interact with the Chilean community. The methodology uses a qualitative framework with observant participation of the Haitian Masses, cultural activities -such as in the theatre play- and Integration Masses -where both communities Haitian and Chilean meet together in a common Mass- and qualitative interviews to members of the Haitian community and their priest. The fieldwork was carried out every Sunday from August to December 2018. The gatekeeper of this research has crucial importance for the development of the fieldwork because he was a translator in the interviews with the Haitian parishioners. At the same time, through his assistance, it was possible to contact Haitian parishioners to interview and collaborate with this research.

The results show that there is not a reproduction of Haitian Catholicism, through Haitian flags, decorations that resemble homeland or the presence of Haitian Marian figures nor religious celebrations or pilgrimages in honour of Haitian saints or religious figures. The use of Haitian Creole in the Mass is an element that replicates some Haitian cultural features, but there are no more elements that establish links with Haitian culture or religion. The participation in the Haitian Mass by the Haitian community does not mean an isolated enclave without contacts with the Chilean community because there are some activities in which both communities can interact and establish links. For instance, there are courses in Spanish and Chilean culture (it is an activity of cultural interaction where both Haitians and Chileans learn about their respective cultures), on digital skills, social activities for raise funds for the needy (lotteries) and the Integration Masses. In this latter Mass, there are two choirs, Haitian and Chilean, and both Haitian and Chilean parishioners make up the community. However, the community acts as if they were only one, without consideration of the cultural or national differences between them. There were some moments, for example in some famous Catholic hymns, when both communities sang at the same time in both Haitian Creole and Spanish, overcoming the linguistic differences. Finally, participation in activities by the communities and the integration in Mass show that the Santa Cruz parish is not made up of different communities but is one community with parishioners of different cultural origins.

The final article named “Conversion and Involvement in Pentecostal Churches: The Case of Haitian Immigrants Abroad” is aimed at identifying the particular features of Haitian Pentecostalism in the diaspora. First, the discussion on religion and immigrant inclusion in both the Catholic and Evangelical-Pentecostal churches is reviewed. On the one hand, the fact that Catholic churches adopt a ‘retrospective’ approach to ethnicity and immigrant incorporation in which the homeland culture and ethnic features are reproduced abroad is highlighted. On the other hand, the Evangelical-Pentecostal churches emphasize the born-again identity after conversion and the involvement in a Christian community with a universal message, instead of homeland culture or practices, in a ‘prospective’ approach.

Furthermore, the Pentecostal communities are a de-territorialized community because they spread the Christian message throughout the world in tension with local cultures. In the Haitian case, conversion to Pentecostalism has a relation with the attempts for severing the link with Vodou spirits (*lwas*). The migration process does not mean the end of the responsibilities toward the spirits. So, Haitians try to end the economic burdens that involve the relationship with the *lwas* by conversion to Pentecostalism.

However, the conversion process is not understood as a rational decision in the sense of the market theory of religion because spiritual rather than economic decisions are at its basis. In other words, the religious worldview of Haitians has a spiritual dimension that links both the individual and social problems to the spirits (*lwas*). In contrast, to Latin American Pentecostalism where conversion is not linked to the presence of spirits.

Chapter 2. Cultural Diversity and Religious Reflexivity in an Intercultural Chilean Parish

Abstract: This research aims to analyze the cultural diversity and its relationship with the personal belief in an Immigrant Parish. The discussion is framed within the topic of intercultural churches and parishes, although in a setting which has not been researched (Santiago, Chile). The research was carried out in the Latin-American Parish placed in INCAMI (Instituto Católico para las Migraciones), and a qualitative framework was used to obtain and analyze the data. Cultural diversity is understood in relation to religious reflexivity and under the idea that pluralism leads to a weakening of religious conviction, as Peter Berger argued. On the contrary to Berger, the findings of this research showed that cultural diversity and pluralism are elements that produce a strengthening of individual beliefs.

Keywords: Cultural Diversity – Religious Reflexivity – Intercultural Parish -Latin-American Parish.

Introduction

The global flows of migration in Western Europe and the USA, as well as the Global South (Saunders et al., 2016) and in Latin America (Cerrutti & Parrado, 2015), have meant increasing cultural and social diversity. This diversity can be seen in the fact that some countries are dealing with flows of immigrants that produce a pluralization of the cultural realm; for example, the Haitian migration in the region and Chile has allowed a diversification in terms of cultural and ethnic characteristics. In relation to religious issues, migrant newcomers are playing a vital role in the diversification of mono-cultural churches because they are diversifying the ways of being church, worshipping, practising faith, praying, and so on, “migrant newcomers create capacity for new and shared expressions of their faith” (Snyder, 2016, p. 8). Migration is a key phenomenon in religious change due to “exposes migrants to new ideas, challenges the power of control and religion in their places of origin, and raises profound questions of community, personal identity, and affiliation” (Cruz, 2008, pp. 365-366).

The migration phenomenon has produced a diversification within churches; it has led to the intercultural church (Brazal & Guzman, 2015; Cruz, 2008, 2013, 2014; Moyaert, 2015). In other words, it is possible to identify a steady diversification in the composition of churches; it can be seen in the fact that some Catholic churches that were mainly composed of Chileans nowadays include churchgoers from Haiti. Even so, this latter group has increased and established a pastoral group (Aguirre, 2017) in some of these churches and parishes.

Catholic migrants have spread throughout the world. This movement of people makes churches and parishes receive newer churchgoers, and therefore new religious practices can coexist in a newer diversified (Pasura & Erdal, 2016) and intercultural church (Brazal & Guzman, 2015, 2016; Cruz, 2014; Moyaert, 2015). In this sense, migration and diversity are the basis of religious change. In the light of migration flows, people bring with them diverse forms of associations and beliefs, and it is this interaction with native people that the basis of religious change are established (Pasura & Erdal, 2016). As an illustration of religious change, a twofold tendency can be argued: a) a multinational church that receives churchgoers from different countries in the region and further away from Latin America, and second b) Catholic churches that have diversified their composition with the inclusion of

migrants into the regular flock. This research is aimed at the first type of church, the fieldwork was carried out in an intercultural parish; the aim of this article is to research the cultural diversity and religious reflexivity among parishioners in an intercultural parish. The specific objectives are as follows: a) To investigate the cultural practices developed by the communities that are part of the same parish, b) To comprehend the role of the cultural diversity in the individual belief.

In the case of Catholic churches and as an example of the impact of cultural diversity, there is evidence of the impact that Latinos have on the Catholic churches in the US. Until now, the model of social integration (through religion) of immigrants was conceived as assimilation. In other words, the different generations of migrants will have assimilated into American society through the abandonment of their language and cultural practices and the further adoption of the English language and American cultural and social practices. It was the classic model. However, US Catholic churches are adopting a bicultural and bilingual experience as a result of Latino practitioners (English and Spanish language) (Ospino, 2016). Also, these churches are including some Latino religious practices such as the devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe (see Marquardt, 2005). Therefore, instead of the classic assimilation model in the religious life of immigrants, the current model -through the interaction between the Latino culture and mainstream Catholic churches- can be understood as a cultural process of *mestizaje* (Ospino, 2016). A key aspect of Latino Catholic churches is the willingness to embrace in a broad community diversity of churchgoers with independence of their national origins. To put in another way, “Latino communities normally do not exclude other Latinos, whether US-born or immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean” (Ospino, 2016, p. 193). In this way, Latino Catholic churches and parishes provide spaces for participating in the Church’s sacramental life (Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist) and in reproducing traditional cultural activities and use of Spanish; for example, different Marian devotions, processions, feast days and family rituals (e.g., *quinceañeras* – celebration of the fifteenth birthday for girls-) are performed within the church and parish communities (Ospino, 2016).

Also, Catholic churches and parishes are dealing with cultural diversity and religious identity in a way that appreciates the homeland religious and cultural features. The homeland religious practices are reproduced in host countries among Catholics. Catholic religiosity is experienced twofold: first, through the recognition of the diversity within Catholicism and the adoration of Marian figures across Latin America. The Catholic churches search to perpetuate a link with the homeland culture and religious practices, so there are devotions to different Marian figures, and these can find a place at the altar. A celebration day is commemorated on each anniversary of these figures (Odem, 2004). Second, through a religiosity that is experienced in the reproduction of home altars and shrines. In these home altars, Catholics are looking to reconnect Latinos abroad with homeland religious practices (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015). The Catholic attitude about cultural diversity and homeland religion might be labelled ‘retrospective’, that is to say, “bridging to and positively valuing homeland and ethnic culture” (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015, p. 64).

These churches are practising a liturgical inculturation in which elements of the local cultures are integrated into the texts, symbols and rites of the worship (Cruz, 2014). In the case of the church researched here, in a point reviewed further, it can be seen liturgical inculturation in the different Marian devotions -from countries throughout Latin America- that form part of the Sunday worship. It is important to highlight that inculturation in the

liturgy is possible to evidence in churches with cultural diversity because, in churches with a significant presence of an ethnic group, inculturation in the liturgy chiefly happens (Cruz, 2014). On the one hand, the intercultural church practices a transnational expression and cross-cultural application of Christian worship. On the other hand, this church is profoundly rooted in a parochial and local context (Harris, 2016b). In effect, “liturgy is rarely...bound to or by a particular local culture, however significant complementary ‘contextual’ dynamics might be in the embodied, enacted, patterned events that constitute liturgy in any given place” (Kim-Cragg & Burns, 2016, p. 116).

Religious Reflexivity

Current migration and cultural diversity in Christian churches can be understood in the context of modern means of transport, technology and communication. To put it another way, migrations and diversification of religious communities have been present since ancient times and since the origins of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, in modern times, and due to technology and faster means of transport, worldwide and continuous migration has effectively been possible. These phenomena have produced a social and religious pluralism in western societies (Berger, 2014), which has motivated a new attitude aimed at the election.

However, the relationship between the Catholic Church and the modern world has been problematic, at least at the beginning of modernity, because:

On the one side there is a universe governed by scientific and technical rationality, in which the assertion of individual and institutional autonomy undermines the theological and political foundations of the social order and leads inexorably to the consignment of religion to the private sphere; on the other there is the Roman system, which affirms the organic unity of religion, morality and the social order, with the aim of countering the ‘individualizing’ threat posed by Reformation and then of resisting the new order arising from the French Revolution (Hervieu-Léger, 2009, pp. 446-447).

In effect, the modern situation of cultural diversity and pluralism in regard to religious options has transformed the status of the believer from a traditional religious model that imposed a normative code in the faithful to other modern situation in which the believer can choose by himself on religious issues and regarding his meaning and experience (Hervieu-Léger, 2009). In the same fashion, it is possible to identify the introduction of a new religious time system within Catholicism. It can be seen in the fact that religion is decoupled from everyday life and its rhythms, and it is further associated with exceptional experiences (Hervieu-Léger, 2009). In this way, “religion tends to be seen...as offering situations that might recreate a sense of ‘ourselves’ that transcends our normal fragmented experience” (Hervieu-Léger, 2009, p. 454) because the believer on those occasions is free of mundane concerns and can reach a higher level of personal fulfilment beyond everyday life. This phenomenon has produced a change from everyday religion to one of “special occasions” (Hervieu-Léger, 2009).

This new attitude towards the church has been translated in a new believer who demands the option of choosing their community, where he/she can find the most favourable conditions and people with whom to share his/her personal religious experience (Hervieu-Léger, 2009). At the same time, an attitude of the individual election has reached the religious

field as well. Therefore it is self-evident by a newer group of people that they must choose about religion (Hervieu-Léger, 2006). This current attitude will be researched and commented on further. It is part of the process of “reflexivity” that spread throughout high modernity.

Furthermore, in the high modernity, the risk has spread throughout social and individual life and an attitude of ‘do-it-by-yourself’ is imposed on individual identity because the absence of traditional sources of certainty such as closer communities, traditional religion, lifetime marriage, permanent job, traditional education, and so on, has disappeared. Nowadays, individuals spend their lives among losing their jobs, divorce, flexible entrepreneurship and permanent self-praise (Beck, 2010). As a result of the loss of traditional sources of certainty, individualization as the cultivation of an independent will has been institutionalized (Beck, 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). In effect,

Institutionalized individualization is reflexive in the sense that individuals engaged in constructing their own lives and their social and biographical identities cannot appeal to pre-existing models. They are forced to learn how to create biographical narrative of their own and continuously to revise their definition of themselves. In the process they have to create abstract principles with which to justify their decisions (Beck, 2010, pp. 123-124).

In religious terms, this process can be understood as “religious reflexivity” (Marti, 2015) in which the certainties provided by traditional religion and communities have been transformed to individual choices in a context of religious, and cultural diversity and pluralism (Berger, 2014; Marti, 2015). People in current times should choose between different options in social, educational, economic and even religious realms. The reflexive principle means that people are oriented by selections in various spheres of social and individual life as a result of the advent of modern life.

Also, in the sociology of religion standpoint, the individuation and reflexivity -like the imposition of selection- have been originated by modern pluralism, in the theory by Peter Berger (2014). It is important to realize the fact that pluralism is not only a social phenomenon. At the same time, there is pluralism in mind (Berger, 2014). This pluralism affects the convictions of the believer and weakens his religious principles. In Berger’s words “as a result of pluralism [and cultural diversity], religion tends to percolate...in the consciousness of individuals, from the level of certainty to the level of opinion” (2014, p. 29) and “the believing individual finds him- or herself facing the possibility or doubt, on whatever level of sophistication” (2014, p. 31).

At the same time, cultural diversity and religious pluralism can be understood in another way. For example, in the viewpoint by Charles Taylor pluralism has no effect in the individual conviction under some circumstances:

The fact that this...multiplicity of faiths has little effect as long as it is neutralized by the sense that being like them is not a really option for me. As long as the alternative is strange and the other, perhaps despised, but perhaps just too different, too weird, too incomprehensible, so that becoming *that* isn’t really conceivable for me, so long will their difference not undermine my embedding in my own faith (2007, p. 304).

That is to say, when people think in to change their religious affiliations “they shift their views between already formulated possibilities...they move within positions already in their repertory, between points already within their horizons” (Taylor, 1999, p. 168). Indeed, the argument by Taylor (1999, 2007) is clear: cultural otherness is not a threat to the believer. Nevertheless, what happens to cultural diversity *within* the same religion in terms of the believer?

It is essential to realize that Berger and Taylor are referring to two types of pluralism. In the former case, religious reflexivity and the weakness of religious convictions are produced by the exposition to pluralism inter-religion. In other words, pluralism (based on the knowledge of different religions with different worldviews) undermines the basic religious knowledge that until modernity was taken for granted. This produces the new situation in the individuals in which they must reflect and make choices between different religions (Berger, 2013). However, Taylor (2007) writes on religious pluralism that does not produce any effect on the individual believer because he/she does not consider the other religious traditions as real options. In this sense, this statement can lead us to think in the case of pluralism intra-religion that is present in the intercultural church (Brazal & Guzman, 2015, 2016; Cruz, 2008, 2013, 2014; Harris, 2016b, 2016a; Kim-Cragg & Burns, 2016; Moyaert, 2015). To put in another way, how does pluralism intra-religion relate to the individual believer?

In the same fashion, the existence of two types of pluralism can be argued: endogenous and exogenous (Gorski & Guhin, 2017). The former is produced by the functional differentiation of the religious system from other social systems in modern societies (it can be linked with the social process of secularization), while the globalization process produces the latter form, that is to say, the current movement of people, ideas, things, etc. Nevertheless, “the effects of the two types are not necessarily the same. While endogenous pluralism may indeed weaken or fragilize ‘plausibility structures’ [the ideas and knowledge that is taken for granted], exogenous pluralism often leads to a deepening, sharpening, and hardening of beliefs. Immigrant religiosity is a key example” (Gorski & Guhin, 2017, p. 1124).

In this way, the intercultural church or parish is a key place to research religious reflexivity and pluralism intra-religion because in these churches/parishes the individual believer is in contact with people from different national or cultural origins. This view about a diversified cultural parish -the key place for studying religious reflexivity- is due to the influence of Durkheim’s theory of religion. In Durkheim’s (1990) view, religion is a social phenomenon, and it is closely intertwined with society. Furthermore, society produces religion, and its elements such as gods and devils (Durkheim, 1990). Religion is experienced in groups; it can be shown in the fact that “...all forms of...religious groups are careful to have periodical reunions where their members may revive their common faith by manifesting it in common” (Durkheim, 1990, p. 230). Different societies will have their version of religious phenomena. Therefore it can be affirmed that cultural diversity produces pluralism in religion. In this sense, there is a link between society, culture and religion because the former elements characterize the latter. Religion is a social phenomenon and an intercultural parish can show diversity within religion. This type of parish would produce evidence about a diversity of cultural expressions themselves, the religious activities performed by a multicultural flock demonstrate a plurality of ways to relate with religious issues. In summary, cultural diversity leads to pluralism.

Research Methods

The cultural diversity has arrived in some Chilean Catholic churches. Nowadays, some multinational churchgoers effectively diversify the Christian flock. For example, the Latin American parish placed in INCAMI² (Instituto Católico para las Migraciones) is full of people of diverse national origins every Sunday. There are parishioners from different countries in Latin America, Europe and even Africa. It is important to realize that this church, located in Providencia, will be researched due to its cultural diversity. In detail, it will be researched in its Sunday Mass and the cultural activities developed after the Sunday Mass. The priest is from Brazil, the deacon is from Venezuela, and the seminarian is from the Democratic Republic of Congo. I stress the nationalities of the religious leaders because they and the parishioners are immigrants. There are a few Chileans at the Latin-American Sunday Mass. This Latin-American Parish began its activities at the beginning of 2000 when it was the only parish for immigrants³.

In the first place, it is important to stress that the viewpoints of both religious leaders and parishioners are of interest in the present research. It seeks to understand the religious experiences of the leaders and parishioners from their viewpoints. The purpose is to research the parish in its own setting (Lareau, 2012) and through its activities, and members. The research techniques are qualitative interviews and participant observation. The former is used because it is of crucial interest to research the religious reflexivity from the viewpoint of parishioners themselves. So, “the interviews give voice to common people, allowing them to freely present their life situations in their own words” (Kvale, 2006, p. 481). The latter technique will be used from the active participation in the Sunday Mass and cultural activities.

The interview scheme will be ordered according to five themes:

- A. Religious Participation and Continuity Practices.**
- B. Social and Spiritual Services Provided by the Parish.**
- C. The Christian Sermon to a Diverse Community**
- D. The Effect of Cultural Diversity in Personal Belief.**
- E. The Role of Religion in the Migration Process.**

The fieldwork, qualitative interviews and participant observations were conducted by the author himself. The interview guide was ordered on the above five themes to identify the key aspects to answer the research objectives. The interviews were tape recorded and conducted by the researcher himself. However, the transcriptions were done by an undergraduate sociologist. The participation observation was developed through the participation in the Sunday mass and involvement in the procession or the religious and social activities that take place the Sundays after the mass.

The sample was 15 churchgoers and the religious leaders of the Latin-American parish. The sample of parishioners is composed of the “core” of the regular flock. That is to say, by people that attend the Mass regularly, who are involved through active participation and have been part of the parish for months or years. They read biblical passages during the Mass or participate in activities such as spiritual or group prayers. These parishioners are of

² A Scalabrinian institution aimed to provide spiritual and social services to immigrants.

³ Interview with the priest.

interest because they represent continuity in the flock; they are strong believers and followers of Maria. Therefore, the role of cultural diversity in people that are exposed to a variety of practices and cultural pluralism within the church for a regular period (months or years ago) can be analyzed. In this sense, it is possible to research religious reflexivity through people that are parishioners in a constant way and through and active participation. Otherwise, it would be difficult to research the presence of cultural diversity among parishioners that have only recently been involved in the Latin-American parish because they have not been exposed to the contact with cultural diversity and pluralism (in ways of expressing religious convictions) so much.

About the participant observations, these were carried out every Sunday mass from March to July 2018. At the same time, participant observation was conducted, in some religious processions (such as the one in honour of Virgin of Chuapi, from Peru) and some local religious celebrations (such as the one in honour of John the Baptist, from Venezuela). In both cases, the observations were realized to identify the dynamic of participation of the attendees, the message of the religious leaders, the decoration and dressing of attendees and the religious motives of the activity.

Results

Interviews

All the interviewees were religious people before they arrived in Chile (**Theme A**). They were religious in their home countries, and they are faithful in Chile. The search for a church to continue the religious practices was argued as one of the main reasons for being part of the Latin-American parish. Indeed, in the interviewees of this research, the migration process was not an incentive for joining to this parish. They recognize the important role of the parish in their migration process, but the search for a church is connected with the will of continuity in their religious lives, instead of a religious ‘activation’ that begins in Santiago and after their placement in the city. For example, María (from Venezuela) answered the question “why did you join the Latin-American parish?”, in the following terms: “because I needed the presence, I needed to pray, I needed to share. Here in the parish, I am in a [religious group]”. Indeed, participation in the Latin-American parish is a way of continuity to the religious life, in the viewpoint of José (from Paraguay). In his view, participation in this parish is a way of living his faith. Although, he stresses that a key aspect in his decision to join this parish was the opportunity to meet more immigrants like himself, more people from Paraguay. Other interviewees (Luis, from Venezuela) recognizes that his participation and contact with this religious community is because the parish is aimed explicitly at immigrants. Therefore, as he is an immigrant, this parish is a crucial place for sharing with people from different countries. However, Luis claimed that in Santiago, he has been participating in the religious life of the parish more actively than in Venezuela. He was religious there, too; but in his view, the experience of inhabiting a foreign country and the possibility of meeting people with the same national origins (and from different countries as well) has encouraged his participation.

There are some cases (for example, Carla from Paraguay, Claudia from the Dominican Republic or Pedro from Brazil) that began their religious participation in other parishes. However, in the case of Claudia and Pedro, the active participation of the parishioners in the mass and the warm way of interacting with newcomers and other

parishioners were elements that motivated the decision to join the Latin-American parish. In their views, this parish is a livelier community than the other parishes that were frequented by them. Furthermore, in Carla's opinion, an important reason for joining the parish was the presence of a local Virgin of Paraguay (Caacupé). In her view, she was looking for this Virgin throughout different parishes until she found it in the Latin-American parish. Pedro adds that he could know about different Latin-American devotions (virgins) through his participation in the parish.

In the same fashion, about similarities or differences in the church in the home country and Chile, interviewees identified that the Christian rite is the same everywhere. For this reason, there are not many differences in the rite in Santiago or Bogotá. However, some interviewees (for example Pedro from Brazil and José from Paraguay) affirmed that the Latin-American parish has a particular way of living and exercising the faith (more active about the church than in the home country, in the José's viewpoint) because it is a parish of immigrants. "Here, the community celebrates with more enthusiasm, more energy and stronger, I identified with that" claims José. Also, the deacon claims that the Christian rite is the same everywhere, for example, if a Christian believer who knows the structure of the Christian mass travels to China and he attends a Christian mass there; he can understand the logic of the rite.

The social and spiritual services provided by the parish (**Theme B**) are medical services, psychological counselling, and rooms for homeless immigrants, among others. However, a vital aspect of the parish is the maintenance of culture patterns for immigrants and their children, in the priest's view. In his vision, the role of the parish has a twofold aim: culture and religion. The former is reproduced through the local celebrations from different countries, and to reproduce the same as much as possible like in the home country. A special dedication is put on the dress and national food. The main idea is that children do not lose the cultural features of their parents' home countries. The idea is that children feel a sense of belonging to the local culture of their parents. For example, it can be shown in the celebration of local home country parties in Chile (in the Latin-American parish). The seminarian adds that the parish offers courses on practical issues such as training on cooking Chilean food, caring for older people, searching for a job, and so on. At the same time, through the parish, it is possible to access both psychological and religious counselling. These are important resources for people who are experiencing hardship in his/her process of adaptation into the Chilean society. It can be a useful resource because, in the opinion of some interviewees, there are several differences between the Chilean society and other Latin-American societies. For example, Luis characterizes that food in Chile is different, people speak lower than in Venezuela and the Caribbean region, Chileans are not so expressive in their attitudes as Venezuelans, Chilean slang is difficult to understand, and so forth.

In the deacon's viewpoint, the parish has developed a space where immigrants can meet and participate in their ethnic groups. This space is where activities and celebrations are organized. At the same time, he argues that the parish provides spiritual counselling according to the necessities of the immigrant communities and their religious expressions.

About the sermon to a diversified cultural community (**Theme C**) the priest argues that the message is oriented towards the immigrants. In other words, the priest takes the "Cross of the immigrant", that is to say, he identifies with the immigrant and migration process (it is important to specify that the religious leaders of the Latin-American parish are all immigrants themselves). He preaches for people that feel the lack of money, that is being employed in precarious jobs, that are waiting for the immigration documents and visas, and

so on. Therefore, the sermon is aimed at people who have moved from their home countries. At the same time, in his view, God expresses himself in every culture⁴. The Christian doctrine is not a homogenous message that uniformly spreads throughout the different cultures. God and the sacred reveal to the indigenous people in their languages (such as in the cases of the Virgins of Aparecida and Guadalupe). God reveals to people in every culture, and the migration process spreads the Christian message. That is the richness of the migration process, the possibility of communicating and spreading God's message.

The deacon affirms that the sermon is based on the Holy Scriptures and in this sense, the message is universal (because the Scriptures are the same everywhere). However, every believer or community interprets or understands the message and the Scriptures in their way. With this in mind, the deacon adds that the message is understood about the "religious depth" of every immigrant community. In other words, there are communities with more religious formation, more knowledge on ecclesial issues, such as the Venezuelan, Colombian or Bolivian communities, and this "depth" impacts the way they interpret and comprehend the Christian message. In the same fashion, the seminarian identified that the message could not be homogenous because it is understood and adapted according to the local context. The message is always adapted to the people, in his view. He identifies that the policy of the parish is to act under the principle of "unity within diversity", the view of the Church is one and universal. The church (and the parish) recognize that there are different devotions (Virgins) according to the cultural context. These local devotions demonstrate that the Christian message is approached locally.

The presence of cultural diversity in religious belief (**Theme D**), in the parishioners and religious leader's viewpoints, strengthens the individual belief. For example, when the parishioners express their religious celebrations and participate in the celebrations of other immigrants, they can feel more energy, their faith "takes life", in the view of the priest. It can be shown in the fact that the cultural diversity and the participation in different religious celebrations (such as the different Virgins of Latin America) make that parishioners practice their faith in an active way, through this action they share their faith and other immigrants incorporate this external expression in their own belief and religious life, in his vision.

José's (from Paraguay) opinion is that cultural diversity produces a twofold effect: first, a strengthening of the individual belief, because variety shows how people express their local religious celebrations and through it, the believer is made aware of the vitality of the Christian faith. Second, diversity produces a valorization of one's local traditions and religious celebrations. Personal religious identity is constructed about different cultural expressions. Therefore, cultural diversity makes the effect of identifying the features of the own identity in the religious realm, in his view.

Carla (from Paraguay) has claimed that every country has its own Virgin, although the Virgin Mary is only one. However, the local virgins throughout Latin America are key examples of how every country expresses and celebrates the mother of Jesus. The participation in a diversified cultural community makes her individual belief stronger because the presence of different Virgins either means that Mary is worshipped everywhere on this continent and it is a proof that the "we Christians speak the same language", in Carla's words.

⁴ "liturgy makes known a God who is present in every culture or location -a conviction that is perhaps not insignificant for human migrants amid overwhelming dynamics of dislocation" (Kim-Cragg & Burns, 2016, p. 118).

Furthermore, Sandra (from Colombia) has argued an interesting point about participation in a parish with cultural diversity: it is a difficult task to organize and to coordinate so many people from different national origins. In her view, there must be a “equilibrium” among the different communities. It means that it is necessary to distribute clearly the local celebrations of different communities to avoid the powerful presence of one community and the diminishing presence of the others. In this situation, Carla claims, the religious leaders of the parish should find equilibrium among communities for including all local celebrations⁵. They should balance the presence of different communities.

Claudia (from the Dominican Republic) states that cultural diversity has produced an effect in her faith (the different expressions of the same faith make the individual belief stronger) and in her personality. The latter is argued because she has become a more tolerant person due to contact with people from different origins, the connection with them, their gastronomy and celebrations have produced the sense that diversity is a positive characteristic. She has included this as a positive value in her relations with other people.

Finally, in relation to the Role of Religion in the Migration Process (**Theme E**), María (from Venezuela) shares her testimony: “there are difficult times, there are moments of anxiety, but when I began to pray to the Holy Spirit. I feel calm, and I began to think that I will have my opportunity, only the Lord knows when I will have my opportunity”. There are hard times about the insertion into Chilean society. The lack of work and money (and sometimes there is money, but it should be sent to a family abroad) produce stress and uncertainties. At this moment, she prays to the Lord, and the trust in him can make that better times and opportunities appear in the immigrant lives.

In the same way, Luis stated the power of prayer. In his experience in hard moments or when he needed to find a job through praying, he got it. However, Luis pinpointed that praying is a psychological mechanism for dealing with difficulties or in the absence of family. Praying helps to mitigate the burden that the migration process means for immigrants. Even more so, for those that are living without documents or with less economic resources. In his view, praying in hard times (for example, when he needed to find a job) was a mechanism for overcoming the problems; and through praying, he could manage successfully with difficulties.

José (from Paraguay) identified that through participation in the Latin American parish, people conform to a community, and it can be a mechanism for diminishing the stress and the impact of the migration process. Through this community, they can share a sense of belonging and participate in local celebrations and religious festivities from countries different from their own. In this community, they can remember some parties from their home country and cook national food, as well. “It is wonderful to find a place [the parish] where people from different national origins can meet with other immigrants and be part of a warm community”, in his view.

The priest in the Latin-American parish provides an important viewpoint. In his view, religious belief is fortified by the migration process. In this migratory experience people see how they change or are modified by some important relations, the family (or even the children) is far away, money is scarce, sometimes people are living alone in a foreign country and in this difficult situation, they find help in religion and God, because “all things pass...but

⁵ “In parishes that are more multicultural the[...] foreign priests could facilitate the integration of other ethnic groups’ particular ways of living the faith, hence pave the way toward a more multicultural sense of the church” (Cruz, 2014, p. 119).

not God". Also, the deacon claims that religion is strengthening in the migration process; the religious life of the believer is accentuated by migration. According to the numerous cases of immigrants in the parish and his personal experience, the deacon states that religious life is being reinforced under the migratory experience.

Observations

The Latin-American parish is placed at INCAMI (Instituto Católico para las Migraciones) in Providencia, Santiago. Inside the church building, the figure of Jesus stands out above the altar. He is in a welcoming attitude; his arms are open as if he is waiting to hug someone. This Jesus is different from the traditional crucified figure on the cross. Here, he is waiting for an immigrant parishioner, and it seems like he wants to hug him/her. Besides the altar, on the right side of the building, there are some flags, the Italian flag (of the Scalabrinian order from Italy) and a Chilean flag. Also, there is a little altar for putting the devotions (Virgins). It is important to specify that the devotions placed on this little altar changes about weekly and national religious celebrations. Near the entrance hall, there is a little room, which contains several devotions (Virgins) from all over Latin America, it is possible to find the Virgin of Guadalupe (Mexico), Coromoto (Venezuela), Urkupiña (Bolivia), Copacabana (Bolivia), de la Purísima (Nicaragua), Caacupé (Paraguay), de las Mercedes (Peru), Luján (Argentina), Suyapa (Honduras), Nuestra Señora Aparecida (Brazil) and Chapi (Peru).

The Mass follows the formal structure of the Christian Mass, with religious songs, reading of the Scriptures, the consecration of the Host, and so on. However, the sermons of the priest are in tone with immigrant issues, about the different home countries and their social and political situations, and therefore, the community which is aimed is changing from one week to another. For example, there was a particular reflection for Venezuela and its presidential elections, or there was a special sermon for the problematic situation in Nicaragua. At the end of the Mass, the seminarian mentions the different immigrant communities present in the parish every Mass and the communities respond cheerfully.

As shown above, the sermons were aimed at different national communities. For example, in a Sunday Mass with a strong presence of the Venezuelan community, the priest preached about the Fact of the Apostles and made a comparison between the apostles and the Venezuelan people. The sermon referred to the sadness that the apostles felt after the death of Jesus and the disbelief that they experienced about the rebirth of Jesus. This scepticism is similar to the current spiritual situation of the Venezuelan community in the diaspora, in his words. They are feeling a lack of signals of the presence of the Lord (due to the social, economic, and political turmoils that are present in their home country). They are waiting for the Lord, and the hope should be kept at this moment. The priest says that they should pray in the current difficult times like the apostles prayed while they were waiting for Jesus. The Venezuelan community must learn from the case of the apostles because the Lord showed himself to the followers of Jesus. The Lord showed his power in difficult times, and he will show his power and love to the Venezuelan community, that are living difficult situations outside their home country. At the same time, they can preach to the Virgin of Coromoto (a national devotion from Venezuela) to feel the presence of the Lord.

In the same fashion, when the Mass was oriented towards the community from Nicaragua, the reading was again the Fact of the Apostles. In this occasion, the parable of the vine grower and his grapes was the theme of the message. The priest preached that it should be kept at a distance the good grapes from the bad grapes. At the same time, the vine grower should care and protect the vineyard from getting good wine. The Lord recognizes that all his children could experience awkward moments in their lives, although the Christian

community must strengthen their spiritual life in the Lord. They should develop a strong relationship with the Lord as the vine grower who cares and protects the grapes in its development. The priest emphasized that all the community should preach for Nicaragua and its difficult moments.

It is essential to mention that the end of the Mass does not mean the end of activities every Sunday at the Latin-American parish. After the Mass, there is space for a lunch that is made by each community every week. For this reason, there are Sundays when there is a Peruvian lunch, or a Brazilian lunch, and so forth. This space for sharing a national lunch is placed below the church building, in a big saloon. The national religious celebrations take place in this same place. For example, the celebration in honour of John the Baptist (Venezuela) was placed here. On this occasion, the saloon was full of people that were dancing and listening to music from different musical bands on the stage. People were eating Venezuelan national food, and most of them were participating in a lively way. The celebration was concentrated in the dancing and the music from the bands. It was challenging to understand the message because the songs were sung in a Venezuelan slang incomprehensible for outsiders. The saloon was decorated with Venezuelan flags, and there were some religious images on the stage.

Moreover, a prominent place, within the celebration, was kept to a female dancer that was moving according to the music from a personal band that followed her everywhere. This female dancer and her band inaugurated the celebration and after a moment, and when the attendees began to dance, they left the saloon. All attendees paid attention to the movement of the dancer. Finally, it is essential to specify that this celebration was made up mainly of Venezuelans. It can be inferred by the participation and knowledge of the dancing and songs by the audience.

However, religious celebrations are performed outside the parish as well. For example, the procession in honour of the Virgin of Chuapi (Peru) began with a Mass in her honour and there were present the parishioners as well as members of the Peruvian army and diplomacy. The figure (statue) of the Virgin of Chuapi is placed beside the altar, it is a high figure which is dressed in a gold dress, and a lot of flowers are put around it. The mass began with a special message to the Peruvian community, and the history of the Virgin of Chuapi is told. The figure of the Virgin was transported across a desert zone in the s. XVIII (near 1740) and it fell into the sand from the hands of the group which was moving the figure. After this fall, the group of devotees cannot raise again the figure, and it did not move from this place. In this zone, a town was built after this event, and while the builders were working in the buildings, they felt the hot weather and scarcity of water in the desert. At this risky moment, one builder prayed to the virgin for water, and the virgin made available water in the middle of the desert. This action is recognized as the first miracle of the Virgin of Chuapi, and this Virgin is the mother of Peru, in priest's words

At the end of the Mass, a group of men held the statue of the Virgin on their shoulders from inside the church building to the street. They held the statue throughout the square around the church building. Besides them, a music band was playing Peruvian songs in honour of the Virgin, and this band followed the Virgin in its route around the church. At the beginning of the procession, a big group of parishioners surrounded the virgin; although when it was in the street, the people in the procession decreased steadily. However, throughout all the route, a small group of women were praying the rosary while men held the statue. Here a clear division of roles regarding gender can be seen: men hold the statue and women pray the rosary. This is celebration composed by adults mainly, it can be seen in the

scarce presence of children who are in the procession, it is possible to identify only a few children with their parents.

Discussion and Conclusions

The above viewpoint by Luis (from Venezuela) regarding the usefulness of praying can be understood in a twofold way: first, it is important to highlight the comment, “praying is a psychological mechanism for dealing with difficulties”, because it is in tone with the “methodological atheism” proposed by the sociological theory by Peter Berger (1992, 2004, 2013, 2014;(Porpora, 2006). In this, the supernatural is excluded from a sociological explanation of religion. Second, praying is a mechanism for dealing with difficulties, for example, when Luis could not find a job. In this way, praying can be interpreted, such as “methodological agnosticism”. In other words, “the acknowledgement that there might really be a supernatural source for transcendent experience” (Gorski & Guhin, 2017, p. 1127;(Porpora, 2006). This trend towards a “methodological agnosticism” can be a useful resource for understanding the religious leader’s viewpoints as well. The references to God made by the priest, for example, that God expresses himself in every culture, can be understood under this methodological position. In other words, the above theophany might be interpreted under the sociological standpoint, however, from a methodological position that allows the existence of a supernatural force; this analysis can be enriched with a transcendent/supernatural dimension. Under these circumstances, the religious phenomenon itself in its social aspects can be approached -or as a social phenomenon- and about the supernatural being or force through the mediation of the sacred or religious expressions.

At the same time, a finding of this research is the fact that participation in a parish with cultural diversity produces a strengthening of the belief. The different religious celebrations and immigrant communities that interact in the Latin-American parish have meant a revalorization of the own religious identity, in the interviewee’s viewpoint. They recognize that through diversity, it is possible to appreciate the features and the richness either of the other communities as well as their community. It is important to stress that this opinion was shared among the immigrants that were interviewed.

The above finding can be interpreted at two levels. First, in relation to modern pluralism, Berger (Berger, 2014) argued that pluralism is either a social and individual phenomena, because a) it means that people should choose in different spheres of social life and b) at an individual level people recognize the presence of different religious worldviews and this produces a relativization of their own religious belief. The latter idea can be understood as pluralism in mind (Berger, 2014). The presence of different religious worldviews is pluralism inter-religion and it was out of the scope of this research. However, pluralism in mind can be analyzed from the findings of this research. Instead of a relativization of religious belief due to the exposition to cultural pluralism, the Latin-American parish can show that parishioners reinforce their belief and religious convictions due to cultural pluralism. In contrast to Berger (2014), cultural diversity and pluralism do not mean a threat to the individual religious belief. On the contrary, individual belief is enriched by diversity.

Second, the pluralism intra-religion -from a personal reading of Taylor (2007)- means a positive experience in the individual belief. It can be shown in the valorization of the foreign religious celebration and in the identification of the cultural features of the own religious celebration. Therefore, pluralism intra-religion, in which there is cultural diversity within the

same faith, provides a richer religious experience in the parishioners.

The religious reflexivity is viewed through the decision of the interviewees to join the Latin-American parish. It is a way of continuity with a religious life present since their lives in their home countries. Instead of choosing another religious tradition or abandoning the Christian faith, the interviewees have reinforced their individual belief through their participation in this parish. The imposition of selection, in this case, can be viewed in the continuity and participation in a diversified cultural community. Through it, the individual belief is exercised regular and actively and there is attention to transmitting the cultural features of the immigrant parents to their children. The parish is a space for “reproducing” the home country cultural aspects, as can be shown in the national religious celebrations. At the same time, they feel part of a community in which there is “unity within diversity”, and the continued participation of the parishioners can be shown as a religious life that is in opposition to the religion of exceptional experiences (Hervieu-Léger, 2009). In this way, the parishioners have chosen a Christian parish to continue with their religious life, and they have chosen to participate continuously in a culturally diversified community.

In conclusion, cultural diversity does not mean a threat to individual belief. It strengthens the personal religious conviction from a pluralism intra-religion or pluralism in the mind perspectives. At the same time, from the findings of this research, religious reflexivity does not mean changing one’s own religion; instead, it means continuity within the same religion.

Chapter 3. Haitian Parishioners in a Chilean Parish: The Role of Haitian Catholicism and Ethnic Cultural Features

Abstract: The research is looking for understand the religious life of a Haitian community in a Chilean parish. The Haitian parishioners celebrate the Mass in Haitian Creole and they participate in religious and social activities with the Chilean parishioners. The main objectives try to identify: a) the reproduction of Haitian Catholicism in a Chilean parish, and b) the interrelationship with the Chilean community and society through participation in the parish life by Haitian parishioners. The research uses a qualitative framework with participant observations of the Sunday masses and religious and social activities developed in the parish. The sample is composed by Haitian parishioners that are regular participants of the masses and activities. The main findings show that the Haitian community is not alone or isolated from Chilean parishioners and society. The participation in ‘integration’ masses and cultural activities are examples of activities for both Haitians and Chileans. Finally, the language is a tool for remembering the Haitian mass but not a mechanism for isolating the Haitian community. They are integrated with the Chilean parishioners and the former view themselves as part of one community of parishioners (composed by Haitians and Chileans).

Keyword: Haitians – Haitian Catholicism – Ethnic Churches – ‘Integration’ Masses – Santa Cruz parish.

Introduction

Chile, in recent years, has experienced the flows of immigration from neighbouring countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. It has been a change from a region which was receiver of immigrants during the XIX and the first half of XX centuries to a region that send immigrant within and outside the limits of Latin America. In fact, there is a steadily immigration in Latin America from home countries in the same region and the Caribbean (Bidegain & Bidegain, 2016). Furthermore, in relation to the different groups that have migrated towards Chile, Haitians have become the group who have being growing at a higher rate in recent years. For example, in Chilean Census of 2002 Haitians were only 50 persons; however, this number grow enormously between the 2013 and 2016 when arrived 41.000 Haitians, what it means an increase of 731%. As an illustration of this increment, it can be shown that only in the 2016 arrived more than 10.000 Haitians to Quilicura, in the northern zone of Santiago (Sánchez et al., 2018). In addition to this number, the Haitians have been clearly differentiated from other groups because two key features: their language and skin color. In fact, Haitians speak Creole, a language which is very different from the Spanish - which is spoken in several countries throughout Latin America- and the Haitians are of black skin. Those elements can be used in discrimination against them. In effect, the race and ethnic cultural features -the biological patterns that are transmitted or the cultural patterns that are learnt, respectively- could make harder the interaction and integration with host society. In fact, the assimilation of immigrants can be harder to obtain “where immigrants are a racially different from the main population” (Tsang, 2015, p. 1189).

Furthermore, Haitians can be identified for another key aspect: their vitality and participation in religious issues. It can be seen, for example, in their active participation in pentecostal and Catholic churches. Every sunday both pentecostal and catholic Haitians dress with formal clothes and participate during the morning in the service or mass, respectively (sometimes very early in the morning). This feature or religious participation, has been

identified by researches in North America and France, and it has been highlighted that Haitians participate in religious activities although their scarce free and leisure time (Mooney, 2009, 2013, 2014; Rey & Stepick, 2013). Moreover, it has been argued that “Haitians have long been among the most devout Roman Catholics in the world” (Rey & Stepick, 2013, p. 85). In relation to religious Catholics Haitians, it is important to identify that they -and migrant newcomers- have a key role in the diversification of mono-cultural religious denominations established in some countries because they “adopt different ways of being church, expressing faith, worshipping, praying and relating to one another...migrant newcomers create capacity for new and shared expressions of their Christian faith” (Snyder, 2016, pp. 7-8).

Moreover, the present research is focused in a Chilean parish with a Haitian community, the Santa Cruz parish, placed in Estación Central and among their objectives are twofold: a) Identifying the cultural features of Haitian Catholicism who are being reproduced in a Chilean parish, and b) to comprehend if the ethnic church that the Haitian community compose is a mechanism for integration with the Chilean community or, otherwise, through participation in the Haitian community it becomes more difficult the interaction with the Chilean community.

In relation to Haitian pentecostalism in the diaspora, Brodwin (2003) has argued that the pentecostal community is a refuge against discrimination. In relation to Catholicism, Mooney (2009, 2014) has identified that “many Haitians rely on their faith quite literally to stay alive” (2009, p. 8). Their strong belief in God and Christ is a mechanism through religious Haitians are overcoming difficulties. For example, the idea that the persons are “children of God” and the identification of the dignity of the Christians themselves are resources for viewing all people as equal (Mooney, 2014). At the same time, through the participation in the religious community, Haitians feel a sense of belonging to “somewhere” (Mooney, 2014). In the viewpoint by Mooney (2009), these strong religious feelings of Haitians migrants abroad can be understood such as “cultural mediation”. It means that “people rely on their religious belief to guide them through struggles in this world, with their eyes all the while fixed on eventually entering another world” (Mooney, 2009, p. 9).

In the same way, Haitians are an ethnic group due to the fact that they share some cultural aspects such as national history, language, and religious origins. In other words, the religious origins of Haitians are composed threefold by Catholicism, Protestantism and Vodou (Rey & Stepick, 2013). In like manner, there is something like a common thread across religious differences in Haitian religion in homeland and the diaspora. This religious basis or religious collusion can be understood as a “collective habitus...[or] relative uniformity of habitus of all members of a given delineated collectivity or social status group, be it family, class, race, or ethnicity” (Rey & Stepick, 2013, p. 8) and it is composed by a ‘practical sense’ by which religious Haitians comprehend that the world is inhabited not only by humans but also by spiritual beings that are present through illness, problems, achievements and goals. This cultural and religious origins produce that religious life of Haitians abroad is very particular in relation to other immigrant groups. That is to say, Haitians through their religious practices and their language can originate ethnic churches -religious institutions composed by an ethnic group that shares cultural patterns such as language, gastronomy, cultural identity, and so on-; in contrast to other migrant groups from Spanish speaking countries of Latin and North America. In this sense, important to realize is the fact that Latin

American Catholicism, even though national or local differences, has a common origin in religious syncretism with native indigenous religions (Martín, 2017); however, Haitian religious context is composed by a religion antagonist to Catholicism –Vodou- (Rey, 1999). Therefore, Haitian religious worldview and thus ethnic churches can be different from other national churches of Latin American immigrants.

Theory on Ethnic churches

The study of religion and ethnicity (Edwards et al., 2013; Emerson, Korver-Glenn, & Douds, 2015; Kim, 2011) is an area worthy of study in the current interconnected world, it can be shown in “the prevalence of ethnicisations and racialisations in contexts of globalisation, transnationalism, neoliberalism and multiculturalism...[this] provide a significant impetus for the sociology of religion” (Wood, 2006, p. 245). In fact, from the sociology of religion standpoint, a key aspect in ethnicity is the study of the composition of religious organizations, with special attention at the level of congregations, due to local religious churches are places with a strong presence in the lives of religious immigrants and communities (Matthews et al., 2016). In this sense, according to the groundbreaking book *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, the ‘reproducing ethnicity’ is the leading feature of churches composed by ethnic groups (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b). It means that churches reproduce ethnicity by the following ways: 1) reproducing aspects of home-country religious institutions, 2) incorporation of ethnic practices and holidays in religious ceremonies, 3) the participation in domestic religious practices; and 4) through social activities in which the congregations take part (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b). In this sense, immigrant congregations recognize, reinforce and support ethnic identity and cultural continuity. These congregations help immigrants to feel at ‘home’, and they respond with a strong sense of commitment towards the institutions (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b).

In the same way, minority ethnic groups have cultural needs that are different to the dominant host culture, and ethnic churches are available to fulfill these cultural needs such as ethnic identity, social status, social service, spiritual and religious developments (Choi & Berhó, 2016). Furthermore, “interpersonal relationships, entertainment, transference of information, and communal ties are also some of the relational goals that are fulfilled in the ethnic church” (Choi & Berhó, 2016, p. 94). Research on religion and ethnicity has highlighted the common elements that share and reproduce a religious community in ethnic churches (Kim, 2011; Kivisto, 2007). These churches play a key role in the establishment of a religious enclave or a community with strong ties; and it encourages the involvement of people of the same national or cultural background.

Nevertheless, the participation in ethnic churches can produce another effect: the isolation from the host society. There is evidence among immigrants who participate in ethnic churches that experience a twofold effect: on the one hand, they can establish strong social relations and networks with other connatural immigrants of the church; on the other hand, if participation and social networks are mainly present among people of the same national or cultural background, it can produce distance and isolation from host society (Brazal & Guzman, 2016; Ryan, 2016; Serrao & Cavendish, 2018; Tsang, 2015). In this sense, participation and time spend in social or religious activities in the church diminish the time and opportunities available for making contacts and interact with native people. Indeed,

Serrao and Cavendish (2018) have demonstrated that social isolation from host society can be found among immigrants with lower levels of knowledge of the language of the host country, with very long workday -for example, with people who work in low-paid jobs such as cleaning- and in people who are very active participants in the church and who spend all their leisure time in its activities. The above features of immigrants who might suffer of social isolation provides new evidence of the life of ethnic churches. In this case, immigrants who have scarce knowledge of host language, free time and long workdays have less opportunities to meet and interact with native people and improve their language and social skills. Indeed, “as people feel more at home in their ethnic enclave, they feel less need to get out and connect with those outside of their migrant church” (Brazal & Guzman, 2016, p. 129).

Important to realize is the fact that the above findings could be reproduced in the case of Haitians who have arrived to Chile recently, and that participate in churches with other Haitians (where the religious service is in Creole) instead of an involvement with a Chilean or a multinational flock. At the same time, the Haitians in Santiago have access to low-paid jobs (due to their scarce educational level and their basic knowledge of Spanish) and live in precarious conditions in bad housing with other Haitians (Sánchez et al., 2018). Therefore, it is possible that their opportunities to interact with Chilean people might be scarce. By the same token, the precarious social conditions that experienced Haitians can motivate a religious life and involvement in religious communities due to the fact that “in the...experience of immigrant dispossession, conditions exist for an estrangement from worldly habits and desires and an efflorescence of religious practice” (Ley & Tse, 2013, p. 163). Indeed, under precarious conditions suffered by immigrants, there is the real option for turning to religious communities and being involved in the religious and social services that these communities provide to them.

In addition, it has been researched that ethnic churches can delay immigrant integration in host society (Tsang, 2015). It can be seen in the fact that the ethnic community that the church reproduces, it makes stronger the self-segregation of the community, instead of encouraging the integration with broader society. At the same time, the ethnic churches have limited influence in the host society (Tsang, 2015). Moreover, the role of ethnic church is to preserve the home country culture and traditions, however as Tsang (2015) found, ethnic minority parishioners may seek a same-ethnic pastor in order to reproduce the home-country's vernacular language, cultural values and traditions. Indeed, Tsang (2015) identifies that “in the absence of a co-ethnic pastor...cultural values are not expressed during sermons and lessons, and there is a lack of concerns about the country of origin in prayers and missions” (2015, p. 1188). It is important to identify that the Santa Cruz parish, in the present research, is composed by both a Chilean and Haitian communities, and the latter participate in the Mass and social activities carried out by a Chilean Jesuit priest. The priest preaches in Haitian creole; however, he is not from Haitian origins. Therefore, the impact of a foreign priest in relation to the community will be researched and analyzed further.

The use of Haitian creole in the Mass is a fruitful way of keeping engaged the Haitian community in the parish, because people expect that their native language can be used in the Mass (Ryan, 2016), and through the use of this language, the parishioners feel more comfortable with the service and religious ritual and therefore, they are more committed with the parish or congregation (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000a). In this way, the ignorance of Spanish is a barrier that the Haitian parish overcome through the interaction with the Chilean

community through participation in social and religious activities (Warner, 1997), reviewed further. At the same time, in the Santa Cruz parish, the Haitian community participate in the Mass in Haitian Creole, and the Chilean community in the Mass in Spanish. There are no clear boundaries or restrictions towards the participation of the members of the parish in either the Haitian or Chilean Mass. However, the scarce knowledge of Spanish by some Haitian parishioners could make difficult their participation in the Chilean Mass. This is an important fact, due to that “at a parish level there was some disagreement about whether or not migrants actually should be separated from the rest of parishioners” (Ryan, 2016, p. 308). It will be analyzed further in the results section.

Haitian Catholicism

In relation to Haitian immigrants abroad, the ethnic church is a place where they can reproduce religious practices from homeland. For example, in Miami -the place with more immigrants from Haiti at a worldwide level (Rey & Stepick, 2013)- there is possible to find, through the actions and services provided by the Notre Dame d' Haiti Catholic Church, an important Haitian religious Catholic Devotion: the Feast of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, which is reproduced abroad (Mooney, 2009; Rey, 2004; Rey & Stepick, 2013). This religious festivity is felt like an attempt to recreate not only the Haitian identity but also the experience of being in Haiti. At the same time, it can be named such as a ‘translocative’ and ‘transtemporal’ religious festivity, because it transports the Haitian flock towards an idealized homeland (Rey, 2004). However, there is some differences between festivity in homeland and Miami; for example, in Haiti the sellers of ritual paraphernalia and religious merchandising -such as icons, candles, perfumes, novena guides and so on- are present in the Church of Notre Dame du Perpétuel Secours in the Bel-Air neighborhood and through the places that are surrounded it. In Miami, there is a smaller religious merchandising that is being to purchase by Haitians in the pilgrimage. However, a key aspect is that Haitian Catholicism in Miami presents a lack of the Vodou features with which Catholicism is dealing in Haiti... “there is certainly much less indication of Vodouisant ritual and practice among Haitians at feast-day celebrations in the United States than in Haiti” (Rey, 2004, p. 359).

Haitian Catholicism shares two elements with Latin American Catholicism: the key role of Virgin Mary and the importance of pilgrimage (Rey, 1999, 2004). In addition, the cult of saints has an important place in Catholicism in Haiti and the diaspora. This cult and the pilgrimages towards religious important churches or places have not been diminished for religious trends such as Liberation Theology or Catholic Charismatic Renewal, that in other places in Latin America, aimed the religious life of Catholics towards politics and street protests and towards a direct relationship with God, without mediations, respectively (Rey & Stepick, 2013). These religious trends have made impact in the diminishing role of the cult of saint in Latin America. However, this is not the case in relation to Haitian Catholicism and its cult of saints, where it is possible to evidence that in the religious days in honor to the saint, many Haitians participate in pilgrimages towards catholic churches in places such as New York, Miami, and Montreal (Rey & Stepick, 2013). At the same time, the figure of the Virgin Mary has a strong presence in the religious worldview of many Haitians like a key mediator between them and Jesus and God. It is noteworthy “her role as an ‘attorney’” (Rey, 1999, p. 155). The leading Marian cults in Haitian Catholicism -which are religious figures that motivate pilgrimages in Haiti and the diaspora- are: Immaculate Conception (December

12th), Mount Carmel (July 16th), the Assumption (August 15th), and Perpetual Help (June 27th) (Rey & Stepick, 2013).

The importance of the role of Virgin Mary began to be established in apparitions in XVIII and XIX centuries in countryside regions of Haiti. Moreover, these apparitions were near the shrine of *Nuestra Señora de Altagracia* (the national virgin of Dominican Republic) and some natural places -such as the waterfalls near the village of Saut-d'Eau- with mystical importance for practitioners of other religions (vodouisants). Indeed, Saut-d'Eau became a key twofold place for Haitian pilgrimages: catholics and vodouisants. In this place, catholics could pray and being heard by the Virgin and vodouisants could make ceremonies near the falls. In the Haitian religious worldview, the Virgin of Notre Dame of Perpetual Help is the key figure, it can be shown in the fact that Haitians across different social strata are devotees of her. In this sense, this virgin “is considered accessible for miraculous intervention in the people’s daily lives, and plays a leading role in the guardianship of the nation” (Rey, 1999, p. 162). This religious status was made through the divine intervention of the Virgin in a pox plague in the XIX century that killed more than 100.000 persons. The hierarchy of Haitian catholic church blamed the vodou and its practitioners of the plague’s origin and spread. At the same time, they encouraged the prayer and penitence as tools in order to overcome this difficult national situation. By this time, second half of XIX century, a lady who came from Paris, brought with her an image of the Virgin (*du Perpétuel Secours*) that until that time was unknown in Haiti. This image was placed in the Cathedral of Port au Prince and was tested its miraculous powers against the plague. The archbishop prayed to this new Virgin and he encouraged to do the same to the catholic flock. The next days, a heavy rain fell under the city and it had an enormous healthy power against the plague and the number of the dead decreased sharply. In summary, the difficult social conditions, the plague and the widespread belief of the Virgin intervention in the disappearance of the plague, were key elements in the beginning of the Perpetual Help’s devotion (Rey, 1999). This Virgin is the patron saint of Haiti.

Research Methods

In the present research, the data were collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation; the latter was thought of as a technique, which can provide a picture of the religious services of the Santa Cruz parish. A detailed description of the religious activities of the parish complemented the information given through interviews. In other words, observations provided a picture of the themes and practices; with this information, assess was given to see if the activities reproduce themes and figures of Haitian Catholicism or if through participation in the Haitian community the language and cultural features from Haiti are highlighted or, otherwise, if there is an interrelationship with Chilean persons, cultural and social features.

Observations were carried out every Sunday from August to December 2018 in the Santa Cruz parish placed in Estación Central, Santiago. This parish is controlled by the Jesuit order. The interviews and observations were carried out in this parish because of the availability and willingness of both the priest of the Chilean and Haitian communities for fieldwork to be carried out in this parish.

Interviews were carried out by the researcher and members of the Haitian community were encouraged to respond in conversation (N= 15), these interviews were performed in the

parish before or after the Sunday Mass. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes and with the permission of the interviewee, the researcher audiotaped and transcribed the interviews. There is important to specify that the access to the Haitian community and the availability of some of them for being interviewed were possible for a gatekeeper, Erick Lundy⁶, who is the founder of the Haitian community in the Santa Cruz parish. Moreover, Erick puts in contact the community with the researcher and through his assistance it was possible to interview members who do not speak Spanish or have a basic knowledge of this language. In these cases, the interview was guided by myself but also through the translation that Erick provided: both for the researcher's questions and the interviewee's answers. The translator explained me in Spanish the main ideas of the interviewee. This method could be useful for understanding the main ideas of the answer, but through the translation and sometimes the summary of the interviewee's responses, I lost a lot of details and rich information.

The first stage of the analysis, after the completion of the transcription process, was to identify codes and categories in the interviewee's declarations (Gibbs, 2013). The analysis process consisted of; first, the interviews were read and the key themes were established that were common to all interviewees. The interview process was conducted until saturation was reached and the opinions of the Haitian members became similar. The saturation was reached with around 15 interviews. At the same time, the analysis looked at revealing and key aspects of Haitian Catholicism and its relation to Chilean society. The "central focus [was] on inductively generating novel...ideas or hypotheses from the data as opposed to testing theories specified beforehand" (Gibbs, 2013, p. 49).

For the specific purposes of this research, the observation was thought of as a technique that can provide a picture of the religious services of the parish. Indeed, it is possible to know if the service is composed of Haitian cultural references (such as episodes in the contemporary history of Haiti or issues and controversies of the current Haitian economy, politics, education, etc.) or of features of Haitian Catholicism (such as devotion to figures of Haitian Mariology or Mass and messages from the priest aimed towards the Haitian community, and so on) or of both. In other words, observations will provide a picture of the themes and practices.

Results

Observations

The Santa Cruz parish is a building who has a place for doing religious services and a church hall where social meetings and activities are performed for both the Haitian and the Chilean communities. Inside the building of the parish, there are several pictures of biblical passages, which were paint in bright colors; there are episodes of the Old Testament such as: the slavery of the Hebrew people in Egypt, the split of the Red Sea by Moses and his leadership over the Hebrew people, the Flood and the Noah's Ark. The altar is placed at the center of the building with some big candles; there are some crosses at the altar and above it in the wall, as well. Besides the altar, at the left side, is placed the chorus where parishioners can sing and sit. Together with the chorus, in this sector of the building, there are the musical

⁶ Erick Lundy and Berline Coimin agreed to be identified by their names themselves. The other interviewees of the sample were identified by pseudonyms.

instruments that will be used in the different masses. The building has space for around 250 people, however the regular Haitian community who participate in the masses every Sunday and who are registered in the files of the parish are near 130⁷. Nevertheless, it is important to specify that during the fieldwork in this parish (August 2018 – December 2018) the Haitian community reach its peak of assistance near 90 people. Outside the building there are a big courtyard surrounded by pastoral offices and large rooms. These places are used for making lunches or for practicing the songs that the chorus will sing every weekend; in the courtyard some activities such as theater and clothes markets are placed.

The Mass for the Haitian community is preached both in Haitian creole and French. The Haitian Chorus sing during the Mass in Creole. The Mass is carried out by a Chilean Jesuit priest who has knowledge of both languages French and Haitian Creole. The Mass is structured in the traditional catholic way. That is to say, with biblical readings, the message of the priest, the Eucharist, the greeting of peace among the parishioners, and so on. It is possible to follow the Mass in the liturgical weekly publication that is delivered at the entrance of the church building at the beginning of the Mass. Even though the biblical readings and the sermon by the priest are said in Haitian Creole, it is possible to understand the order and sense of the Mass in the liturgical publication. Moreover, the priest after finishing his sermon translates it into Spanish. In this way, an outsider to the Haitian community (like the researcher himself) can understand the different parts of the Mass and the message from the sermon.

The Haitian Mass is composed almost exclusively by Haitians, sometimes are Chilean groups or persons that are present in this Mass, but there is no a regular Chilean flock in the Haitian Mass. In addition, there were celebrated several baptisms in the Haitian community, where the parents make explicit their wish about that their children will become members of the Christian community. During the fieldwork carried out in the Santa Cruz parish, there were at least five baptisms celebrated in the Sunday Mass. In all these occasions, and every Sunday during the Mass, the Haitian community dress very well; men wear jackets and ties and women formal dress. Participation in the Mass is a moment where Haitian community dress in a formal way. It is easily identifiable the religious Haitians for their dress, in relation to Haitians that are not participating in church activities, because the latter dress in a casual way and the former with very formal clothes. However, Haitian Pentecostals dress in a formal way too, therefore there is difficult to identify either Catholics or Pentecostals Haitians by their dress. At the same time, the few Chileans that participate in the Haitian Sunday Mass dress in a casual way, as well. Perhaps, a way of identifying Catholic and Pentecostals Haitians is that whereas the members of the latter group are bringing a Bible in their hands during their path towards the Pentecostal church, the former group are not bringing the Bible towards the church. The Haitian catholic community of the Santa Cruz parish that involve in the Mass are doing this without carrying out their own Bibles.

Sometimes, there are occasional non-Haitians parishioners that are present in the Sunday Mass, they are visitors from different religious groups (such as Franciscans or younger Catholics) that participate in one Mass, instead of are involved in a regular way in the religious life of the Haitian community. At the end of the Mass, the newcomers can introduce themselves to the Haitian community by giving a greeting to the community from

⁷ Interview with the gatekeeper of this research.

besides the altar -with a microphone-, near the place where is located the chorus. For this presentation, there is possible to know that occasional guests belong to religious orders or are catholic youth communities.

Interestingly, in spite of the fact that the parish has conformed a Mass and a regular flock around the Haitian community, there is nothing that evokes a Haitian parish (religious symbols or virgins of the Haitian Catholicism) or Haiti. There is neither any icon of Virgin of Perpetual Help or Marian figure nor Haitian flag; any picture that resembles the life in Haiti or Haitian Catholicism are absent, as well. The religious pictures that are placed in the left superior walls of the church building are episodes of the Old Testament, as was commented above. There is a Haitian chorus that play with electric musical instruments, however these are the common instruments (electric guitar, bass, drums) and no some that resembles Haitian music (for example, there is no a folk drum that resemble the religious music in Haiti, where these drums are played in the religious chorus⁸). It can be shown that the decoration of the parish is as usual than catholic parishes elsewhere: the altar, the Cross, the pictures of biblical episodes, and so on. There is no decoration that makes the difference between this parish, which is composed by a Haitian community, with other Chilean catholic parishes. In addition, the worship and the message from the priest are standards in Catholicism. There is sometimes a special message on Haitian issues⁹; but, at the same time, the priest in his sermon stresses the importance of catholic issues such as the pastoral service, the help for the needy, the diversity in the community, and so on, instead of orienting his sermon towards issues directly related to the Haitian community. In other words, the sermon and the message are aimed towards a catholic standard audience, instead of being aimed exclusively towards Haitian issues or issues related to the life of the Haitian community in Chile.

In fact, the above observations about the absence of Haitian religious or cultural elements in the Santa Cruz parish are the basis for identifying the presence or not of an ethnic church in this parish.

Interviews

The interviewees have been raised in Catholicism, in Haiti they were active parishioners and the participation in the Santa Cruz parish is a continuum in their religious life. Furthermore, some of them had religious roles in their parishes in the home country. For instance, Charles was acolyte and Berline was novice in Haiti. At the same time, most of them have a very intense participation in the religious and social activities of the Santa Cruz parish. In like manner, through those activities, Haitian interviewees have contact with the Chilean community, as well. In this way, they are participating in both communities. For example, Pierre is involved in the peregrine group with the Chilean community and chorus, they are continuously preparing the songs for the 'integration' masses -reviewed further-; Pierre through this group participate in social activities and trips. In his view, the participation in the parish is very important because through the involvement in the church it is possible to take distance of bad habits such as alcoholism. He claims that "inside the church there are no dangers, but outside there are dangerous situations". The regular participation of the

⁸ Interview with a haitian catholic parishioner.

⁹ The exception was the Mass, at the beginning of september 2018, when the priest asks to the community to pray for Haiti and the victims of the recent earthquake that affected the country.

Haitian parishioners have allowed to meet each other and to establish contact with the Chilean community. Under those circumstances, “becoming active in one’s parish is likely to increase the number of one’s fellow parishioners whom one knows well -especially if the activity involves regular and frequent contact with the same group of people” (Wittberg, 2011, p. 100).

In relation to Haitian Catholicism, Jean stresses that “in Haiti there are more people who participate in the Mass every Sunday, there are so many religious groups who are doing activities in the church and choruses which are singing”. By the same token, Charles identifies that the mass in Haiti is longer than Chilean masses, at the moment of the mass, there are more songs which are sung. In his opinion, through his participation in the Santa Cruz parish, and due to the fact that the Mass is conducted in Haitian creole, “I feel like in Haiti through this Mass”. In the same way, Charles highlights that the Haitian creole is used in the Mass due to “is better to live our faith in our culture [language]”. Indeed, Charles lives in Puente Alto and he should travel across Santiago in order to participate in the Santa Cruz parish. In his view, the language of the mass is a key theme. He claims, for example, that “some of my cousins changed their religious participation from the catholic church to the evangelical church because in the evangelical church the service was in creole while in the catholic in Spanish”.

Jean says that in Haiti the sermon is about themselves and folk music is played during the Mass. In addition, he highlights the fact that the parish analyzed here has an active role in helping Haitians migrants. Moreover, Charles stresses that “in Haiti every Sunday the mass is a party, it can be shown in the dress of the parishioners, in the organization and preparation for local devotions (with several months in advance)” -the local devotion of his town that is celebrated in November is organized since June-. In this way, the church is decorated, the novena is prayed, there is so much respect towards the church, for example, “if a thief is driving outside the church, he reduces the velocity of the car or he moves his hat from the head when is in front of the church building”.

In the viewpoint by Jean Pierre in Haiti the church has more participation of the youth. In his opinion, 80% of Haitians are religious and within this number, 60% is composed by Catholics. He states that the Christian message is universal. However, in the former country the younger generations are so much involved in the parish life, for instance through the chorus and diverse religious communities.

On the one hand, in relation to Haitian Catholicism, Erick Lundy -founder of the Haitian community in the Santa Cruz parish- claims that “religion walks together with culture” so there must be differences between Catholicism in Haiti and Chile. For example, in Haiti it is very important the religious celebrations to local devotions or saints. Indeed, every church has a day of commemoration to its own saint. The Mass is very expressive, active with so much music. In addition, among the parishioners are needy or persons who are in isolation and loneliness. In the Mass the parishioners meet, talk and dance each other, and the end of the Mass does not mean the finish of the meetings in the parish. Parishioners stay with other in conversations, lunching, and so on, a long time after the end of the Mass. It is an important difference with the Chilean Catholicism in his view because “after the Chilean mass all the parishioners leave the church and there is no time for meeting”.

On the other hand, Berline Coimin -founder with Erick Lundy of the Haitian community- argues that “Haitian Catholicism is very much conservative than Chilean Catholicism”. In Haiti there are more religious songs in the Mass and it is more expressive. The Chilean Mass is, in her view, more “cold”. However, in the viewpoint by Berline, Haitian Catholicism is so much conservative and rigid that they -Erick and herself- does not want to replicate some religious practices from their home country. For example, Berline tells the researcher that in her Haitian parish all the parishioners have a card that is used like a register of assistance. In this way, someone who does not possess this card will have troubles and difficulties in order to access to the religious and social services of the church (for example, for them it will be more difficult to baptism their children). In this sense, Erick and herself does not want to imitate this punishment attitudes against the parishioners and therefore there is no punishment of any type over the parishioners who do not assist to the Mass every Sunday in the Santa Cruz parish.

In like manner, in Haiti the message from the priest is very conservative and there is a strict code of dress over the parishioners (women cannot dress with short dress). However, in Chile the dress of Chileans parishioners is different than in Haiti, in the viewpoint by Jacques. Berline adds that the beginning of the Mass is with the rosary, the duration of the standard mass is two hours or more, and it is full of people. For this latter reason, you should arrive very early to the church in order to get a chair for the Mass. Furthermore, the assistants are controlling the behavior of the parishioners, for example, they regulate the body positions, when they should be sitting or should be singing. The assistants not only help the priest with the order of the parish but also with the correct behavior of the parishioners.

In addition, Berline identifies that the “Haitian Mass stresses so much the negative aspects of life as well as in praying for the multiple problems in Haitian society, politics, economics, and so on”. However, in her view this is a limited viewpoint of religion and society because there are not only problems, there is something positive as well even under difficulties.

Equally important is the fact that some important Haitian catholic devotions -such as the party in honor of the Virgin of Perpetual Help- are not celebrated in the Santa Cruz parish like in Haiti. For example, the party of Mary mother of God is celebrated with the whole Haitian immigrant community in different churches across Santiago. Moreover, Erick Lundy -the gatekeeper of this research- pinpointed that there is sometimes difficult to celebrate the Haitian catholic devotions in Santiago due to labor and social conditions because the Haitian parishioners meet and celebrate mass on weekends and sometimes the party of Perpetual Help (June 27th) is on weekdays. Therefore, on those occasions in the Sunday mass there is a special moment for remembering the virgin, “it is something symbolic” in his own words, because until now it has not been possible to celebrate to the manner of the home country. In effect, Berline claims that in the parish under research there is no celebration of the Haitian Catholicism, there are only some moments for remembering in the Mass the date or day near a religious festivity. In addition, an important viewpoint is provided by Jacques who affirms that “in Santiago it is something difficult to celebrate religious processions to the Haitians devotions due to the parishioners of the Santa Cruz parish come from different regions of Haiti -every one with his own saint and devotion”-. Therefore, it is difficult to celebrate this diversity of saints.

On the one hand, in relation to the presence of a Chilean priest, who preaches in Haitian creole in the Sunday mass for the Haitian community, Jacques identifies that “his presence is important because it allows more relationship with the Chilean parishioners”. In this sense, Erick argues that for the Haitian community is highly valuable the fact that a foreign priest -Chilean in this case- learns Haitian creole and preaches in this language. In the viewpoint by Berline, it is highly positive the figure of the Chilean priest because he helps the community in various way. For example, in issues such as housing the priest has acted like a “mediator” between the Haitian and Chileans landlords -who sometimes try to fool Haitians with the rent-.

On the other hand, in an informal conversation with the gatekeeper on the role of vodou in Haitian culture and society, he argued that vodou practitioners are discriminated in the home country and the diaspora. In Chile, for example, a vodou practitioner attempted to establish a vodou temple in Quilicura but he suffered a beating for Haitians evangelicals because the latter do not want the arrival of vodou to Chile. Erick recognizes that vodou is part of Haitian culture but the immigrants, specially the religious Haitians and with more emphasis the evangelicals and Pentecostals, have tried to forbid its practice due to the bad images associated to this religion. In fact, Erick recommends that in conversations with religious Haitians it would be better to omit any reference to this religion.

In addition, the interviewees claimed that through participation in the Santa Cruz parish they are interacting with the Chileans parishioners and community. There are some key instances of participation, such as: a) Spanish courses (carried out by professionals and students at Universidad Alberto Hurtado) which are aimed towards the teaching of Spanish language and Chilean culture, b) courses on digital skills, c) activities for making money for the needy -such as lottery-, and d) integration masses in which the Haitian and Chilean parishioners meets and pray in the same mass at the same time. In this sense, Berline argues that the Spanish courses are ‘intercultural’ activities because Chilean professionals teach both the language and Chilean cultural and social features and Haitians students learn and share social and cultural aspects from Haiti too. Erick shares a similar opinion, in his view the Spanish courses are key activities for familiarizing with Chilean society.

Finally, important to realize is the fact that both communities, Haitians and Chilean, participate in ‘integration’ Masses; in these masses is possible to identify the whole community that compose the Santa Cruz parish. Those Masses are on key dates in the liturgical year -such as on Christmas or in September in the anniversary of the Chilean national independence- and its objectives are to integrate the communities of the parish. The researcher himself participates on the Mass on occasion of the Synod the first Sunday of December. In this special occasion the parish was decorated with pink fabrics around the altar, big candles, and four chairs at the front of the altar for the four priests of the parish. At the right side and at the front of the altar there were some chairs for children who would receive the communion, and at the left side was placed the chorus (composed by both the Haitian and Chilean chorus). It is interesting to identify that on this Mass the parish was completely full by Chilean (the majority) and Haitians parishioners. They were sitting together across the parish, there are no clear boundaries between Haitians or Chileans sitting parishioners throughout the building. The principal priest organizes the worship and give his sermon in Spanish, and the priest of the Haitian community give a message to the whole community in Haitian creole. The choruses sang religious Christians songs by turn, either

Haitian or Chilean chorus; however, at a moment with very popular songs both communities sang at the same time. The Haitian chorus were singing in creole and the Chilean chorus and parishioners sang in Spanish simultaneously. The parish as a whole was singing in these overlapping languages. It was a very active moment because it showed the unity of the community in spite of the barrier of the languages. The Christian songs overcome the different languages and it made possible to unify the parishioners in the singing of religious songs.

There are other activities that are developed with this sense of integration. For instance, some members of the Haitian community played key roles in a theatre play wrote by the Chilean priest of this community. The play was about the figure of “Makandal”, key leader in the Haitian revolution. The play was performed by Haitian parishioners and Chilean actors in front of an audience composed by both Haitians and Chileans in the courtyard of the parish. However, the play was performed in schools and cultural centers, as well. In this sense, it is important to highlight that the theatre play was thought as an activity to either the parishioners and the secular individuals who can have interest on Haitian history. It is not limited neither to the Christian community of the Santa Cruz parish nor the physical space of the parish.

Discussion and Conclusions

On the one hand, in relation to Haitian Catholicism was showed that its key devotions and celebrations in their honor are not replicated in the same way in the Santa Cruz parish. In fact, in this parish there are moments for remembering the Haitian devotions in the Sunday mass but there are not processions or pilgrimages like in Haiti. The scarce time available for Haitian parishioners is considered an element that make harder to organize and celebrate a big religious party. In addition, Haitian Catholicism is more conservative, rigid, and normative than Chilean Catholicism, it can be seen in the fact that the former makes a register of parishioners that participate in the Sunday mass, regulates the behavior of the parishioners and makes difficult to get some religious and social services for parishioners that are not participating in a regular way in the parish life. Those elements are not present in Chilean Catholicism.

On the other hand, in this case, the participation in the Haitian parish does not produce an ethnic enclave isolated from host community or society. Indeed, the Haitian community is integrated with the Chilean community. There are different activities -reviewed above- in which both Haitians and Chileans participate. Furthermore, there is the conviction among the Haitian parishioners that the community of the parish is only one (composed by Haitians and Chileans) and it can be evidenced in activities such as the ‘integration’ masses throughout all the liturgical year. In this sense, it can be showed that Haitians (an ethnic group) that celebrate the mass in their own language (creole) does not produce an ethnic church with strong inner ties and bonds (Wittberg, 2011) but isolated from host communities and society. In the case researched here, there are not present Haitians cultural features in the parish. There are not devotions or flags that resemble Haitian Catholicism. Instead the Haitian parishioners participate in activities with the Chilean parishioners and even with the Chilean society beyond the parish (the theatre play demonstrated it). Therefore, the language is not part of a close ethnic community that does not produce links with Chilean parishioners, instead of Haitian parishioners can remember is homeland through the use of home language but at the

same time there are activities and groups that encourage their participation with Chileans. In this sense, the Haitian community of the Santa Cruz parish is not a close ethnic church; on the contrary, they feel members of the same community with Chileans parishioners.

Chapter 4. Conversion and Involvement in Pentecostal Churches: The Case of Haitian Immigrants Abroad

Abstract: In this article, the key characteristics of Haitian Pentecostalism abroad through a review of the literature is analyzed. Research on this topic shows that Haitian Pentecostal communities in the diaspora and in foreign countries are part of a “world as a whole” worldview with a common thread: the rejection of Vodou spirits. Indeed, there is a shared viewpoint on the Vodou spirits as agents of individual and social problems in both foreign countries and the homeland. Scholarship analyzes the process of conversion to Pentecostalism as a mechanism for severing ties with Vodou spirits and is a common element of Haitian Pentecostals in host societies. In the conclusion, I propose that the study on Haitian Pentecostalism is a worthwhile resource in the analysis on Latin American Pentecostalism. The findings are combined with the literature on the Haitian case to propose insights into the study of Latin American Pentecostalism. The conversion in the Haitian case has a spiritual basis that has not been identified in the Latin American case.

Keywords: Haitian Pentecostalism – Vodou Spirits (*lwa*) – Conversion – Migration Process – Ethnic Churches.

Introduction

Pentecostalism and Ethnicity

Since its origins Pentecostalism has been associated with migration. Indeed, at the beginning of the XX century and even before, there have been several religious awakenings and missionaries who spread the Pentecostal message throughout the world (Anderson, 2007, 2013). In current times, Pentecostalism has reached a higher presence in several countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the poorest populations of those regions -the Global South- has found its followers (Corten, 2013). For example, in Brazil, the movement has a strong presence in the slums and other poor sectors of the society (Chesnut, 1997); although there is a presence in the Brazilian diaspora in the US and UK as well (Serrao & Cavendish, 2018; Sheringham, 2013). In this sense, it is important to identify that Pentecostalism has gained worldwide and transnational status because of the movement of people and national diasporas around the world.

The present article will review the literature on Haitian Pentecostalism abroad. It identifies that Pentecostal communities understand the “world as a whole” in which there is a connection with communities placed abroad and there is a common worldview on the conversion process in a Pentecostal community. At the same time, it will be shown that this sense of a de-territorialized community is noteworthy among Haitian Pentecostals because through conversion it is possible to reduce the harmful effects of Vodou on the individual, collective and social lives of both Haitians and Haiti.

In the first place, according to research on Pentecostalism it is a movement of praxis and emotion. Instead of an intellectual approach to the religious life (like the biblical exegesis), Pentecostals experience the religious message and teachings through glossolalia,

exorcism, healing, miracles, and so on. In this sense, “Pentecostalism is a religion of emotion, and it is so above all because it is grounded in an anthropology of the body which is different from that of Catholicism or historical western Protestantism” (Corten, 2013; Hurbon, 2001, p. 134; Vásquez, 2009). There are significant differences with Catholicism and its distinction between the body and soul, because, in Pentecostalism, the religious message is intertwined with body experiences. However, there are other essential differences regarding how Pentecostal churches deal with the migration process, ethnic issues, and cultural diversity.

It is important to specify that while the Catholic attitude in relation to immigration, cultural diversity and homeland religion might be labelled ‘retrospective’, that is to say, “bridging to and positively valuing homeland and ethnic culture” (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015, p. 64), the Pentecostal and Protestant Latino churches have developed different types of religious institutions on these issues. The ethnic characteristics and cultural diversity are part of the features that Pentecostal and Latino Protestant churches adopt in the diaspora.

In relation to Pentecostalism and ethnicity, it is possible to find, on the one hand, ethnic-specific churches, which are composed of particular groups with their own national identities. On the other hand, there are pan-ethnic churches that gather together, in a broader community, churchgoers from different national and cultural backgrounds (Melkonian-Hoover & Kellstedt, 2019; Mulder, Ramos, & Martí, 2017). This latter type encourages the adoption of a common Latino identity that transcends national affiliations (Marti, 2005, 2012). Indeed, there is an Ethnic Transcendent Latino church in which the religious identity is made according to shared interests and affinities and where the ethnic description or performance of the churchgoers is not a key issue (Marti, 2012). This type of church is analyzed through the concept of Ethnic Transcendent proposed by Marti (2005, 2009, 2012). It may be understood as “congregations that encourage members to put forward a broader religious identity as more important than any particularistic or pan-Latino identity” (Marti, 2012, p. 32).

In a similar way, there are non-ethnic pathways of integration in born-again (Pentecostal churches) where Christian universalism is stressed instead of an ethnic particularism (Glick Schiller, Caglar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006). This can be seen in the fact that Latino Protestant churches modify the individual identity of their members to become an integrant of a broader Christian community and identity; at the same time, this new Christian identity breaks ties with homeland culture and pre-conversion life (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015). Also, Pentecostalism can be identified as a transnational movement because of its rejection of national categories. The Pentecostal migrant churches view themselves as churches aimed at the service of God, and God [transcends] national origins or cultures (Karagiannis & Glick Schiller, 2006).

The key aspect of Protestant Latino integration is the conversion process by which the person severs any relationship with his/her sinful life and a ‘born again’ process should be experienced to become a true *Cristiano* (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015). For this reason, the Protestant Latino experience can be labelled as prospective, it implies “ a break with the past,

rejecting many ethnic markers, and a focus on self-transformation” (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015, p. 64).

Although, there is evidence of other types of evangelical churches that promote an acknowledgement of the ethnic identity in an inclusion strategy. In doing so, the case of the church Evergreen Baptist Church investigated by Garces-Foley (2007) stresses the ethnic identity instead of omitting the cultural and ethnic heritage. Moreover, this evangelical church understands the ethnic differences as a part of God’s plan for humankind (Garces-Foley, 2007, p. 100). At the same time, it has been researched that Pentecostalism can provide resources to maintain the homeland culture and practices abroad, through the indigenization of religious practices and cultural identity among immigrants in home-resonant congregations (Berhó, Martí, & Mulder, 2017). In the viewpoint of Berhó, Martí & Mulder (2017) Pentecostalism is the branch of Protestantism that provides tools for its followers to strengthen their ethnic identities through ‘products’ or material objects such as clothes, food or material items that are being sent from and to remember the home country. For example, in the Guatemalan Pentecostal church investigated by them (Berhó et al., 2017), the members used cloth and food that was transported from the home country. The use of Spanish, instead of English, in the service can be understood as an example of a practice aimed at the preservation of home culture, as well. Second, the connection to homeland culture and people, through travels and contacts with them, can be understood as an inculturation practice concerning the home country.

Furthermore, Pentecostalism can offer resources for immigrant communities on two levels: a) at the micro level -repairing families in the Latin American communities, through its opposition to *machista* attitudes, such as alcohol abuse, marital violence, etc., and re-articulating the self, who have been threatened by domestic violence, and drugs-; and, b) at the macro level “maintaining community, building collective identity, preserving cultural patterns, and providing a certain degree of empowerment for women” (Vásquez, 1999, p. 630). Preserving cultural patterns is shown in Latino communities that are marginalized in the U.S.; in this context, Pentecostalism provides a reaffirmation of the Hispanic heritage and the confirmation of a pan-Latino identity as a way of obtaining representation and to erase the prejudices and discrimination that they suffer. In summary, Pentecostalism helps Latinos to conform to national communities in discriminatory settings (Vásquez, 1999).

Therefore, it is important to argue that ethnic identity and cultural diversity can be identified by two approaches in Pentecostal and Evangelical churches: on the one hand, the prospective and conversion approach (Calvillo & Bailey, 2015) and on the other hand, the products, practices and people which are being produced in Pentecostal services and that strengthen the social and cultural ties with the homeland (Berhó et al., 2017; Vásquez, 1999).

A de-territorialized community

With respect to the two types of immigrant churches, it should be noted that a key feature of these institutions is the construction of a close community where the sentiment of belonging is produced through fictive kin (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000) or a spiritual kinship (Thomas, 2017). The former is understood as a network of people that provides social and

economic resources when the immigrants are settling into a new social environment. At the same time, fictive kin is a mechanism for binding an immigrant community socially and emotionally because the individuals who are involved in the community are expected to avoid hostility and to cooperate with the other members (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000). In the case of the latter type of close community, the churchgoers believe that their mutual embodiment in the Holy Spirit makes them kin. The members realize practices, speak languages and do different forms of intersubjectivity that connect them as “spiritual children”, “spiritual fathers and mothers”, “sister and brothers in Christ”, and so on. In this case, it is crucial to identify that shared worldviews might produce closer communities than cultural or genealogical ties because common beliefs have the strength to bind people more strongly than other forms of similarity (Thomas, 2017).

The important point is that “what makes a church feel like a community is not that everyone is interacting with everyone else but that the *potential* exists to form a bond with any member” (Garces-Foley, 2007, p. 87). Moreover, the Pentecostal community stresses - in its members- the sense of belonging to a group which has taken distance of worldly life and affairs. There is a clear separation of sinful pre-conversion life, and the Pentecostals themselves have made an important change in their lives. The sense of community is not only developed based on spiritual issues or beliefs. What is more, Pentecostal churches in host societies should develop strategies for settling and developing a sense of community. In effect, there is research on the ‘tactical creolization’ (Bukasa, 2018) that some Pentecostal churches realize in their efforts of settlement. This creolization means that churches intertwine local and foreign elements in their worships and change or relax some of their practices, cultural expressions, organizational models, rituals, and so on (Bukasa, 2018). It can be mostly seen in the music of the service when local and foreign languages are song in an overlapping way. It is important to highlight this mixing of local and foreign elements because it is a cultural fusion that promotes social cohesion within the church (Bukasa, 2018) in relation to the cultural and social features of the host society.

In this sense, it should be added that the Pentecostal worldview allows the creation of de-territorialized communities; that is to say, Pentecostals share a sense of community with groups placed elsewhere due to the common lives and ideas that Pentecostal worshippers develop after their conversion. In this case, “once an individual is born-again, a spiritual world is evoked that envelopes believers wherever they are, following them wherever they may settle” (Cazarin, 2018, p. 265). Pentecostals feel part of a global community and movement, and their faith is an important factor in the contemporary global religious context (Droogers, 2014). Equally important is the worldview of the “the world as a whole”, that is to say, “Pentecostals are seen as connected to a more extensive, worldwide community of Christian believers [this frame] is more relevant to the Haitian churchgoers” (Butler, 2008, p. 55). In effect, in the Pentecostal worldview, the personal communication and relationship with the Holy Spirit link Christians in different places, wherever they are located or placed, into the key mission of bringing the Christian message to the world.

Furthermore, the Pentecostal view produces dichotomous world geography that is not based on national territories or limits. They see the world as divided between “save, and not-

saved” people and the key task is to “save the people of God” wherever they could be placed (Glick Schiller et al., 2006; Karagiannis & Glick Schiller, 2006). This de-territorialized community is noteworthy among Haitian Pentecostals because they see conversion as a key process for eradicating the harmful presence of Vodou in individual and social problems in Haiti and abroad. There is a common thread -reviewed further- on the harmful effects of Vodou in Haiti and the role of conversion to Protestantism (Pentecostalism) to attack the forces of Vodou. In conclusion, the Pentecostal community is a social world separated from both un-saved Haitians and non-Haitians (Richman, 2008).

Moreover, it is important to identify why Haitians convert to Pentecostalism instead of Catholicism to finish their relationships with the Vodou spirits. There are some overlapping influences between Catholicism and Vodou -reviewed further- and some people worship both Catholic saints and Vodou spirits. However, the same worshippers prefer to join Pentecostalism instead of Catholicism- why does this happen? An important argument is provided by Droogers (2012c, 2012d) about the power in religion. In his view, the capacity to innovate in religion can be analyzed in the framework of official and popular religion. The official religion is considered the correct version of religion; it contrasts with the popular experiments and innovations. Popular religion, like syncretism, is to be found on the side of popular innovators who make free use of religious practices and are on the opposite side to the official religion (Droogers, 2012d). In this sense, a syncretic expression such as Vodou is placed closer to the Pentecostal movement because it does not have the rigid structure nor the hierarchy that the Catholic church has. It is easier to change religion for closer options. In this sense, the Pentecostalism represents less formal and hierarchical religious movements. At the same time, Pentecostalism and its praxis (healing, exorcism, and so on) represent a more effective religious solution to the dependence to the Vodou Spirits.

At the same time, Haitian Pentecostalism is a case of religious creolization in two ways. First, “in the religious sense...a process of creolization occurs in which people obtain a working knowledge of more than one religion and are able to act appropriately in each of them” (Droogers, 2012d, p. 354). This may be seen, in the process of conversion -reviewed further- in which Haitian Pentecostals deal with Vodou spirits and with the new life that implies conversion to Pentecostalism (making a break with the past). Second, Haitian Pentecostals are dealing with spirits and with concrete material results through the process of conversion. They are dealing with two realms: spiritual and material. This second sense of the Haitian religious creolization is noteworthy in the immigration to Latin America or Chile. It is because Haitian Pentecostalism abroad recognizes the presence of spirits, and the decision to sever links with them is the primary motivation for joining Pentecostalism. In contrast to other Latin American flows of immigration and their religious features (Catholics from different countries of the region), in the Haitian case, there is a spiritual basis for joining the movement. This basis is different from Latin American Pentecostalism or Catholicism and is an area worthy of study because it diversifies the religious realm with a spiritual dimension hitherto unknown in the Latin American or Chilean context.

Finally, the study of Haitian Pentecostalism abroad means the interrelationship between the material and immaterial, the immanent and the transcendent. In the study of

religion there are some approaches that exclude any reference to the transcendental (*methodological atheism*), there are other approaches that explicitly include the transcendental aspect in the explanation (*methodological theism*) and others that abstain from an opinion on religious and transcendental issues (*methodological agnosticism*) (Droogers, 2012c, 2012d, 2012b, 2012a). However, how can we understand a movement that simultaneously overlaps spirits and material issues? How can we interpret the religious creolization between these two realms? In this case, the *ludism* methodology approach by Droogers is an important theoretical resource (2012c, 2012b, 2012d, 2012a; Versteeg, 2006). In religion, the key characteristic of this *ludism* is the capacity to play with two realities, one natural and the other supernatural. Also, “the ludic is the capacity to deal simultaneously and subjunctively [the capacity for change] with two or more ways of classifying reality” (Droogers, 2012b, p. 321).

Moreover, in religion “play is the hunch -and often the experience- that there is another dimension, beyond the differentiating and restricting limits of time and space, that transforms fragmentedness into wholeness” (Droogers, 2012d, p. 351). The interplay between the two realities can be seen in the ritual when believers or churchgoers perform a role or follow some rules to act in the ritual. The natural and the supernatural are interacting through the ritual and the religious symbols. The characteristic of play is from the point of view of the researcher -that in the anthropology or sociology of religion are often part of the ritual as an observer- the people who are interacting in the ritual, they are doing something like playing (adopting roles and communicating with the transcendent) (Droogers, 2012d, 2012b, 2012a).

Haitian Pentecostalism abroad overlaps supernatural and natural domains. It is a crucial example of the religious phenomenon for both its realms. At the same time, Haitian Pentecostalism in immigration to Latin America diversifies the religious scenario with a spiritual basis unknown in the Latin American Pentecostalism. Moreover, the Haitian Pentecostalism abroad is a religious movement that can be analyzed from the methodological *ludism* approach -that incorporates the immanent and the transcendent- and the religious practices -healing, exorcism, etc.- that can be analyzed as play, as well. Instead of adopting methodological atheism or theism, methodological *ludism* describes the inner elements and practices of the religious phenomena, and in this fruitful approach, Haitian Pentecostalism abroad can be placed.

Pentecostal Presence Abroad

There are some elements such as the presence of churches, the status of churches (and the resemblance of homeland social structures) and the presence of social links that are involved in the participation of immigrants in religious institutions abroad. These elements can be understood as pertaining to the religious realm of the immigration process, and this will be reviewed in this section. Nevertheless, some social and spiritual elements are inherent to the Haitian Pentecostal case, and they will be reviewed further in the next section.

In first place, the participation of immigrants in different churches and their viewpoints about these institutions are shaped by the place of religion in the homeland and

the new setting. In other words, the host country, the role of religion and the resources available for immigrants are key aspects of the participation process. For example, the presence or absence of the church (Catholic or Evangelical) that was visited in the homeland can produce new attitudes about the involvement. There is evidence that confirms that the closer a church is placed is a key factor for some churchgoers (Menjívar, 2001). The presence of religious institutions in the same setting allows an attitude of choosing by the newcomers and the decision to join one of these institutions (Rey, 2008).

In the same way, the minority/majority role and status of religion in the homeland and host countries have effects on the inclusion of new churchgoers. For example, on the one hand, Chinese Christian churches have experienced some problems in the recruitment of new churchgoers in America because in this setting Christianity is a mainstream religion and does not attract new persons. On the other hand, Buddhism is a 'new' religion in America, and it has called the attention of some westerners who are looking for religious alternatives (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001). Religious expressions are different in home and host countries. In the case of Ghanaian Evangelicals, the actions taken to attract new churchgoers and teaching the Christian doctrine (Evangelism) are different in Ghana and the US. In the latter country and among middle-class sectors, religion is viewed as a private matter, and they disagree with public expressions of religiosity. Therefore, Ghanaian Evangelicals develop a more 'implicit' Evangelism at schools, offices and neighbourhoods instead of the public squares (Stevens, 2004).

Equally important is the fact that religious life abroad can resemble the religious or social system in the homeland. For example, the religious life of Protestant Haitians in the diaspora can be understood as a reflection of the social structure in Haiti. This may be seen in the religious institutions of the Haitian Protestant Diaspora in the Bahamas, where there are two main types of churches related to different social classes: the *touloutoutou* and *tet mare*. The former name is a reference to the French language spoken by middle and upper classes in Haiti, while the latter name is an allusion to Haitian peasantry and the churches where the services are conducted in Haitian Creole (used by lower classes) (Louis, 2012, 2015). The stratification is exercised in the social limits that are imposed on the churchgoers of both churches. There are social and linguistic restrictions that forbid churchgoers from attending the church that is composed of members of another social class. There is an explicit limitation that can be reflected in the fact that "*touloutoutou* and *tet mare* churches are mutually exclusive religious spaces. Members of each generally denigrate members of the other. When *touloutoutou*, *tet mare*, and other religious boundaries are invoked by Haitian Protestants in the Bahamas, they also reflect social class differences and intrareligious tensions" (Louis, 2015, p. 44). Also, it has been identified that the main reason for Haitian churchgoers to participate in both churches is to keep their religious practices and faith, it is equally important to maintain the practices that were present in the homeland (Louis, 2015).

Another key point - when taking part in a church's activities in the host country- is the presence (or not) of social links. It has been investigated that social links are very important at the moment of conversion and recruitment of a new churchgoer. This may be seen, for example, in the strong influence that Evangelicals have on the group that surround them. In this sense, Smilde (2005) has claimed that "a spatially co-present Evangelical provides a living bearer of meanings and practices that can be observed, considered, and tried

by a non -Evangelical, regardless of whether there is direct interaction between ego and alter” (p. 772). This idea can be shown in the fact that when a convert (to Evangelical churches) and a non-convert are living together, the former speaks and interprets life and problems through the Evangelical worldview, instead a non-convert understands the above issues in a secular (or other religious) way. However, when the latter suffers different problems (illness, death of someone beloved, etc.), the Evangelical viewpoint begins to make sense in his/her secular view. This was shown in the fieldwork conducted by Smilde (2005) in Venezuela.

Haitian Pentecostalism Abroad

In the specific case of Haitian Pentecostals, it should be noted that this religious movement provides a vital resource for Haitians in foreign countries. The Haitian Diaspora has spread throughout Latin America, North America and Europe (Mooney, 2013), and in some countries (such as the Bahamas or the US) they have found discrimination and opposition to their settlement. In this sense, Pentecostalism has become a community and refuge to the hostile host environment; for example, in the Bahamas or the US, Pentecostal communities have developed services and attitudes to welcoming the newcomers in an attempt to challenge the discrimination suffered by them (Haitians) (Brodwin, 2003; McAlister & Richman, 2009). The exclusion and alienation experienced by Haitians is a crucial aspect that motivates participation in a Pentecostal community. This may be seen in the utilization of Pentecostalism as a resource to achieve individual salvation and, at the same time, a defense of their transnational communities (Brodwin, 2003, p. 86). Through the Pentecostal churches, Haitians can develop social networks, and they can be involved in a community with similar concerns and objectives. Indeed, “it is imperative, at times, that certain ethnic minorities maintain and strengthen ethnic identity because their group generally holds a lower status and both stereotypes and racism occur regularly in an ethnic, social hierarchy” (Choi & Berhó, 2016, p. 102).

Moreover, individual salvation has been investigated in the context of religious conversions. In other words, why do Haitians join Pentecostal communities in foreign countries? Some research claims that conversion to Pentecostalism in foreign countries (and in the homeland) has a relationship with the attempts to severing links with Vodou (Corten, 2013; Drotbohm, 2010; Louis, 2011; Richman, 2005, 2008). It means that commitment and financial obligations to *lwa* (spirits inherited through familiar links) that Haitians should retribute are continuous, even in the migration process. Instead of finishing financial duties to *lwa* in the migration to another country, these continue in a foreign land and the *lwa* has the power to beneficiate or harm the lives of Haitian migrants because spiritual entities have their own agenda and desires (Drotbohm, 2010; McAlister & Richman, 2009; Richman, 2005, 2008). The financial obligations and the money wasted to calm the *lwa* ambitions are burdens to migrants that earn a low salary. In this context, conversion to Pentecostalism has become a resource to secure protection and end the relationship with the *lwa*. Indeed, through conversion Haitian newcomers in Pentecostalism can take symbolic control of their remittances (Richman, 2008).

In this process an instrumental, pragmatic approach to religious practice and beliefs can be identified (Richman, 2017) due to the fact that Pentecostalism provides protection against evil spirits and in this way, people stop suffering the consequences of financial

obligations to those spirits (Drotbohm, 2010; Richman, 2005). In a similar way, “conversion is a strategy migrants have used to resist their perceived roles as exploited emissaries for kin and spirits” (Richman, 2008, p. 29). There is a strategic conversion which is aimed at eradicating the harmful relationship with the *lwas*. For example, in the case of Little Haiti in Miami, Haitians can choose to join among Catholic churches, *Vodouisant* temples or Pentecostal churches (Rey, 2008) and their decisions are driven by strategic objectives. In fact, according to the Haitian Protestant theologian Roger Dorsainville, “true conviction and profound commitment to be saved were rarely the reason people converted” (Richman, 2008, p. 31).

Coupled with the view that Haitian Protestants share is the opinion that Vodou is at the basis of the socioeconomic problems in Haiti and through conversion to Pentecostalism, this can help the dangerous effects of Vodou in the home country. Also, conversion is the solution to spiritual needs, as well as individual problems in Haiti (Conway, 1980; Drotbohm, 2010; Louis, 2011; Richman, 2017). On the one hand, the charismatic possession in Pentecostalism (and in Charismatic Catholic movement as well) and glossolalia (to speak in tongues) would be similar to spirit possession in Vodou (in an external view). On the other hand, “Vodouists and Pentecostals perceive their respective possession experiences in radically different and fundamentally irreconcilable theological terms” (Rey, 2010, p. 85) because while the Vodou possession is produced by spirits, in the case of Pentecostalism it is caused by the Holy Spirit (Conway, 1980; Marina, 2016). Moreover, Haitian Protestants abroad, for example, in the Bahamas, consider Vodou as a religion related to a backward way of life that encourages ignorance and superstition. So, in their view, Protestant Christianity (Pentecostalism) is the path to avoid and eliminate any link with this backward life and religion (Louis, 2015) due to the individual and social values (reviewed further) that this religious movement promotes among its churchgoers.

The rejection of Vodou is a common thread to all Protestant [Pentecostal] organizations in Haiti and the Diaspora (Bahamas) but at the same time the request for guidance, personal healing and the sense of future from God (the prophecy through possession by the Holy Spirit) are elements that are shared by Caribbean Pentecostals (Cruz, 2018; Nicolas, DeSilva, Bejarano, & Desrosiers, 2007). In the opinion of the Protestant community in the Bahamas, the spiritual factor (the practice of Vodou) is at the heart of problems and social disasters in Haiti (Louis, 2011, 2012, 2015). In their view, Vodou is the religion of the devil in which its followers pray to idols and evil spirits that influence them. Furthermore, Vodou promotes envy among the community; for example, when a neighbour achieves economic success, another person can use magic against them. Vodou is viewed as a ‘culture of poverty’ (Louis, 2015). Instead, Pentecostalism is considered a religion that produces upward mobility because the former stimulates a backward economic situation (through the envy and acts of magic developed against the successful economic persons). Instead the latter encourages a strict code of behaviour and hard-working attitudes in its communities. In fact, at the beginning of the introduction of Pentecostalism in Haiti, the followers “identified...opportunities for social mobility...: to learn English and to travel to the United States” (Conway, 1980; Corten, 2013, pp. 675-676). At the same time, Haitian Pentecostal churches provide material help in difficult times and “in return they demand strict allegiance to doctrine, liturgy, and morality” (McMahon, 2012, p. 496).

Also, there is a connection between Pentecostalism and the Protestant ethic (in a Weberian sense) due to idea that the former movement strongly encourages values such as honesty, hard-working attitudes in its churchgoers, and asceticism. These values estrange the Pentecostal community from the outside world and motivate upward mobility. Indeed, Haitian Pentecostals choose to socialize within the Pentecostal community, and keep themselves away from worldly attitudes and behaviour such as dancing, drinking, and gambling and “engaging in...ungodly practices like participating in Vodou prayers” (McAlister & Richman, 2009, p. 344).

What is more, Richman (2005) has found that there is a generalized opinion about the upward mobility achieved by persons that have joined a Pentecostal community among Haitians immigrants in Miami; in the case of Pastors they have even built their own churches. The economic resources that have been accumulated are used to sustain families in Haiti and as an economic basement for the funding migration process in the future as well (Louis, 2015). Another value that is widely recognized in Haitian Pentecostalism is the spiritual gender equality (instead of the patriarchal society and traditional Catholic religion) (Rey, 2010) because Pentecostalism supports the prophetic role of women and their capacity to express the gifts of the spirit.

Furthermore, Haitian Pentecostals think that there are some mutual influences between Catholicism and Vodou. However, in the former case, the Holy Spirit is more powerful (and less demanding) than the *lwa*. The latter spirit imposes a continuous relationship of reciprocity and social obligations among its followers (Butler, 2008). Also, it has been identified that Haitian Pentecostals have opinions that are in opposition to Catholicism as well (Butler, 2008; Conway, 1980). They distinguish themselves from the believers identified as Catholics because the latter are people who have not converted to the more authentic faith (Pentecostalism).

Moreover, Haitian Pentecostals express that “there are no pure Catholics” due to the fact that Catholicism is mixed with Vodou elements that contaminate the former religious tradition. Indeed, there are religious practices -such as the Three King’s Cake Festival that celebrates the arrival of the Three Kings to Bethlehem in honour of Jesus- that overlaps both Catholic and Vodou elements (Marina, 2016) like in the case of worshipping either Catholic saints or *lwas*. Coupled with “many [Haitians] unproblematically participate in both Vodou and Catholic rituals and ceremonies” (Marina, 2016, p. 222).

Pentecostals find a connection between the Catholic saints and the Vodou *lwa* and, at the same time, they think that Catholics have a hidden side in which they practice Vodou. Equally important is the fact that Haitian Pentecostals in the diaspora are preaching and praying to attack the Vodou-Catholic stronghold present in Haitian society (Butler, 2008). It is important to realize that the critical viewpoint of Pentecostals towards both Catholicism and Vodou can be understood in the rejection of the religious worldviews of the pre-conversion life. Indeed saints, ancestors, nature spirits, and divinities should be exorcized or fought in the process of conversion to Pentecostalism (Droogers, 2014). In this sense, the religions that include in their worldview spirits and divinities will be criticized because “there is no theological space in Pentecostalism for additional infilling entities” (Butler, 2008, p. 29).

The defense of transnational communities is a crucial element in understanding the role that religion plays in Haitian immigration. Pentecostalism in a hostile environment is viewed as a 'protective social capsule' because it provides a reference group and a viewpoint or moral commentaries about exclusion (Brodwin, 2003, p. 90). For example, in Guadeloupe (in the Caribbean Sea) the Pentecostal churches criticize how native men and women dress; in the latter case, they are strongly opposed to provocative clothes and Pentecostal churches defend a strict code of behaviour and dress among its churchgoers (Brodwin, 2003, p. 91). In other words, the worldview developed in these churches produces a twofold effect: first, the separation from the 'world', and second: to reinforce the links within the community. This opposition confronts the community with the native population and differentiates the former through strict codes of behaviour and viewpoints about the attitudes which are present in the condemned 'world'.

This code of behaviour is achieved through baptism. It is a decisive event in the Protestant [Pentecostal] believer because it 'makes a break with the past'. In other words, when the believer is converted through baptism, he/she decides to separate from all worldly behaviour and attitudes (smoking, drinking, gambling, sexual relations outside the marriage or before the marriage, etc.) and to dedicate their lives to Christ (Louis, 2015). In summary, it is possible to identify a threefold scheme on the common elements of Haitian Protestantism in the diaspora. First, the rejections to Vodou (the folk religion of Haiti). Second, its Protestant ethic and hard-working attitudes to labour and thirdly, the strict behaviour and dress code that identifies Haitian protestants themselves and shows differences with people in the 'world' (Louis, 2015).

Conversion from a spiritual basis

What is more, a particular feature of Haitian Pentecostalism in the homeland and abroad is the spiritual dimension that promotes conversion. That is to say, Haitian Pentecostals are aimed at conversion due to the problems, illness and financial duties that are caused by spirits (*lwás*). In effect, these Vodou spirits are the sources of both individual and social problems (poverty) among Haitians, in their homeland and host societies. Moreover, it has been identified that Pentecostalism attacks the local cultures (Casanova, 2001) through the conversion to a new life. For example, Pentecostal newcomers adapt a strict code of behavior in opposition to *machista* attitudes in Latin America and through conversion Pentecostals can deal with the vulnerability of those affected by the current economic worldwide system (Vásquez, 2009). However, in the Haitian case, the problems, necessities and lack of opportunities are viewed as produced by spiritual entities. In contrast, there are no spiritual entities that could be the primary source of economic and social problems in Latin American Pentecostalism (Brusco, 1993; Chesnut, 2003; Cleary, 1999; D'Epinay, 1969; Droogers, 1998; Freston, 1998; Lehmann, 1996; Martin, 1998; Míguez, 1999; Sloomweg, 1998)

In Chilean, Colombian or Argentinian Pentecostalism their worshippers are found among the poor of their respective societies. Nevertheless, in their worldviews, the lack of economic resources of job opportunities are not viewed as caused by spirits. In the Haitian case, Pentecostals understand the presence of spirits as a burden, and there are continuous economic obligations to these spirits even abroad and after the migratory process has been

initiated. Therefore, the spirits are primary agents in the origins of problems; they are the cause of the illness, economic scarcity or social turmoil. The Latin American case does not show a spiritual reason for poverty, scarcity, and so on.

Another key point is the strategic attitude that Haitians adopt towards conversion to Pentecostalism (as was commented above). In this sense, it is essential to identify that the market metaphor, and the attitude of customers in the religious realm, can be misleading in the case of Haitian Pentecostalism as worshippers are not customers in the traditional sense. As Bernice Martin (2006) has argued the rational choice advocated by the paradigm of rational choice theory should consider that there are no-rational (or pre-rational) elements that are involved in the decision. One of these elements is the Spiritual Culture in the Pentecostal worldview that is composed of the existence of spiritual possession cults and practices; a “still enchanted” or inhabited by spirit world; and the tendency to not separate the spiritual, material and physical well-being dimensions (Martin, 2006). In the Haitian case, we can identify that in their religious culture there is a religion composed of spirits -inherited by ancestors- that influence their worshipper’s life (Richman, 2005, 2008, 2017). In this sense, the pre-rational or non-rational elements involved in the Spiritual Culture of Haitians directs their decision regarding the presence of those spirits. In other words, it may be criticized that when Haitians decide to convert to Pentecostalism, they are choosing, in a strictly rational way, to sever their relations with the spirits. Their decisions are mediated through culture; there are no rational decisions in the economic sense that the customers choose between two commodities and finally decide on the cheapest. In other words, we can ask how far is the decision rational in the conversion process to Pentecostalism or how much does culture influence their choices. The culture is a ‘canopy’ that composes our worldviews, and in the same way, the culture can aim our choices (Berger, 1992; Martín, 2017). So, before rational choices, in the Haitian Pentecostal case, there are decisions influenced by culture.

In addition, the market in the current world has become a normative concept (Martin, 2006). In effect, modern institutions -universities, public services, churches, health services, and so on- are operating under the ‘rules’ of the market and the principle of ‘efficiency’. In a world where the logic of the markets has reached all spheres of life, there is no reason for Pentecostal churches to develop independently from the rules of the market. Indeed, “religion is unlikely to escape the imposition of certain market disciplines and the infiltration of explicit market criteria” (Martin, 2006, p. 63). However, Pentecostal churches also provide a space of ritualization of the practices and these are not always oriented by market rules. That is to say, Pentecostals practices like rites of ministration, rites of praise in song or word, or the Sunday services involved a broad range of personnel, and the logic of efficiency is not always the underlying pattern. They can be carried out by two people, small groups or the whole congregations and this illustrate “Pentecostal uses of the ritual of praying together in all manner of contexts” (Robbins, 2009, p. 59).

In summary, under the market logic that permeates all social systems and so many spheres of the individual life, there are some institutions (like enterprises) that are disappearing but in the case of Pentecostalism this movement has been strengthened and has reached a worldwide presence. The international presence is due to its capacity for ritualizing their services and worshippers through practices such as street preaching, healing, exorcism, and the ability to create a new church without so many economic resources or theological

formation by the pastors. In other words, Pentecostalism can be infused by the market logic, also providing a space that promotes religious commitment and the sense of community. Through the experience of the Holy Spirit and healing, possession and glossolalia, and this is noteworthy as “people have had fewer and fewer ways to sustain spaces in which social relations can be organized by non-market logic to meet non-market goals” (Robbins, 2009, p. 55).

In the same way, the influential book *Crossing and Dwelling* by Thomas Tweed (2006) states that religion is not a fixed realm. Otherwise, there is a constant movement or flux between, on the one hand, the homeland, the house, and the body and, on the other hand, the space, the pilgrimage, and the mission. In the case of immigrants and religion, there is a continuous relationship between the homeland and the host society, between the familiar and religious ties to the home country and the religious practices in the new land. In this sense, the Haitian Pentecostal case is a striking example of a religious movement that is continually *crossing* and *dwelling*. This can be seen in the familiar and spiritual ties that link Haitians abroad with both their kin and *lwes* in Haiti, through remittances that the former should send regularly, and the worldview that homeland is suffering from poverty and social turmoil due to the “satanic” presence of Vodou spirits. Haitians in host societies maintain an economic and spiritual link with their home country. The spiritual relationship may be understood as a particular feature of the Haitian spiritual realm as other immigrants are linked to the religion of their home country, but there is not necessarily a spiritual interpretation of the social or political situation of their countries.

Conclusions

In terms of Haitian Pentecostalism abroad we can understand that the decision to join its churches is driven by general elements such as the presence of churches, the status of churches (and that they can replicate the social structures of the homeland) and the existence of social links. However, there are more compelling elements that are part of both the conversion and involvement in Pentecostal churches in the Haitian case.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be evidenced that immigrant Haitian Pentecostal communities are part of a “world as a whole” as the conversion process is the result of a common thread: the rejection of Vodou and its harmful effects on individual and social life. There are different Haitian churches, and some of them can even be on opposite sides of the social spectrum (Louis, 2012). However, the attempts to sever the presence of Vodou spirits can be understood as a common motive for Haitian conversion. It can be labelled as ‘strategic’, although I argue that it is not an economic approach in a religious market sense because the conversion is aimed by cultural elements instead of an instrumental approach -as can be shown in the process of buying commodities in the markets.

At the same time, there is an outstanding interpretation of the social problems and the social, political or economic situation of homeland in religious terms, as well. In a similar manner, the Haitians Pentecostals abroad understand that the Vodou spirits are the primary agents in the destiny of both their lives and their country. This worldview is at the origins of the process of conversion, but at the same time, is different to Latin American Pentecostalism where poverty or social problems are not understood in spiritual terms. In the latter case,

there are no spirits that affect the economic situation of the home countries.

Finally, the analysis of Haitian Pentecostalism provides a richer comprehension of both Pentecostalism and the religious life of immigrants. The presence of spirits at the origins of the decision to convert to Pentecostalism demonstrates the necessity to understand religion not only as a social phenomenon but also as a spiritual domain.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

This doctoral research has shown the role that religious institutions develop in the first steps of the settlement of immigrants into Chilean society. The empirical research was carried out in two churches, the Latin American Parish and the Santa Cruz Parish, with techniques from qualitative methodology -observant participation and qualitative interviews- and the theoretical article on Haitian Pentecostalism are all focused on the relationship between immigrants and religious institutions at the beginning of their incorporation in Santiago, Chile.

Chile has experienced a steady flow of Latin American immigration since the 2000s (Cerrutti & Parrado, 2015) and Haitian immigration has gained a strong presence since ten years ago (Aguirre, 2017; Rojas & Koechlin, 2017). In this context, the general aim of this research was to comprehend the role that religious institutions develop in the settlement of immigrants. In this sense, the characteristics of the churches in the case of immigrant newcomers that attend religious and social services that are provided. The above general aim was researched with three specific objectives — each one is related to a particular article. The first article was aimed **to examine the role of cultural diversity in the personal belief in an intercultural parish**. The cultural diversity present in the Latin American Parish was the main source for the analysis of the belief among parishioners. The second article searched **to analyze the reproduction of Haitian Catholicism, and the interaction of Haitian parishioners with the Chilean community, in a Chilean Parish**. The final article is a bibliographical review that looks **to identify, in the literature on Haitian Pentecostalism, the fundamental characteristics of this movement abroad**.

Objective 1: To examine the role of cultural diversity in the personal belief in an intercultural parish.

This objective was chosen as the parish under research (the Latin American parish) has a lot of diversity among its parishioners. There are people from several countries in Latin America, Europe, and Africa. The original aim was to research the patterns of stratification among parishioners with different backgrounds and socio-economic status. However, since the initial weeks of fieldwork, it was possible to observe that the various communities are not participating in segregated ways. Moreover, they interact and participate in the Masses and, sometimes, in the religious and social activities in overlapping ways. That is to say, they are involved in the religious and social life of the parish with parishioners from different national backgrounds, and there is no presence of isolation attitudes or national isolated communities. Instead of segregation, there is interaction in overlapping ways among the communities. For example, there were national celebrations in honour of local Marian figures and parishioners of other national origins participated in these celebrations, as well.

In the context of cultural diversity and immigration, the work by Berger (1992, 2004, 2013, 2014) was a useful resource for understanding differences that have arisen from the modernization processes. In this sense, cultural diversity leads to cultural pluralism where there is a presence of diversity of cultural traditions or religions the people can choose among them to adopt a consumer's attitude. Indeed, the pluralism of the modern world produces a change from the imposition regarding religious issues to the election. However, the presence of different religious groups or traditions can produce a pluralism in the mind (Berger, 2013, 2014) because the various religions would show that there are alternative worldviews and

that religious exclusivity in terms of the interpretation of individual, social, and spiritual issues is harder to obtain due to the religious pluralism.

In religious terms, the capacity of choosing among different alternatives can be understood as religious reflexivity (Marti, 2015) and a church with cultural diversity or a church where the different religious groups interact and overlap -an intercultural church (Brazal & Guzman, 2016; Cruz, 2008, 2013, 2014)- is a key place to research religious reflexivity. Nevertheless, it should be noted that that the pluralism in mind proposed by Berger (2013, 2014) is produced by a pluralism inter-religion - different religious traditions in the marketplaces. In contrast, Taylor (1999, 2007) has argued that there is a type of pluralism intra-religion in which the individual believer chooses among a set of familiar religious options, and the otherness in religious terms is not considered as an option for religious affiliations.

Under these circumstances, the Latin American parish was selected to research the relationship between cultural diversity and individual belief. The results show: first that the participation in this parish is viewed as a way of continuity in the religious life of the parishioners. Second, the message from the priest at Mass and the decoration of the church is aimed at a particular national community every week. Thirdly, different national communities participate in the religious and social activities every Sunday, there are no restrictions to the involvement, and in this way, parishioners from different national backgrounds interact among them. Fourth, in the religious processions, there is participation by the national community (that is being celebrated), and there is some division of roles: men holding the Marian figure and women saying the rosary. Fifth, some interviewees believe that God is present in their immigration process; this may be seen when they pray to him, and they obtain help.

Finally, it is important to mention that interviewees themselves recognize that cultural diversity has meant a broader tolerance in religious terms. The parishioners view the fact that the Christian message is celebrated everywhere in Latin America and far away as an example of the vigor of the Christian faith. In the same way, celebrations of the Marian figures throughout Latin America strengthen the individual belief because the parishioners consider that these celebrations are clear examples that the Christian message is not limited to national or cultural boundaries.

Objective 2: to analyze the reproduction of Haitian Catholicism, and the interaction of Haitian parishioners with the Chilean community, in a Chilean Parish

This objective was developed through empirical research in the Santa Cruz parish. This parish has a Haitian community and a Haitian choir, this community celebrates the Mass in Haitian Creole and participates in activities with the Chilean community. The Haitian community might establish an ethnic church in this parish because this community shares a language and ethnic and cultural characteristics that can distance themselves from the Chilean community.

On the one hand, it has been researched that ethnic churches are key places for the establishment of social ties and social capital, where the communities can resemble the religious, cultural, and social practices of the homeland and interact in their vernacular languages (Choi & Berhó, 2016; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b; Edwards et al., 2013; Emerson

et al., 2015; Kim, 2011; Kivisto, 2007). However, at the same time, the participation in the ethnic churches can produce interaction within the community itself but without social ties and interaction outside the community. In other words, individuals who spend all their free and leisure time in activities and with people of the church have fewer opportunities to interact and establish links with native people (Brazal & Guzman, 2016; Ryan, 2016; Serrao & Cavendish, 2018; Tsang, 2015).

On the other hand, in Haitian Catholicism, the figure of the Virgin Mary of the Perpetual Help has crucial importance and is the patron saint of Haiti. Its importance was due to its helpful intervention in a pox plague in the XIX century. Two essential characteristics of Haitian Catholicism is the key role of the Virgin Mary and the importance of pilgrimage. At the same time, the cult of the saints has an important role in Haiti and the diaspora. However, the key figures and religious celebrations in Haitian Catholicism are not celebrated in the Santa Cruz parish. There is only one symbolic moment in the Mass near the date of a Haitian religious celebration. The pilgrimage or the religious festivities are not celebrated because the community meets on weekends and sometimes these celebrations are on weekdays. At the same time, there is no celebration of the saints because the parishioners come from different regions in Haiti, there is geographical variety, and there is no a 'common' saint for this diversity.

Nevertheless, participation in the Haitian community does not mean isolation from the Chilean community. There are different activities where the Haitian community can interact and establish links with the Chilean community. For example, there are Spanish courses (that in practice are intercultural courses on Chilean and Haitian culture, where the Haitians can learn Spanish and Chilean culture and the Chileans can learn about Haitian issues), courses on digital skills, lotteries and activities for making money for the needy and Integration Masses. In these masses both Haitian and Chilean communities participate, the priests from both communities preach a common message that is said in Spanish and then is translated into Haitian Creole, by the priest of the Haitian community. The choirs sing in both languages and in some moments both communities sing in both Haitian Creole and Spanish in a cheerful and overlapping way.

Finally, the interviewees claim, and the activities in the Santa Cruz parish show, that the Haitian community is not isolated from the Chilean community of the parish. Both communities participate in common activities and masses. Furthermore, both communities show that Santa Cruz is not composed of two different communities. Instead, there is one community with parishioners with different national backgrounds.

Objective 3: to identify, in the literature on Haitian Pentecostalism, the fundamental characteristics of this movement abroad.

This objective was developed through a literature review on Haitian Pentecostalism. First, it was identified that Pentecostalism is part of a de-territorialized community in which there is a connection with Pentecostal communities placed abroad because of their common worldview on the conversion process in a Christian community. In the Pentecostal worldview, the personal relationship with the Holy Spirit links Christians throughout the world, wherever they are placed or located, into the crucial mission of bringing and spreading the Christian message.

Furthermore, the Haitian Pentecostal communities produce a close relationship among its members, where the sentiment of belonging is produced by fictive kin (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000) or spiritual kinship (Thomas, 2017). This community is structured through the sentiment that the group has distanced itself from the worldly life and affairs. In effect, there is a clear distinction with the world and with the sinful pre-conversion life. Therefore, the sense of community is developed in practical ways and not only based on spiritual issues or beliefs.

The Pentecostals see the world divided between save and not saved people. In the Haitian case, Pentecostals see conversion as a key process for severing links and eradicating the evil presence of the Vodou spirits (*lwas*). These spirits are the primary agents or the source of problems in both individual lives and social issues in Haiti and the diaspora. There are financial obligations and commitment towards the *lwas* that continue throughout the immigration course. That is to say, Haitians must continue to give money to the *lwas* in Haiti even after settling in another country. These spirits have the power to benefit or harm the lives of Haitians because the *lwas* have their desires and agendas. These financial duties are burdens for immigrants with low salaries. In this context, conversion to Pentecostalism is a mechanism viewed both to obtain the protection from the dangerous powers of the spirits and end links with them. In this sense, there is a strategic conversion aimed at finishing the presence of the *lwas* in the Haitian immigrant's lives.

Moreover, Pentecostalism is viewed as a religion that promotes an upward lifestyle as it encourages a strict code of behaviour and hard-working attitudes. In contrast, Vodou is considered a culture of poverty that promotes envy among neighbours, and the use of magic against the successful economic persons.

The conversion to a new life is related to attacking local cultures (Casanova, 2001), as well. For example, Pentecostal newcomers adopt a strict code of behaviour against the *machista* attitudes in Latin America and through conversion Pentecostals can deal with the problems of people affected by the economic system (Vásquez, 2009). Nevertheless, in the Haitian case, the problems, lack of opportunities, and illnesses are produced by spiritual entities. The Vodou spirits *lwas* are the origins of the problems. There is a spiritual dimension at the basis of the individual, social or economic problems. In contrast, in Latin American Pentecostalism, there are no spiritual entities as the source of individual and social problems.

About the strategic conversion, it should be noted that the market metaphor, and the customer's decision in the religious realm, can be misleading in the Haitian case. As Bernice Martin (2006) has identified there are non-rational or pre-rational elements in the decision process. One of these elements is the Spiritual Culture of the Haitian worldview that it means a world inhabited by spirits or still 'enchanted' world. In this case, it is a religion composed of spirits that influence the worshipper's life. In the conversion to Pentecostalism case, it can be shown that the decision is influenced by the culture and this 'canopy' influences the personal decisions. This case is different to the customer who is choosing among the cheapest commodities.

The results of this doctoral research show that both the spiritual and social realms are overlapping in the lives of immigrants that attend religious institutions. In the case of the

churches researched here, it is possible to claim that the participation hope for continuity in the religious life and the religious convictions of the immigrant parishioners. In this sense, there is a relationship between individual beliefs and the social and spiritual services that the churches provide. It was not possible to evidence a strategic decision for participating in the churches. Instead, the decision to join a parish was for religious or spiritual motives (to continue with the religious life). The parishioners that were interviewed testified that becoming part of the parish was an important step of continuity in their religious lives.

In this sense, in the three cases researched here it may be claimed that spiritual and social domains are interacting. For example, the cultural diversity of the Latin American parish makes the individual beliefs of the interviewees stronger and with the sense that the Christian message transcends any geographical or political border. In both the Catholic or Pentecostal Haitian cases, it could be researched that the strong belief in Christ and the participation in the Haitian pastoral are resources for participating in cultural, religious, and social activities with the Chilean community. Also, the conversion process was aimed at religious or spiritual dimensions because the decision to convert to Pentecostalism was thought as a mechanism for finishing the relationship with the Vodou spirits, respectively.

In this sense, it is important to highlight those religious institutions, and the immigrants that are part of these religious communities, places that provide social services and help for the newcomers, and these services are used by immigrants with an active role in the churches. Therefore, the key aspect of the churches and immigrants is that social and spiritual domains are complementing because the churches provide convenient resources to the newcomers, and a strong religious life and belief motivate the persons that join the churches. On the contrary, other institutions with which immigrants should establish contacts -schools, hospitals, consulates, etc.- provide particular services to the general public. Although, in the case of the churches researched here, the people who attend these institutions have religious convictions, and in those institutions, they can reproduce their religious life, as well access the social services and capital. In the former case, there is a specific public: people with a religious life and beliefs and in the latter institutions any immigrant can ask for the respective service without any type of belief.

It is important to identify that a conventional standpoint in the sociology of religion is the explanation of religious phenomena from a *methodological atheism* viewpoint (Berger, 1992, 2004; Porpora, 2006). That is to say, in the explanation and comprehension of religious phenomena, the social scientist should avoid any reference to the transcendence or the supernatural realm. For example, in *Sacred and Secular. Religion and Politics Worldwide* by Ronald Inglehart & Pippa Norris, the authors explain the persistence of religion in the poor countries and the poor classes because the countries and people with most necessities would need the resources provided by religion more than the rich countries and classes. When people need more economic or social help, they will search for help from religious institutions.

Furthermore, in *Acts of Faith. Explaining the Human Side of Religion* by Rodney Stark & Roger Finke, the authors show the market theory of religion approach, in this theory individuals join religious groups or switch their religious affiliation according to the degree that religious groups and religions provide with compensators in their lifetime or the hereafter. In effect, people rationally assess the religious groups and religions that dispense

more resources in this life (in the case of the religious groups, social capital, protection and ties in a warm community). Or beyond this life (religious worldviews that ensure a high position or reward in the hereafter for the individuals who have invested a lot of religious resources in their lifetimes).

Grace Davie in *Religion in Britain since 1945. Believing without Belonging* analyses the church attendance rate frequencies in Britain since World War II and elaborates an analytical framework related to the assistance to religious institutions. The weekly or monthly involvement is deposited in a minority of churchgoers while the majority only provides economical resources for the functions of the church. In her framework, people in a vast majority do not attend the church, and these institutions continue by the presence of a minority. Also, José Casanova in *Public Religions in the Modern World* explains that the secularization process should be analyzed in a threefold scheme and, at the same time, religion has not confined itself to the private life because there are important cases that demonstrate that religion is a public issue in the modern world. Finally, Peter Berger in the *Sacred Canopy* -the masterwork of the sociology of religion of the middle of XX century-, argues that religion provides a worldview that unifies and organizes the religious groups and individuals because it gives sense to the extreme situations of life. Through the *nomos* that religion offers individuals and groups make sense of the situations and questions without an easy answer or solutions.

In the above examples, the religious phenomena were approached from an economical, church assistance, political or phenomenological viewpoint. Although, the transcendental realm is kept aside from the sociological explanation. However, in the cases researched here, it is possible to show the interrelationship between transcendence and immanence, supernatural and natural. The interviewees declare that God is present in their lives, and even God has a presence in their immigration process. In the case of the Haitian Pentecostalism abroad, the Haitians convert to Pentecostalism to erase the links with Vodou spirits. Therefore, how can we understand the interrelationship between transcendence and immanence in this research?

The *methodological ludism* approach, from the anthropology of religion, proposed by André Droogers (2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d; Versteeg, 2006) is a useful resource in the present case because it puts the above two dimensions in close connection. It should be noted that the idea of play was originated in the fieldwork by Droogers (2012b) in Africa and Brazil when the researcher witnessed the initiation rituals and exorcisms performed in tribal groups. In both cases, the individuals are performing a play with the transcendence in the views of an outsider like the anthropologist himself. From an external observant of the religious ritual, the people in the tribal groups are performing a role in relation to the divinities or spirits that are interacting with them. Therefore, the *methodological ludism* is based on the idea of play, in the human capacity to deal simultaneously with two or more realities. In effect, “religion is actually one of the fields in which this capacity -to deal simultaneously with more than one reality- can be observed. Believers play with the possibility of two realities, one natural and one supernatural” (Droogers, 2012a, p. 396).

This approach considers the presence of the supernatural in the academic explanation of religious phenomena. In the case researched here, the supernatural -God and the spirits-play a role in the lives of immigrants and in the immigration process, therefore the

explanation cannot consider only social dimensions as does the *methodological atheism*. What is more, the anthropological study of religion has considered the transcendental dimension before the sociology of religion. Anthropology has dealt with spirits, demons, witchcraft, exorcism, healing, possession, and so on earlier than sociology. The transcendental or spiritual dimension has been present in the religious phenomena researched by the anthropology of religion since the beginnings of the anthropological study on those issues. However, it should be noted that sociology of religion must include this *ludist* approach in phenomena that cannot be understood without reference to the transcendental. The role of religious institutions in the settlement of immigrants is a theme that has been researched from the sociology of religion standpoint. However, its results show that a more inclusive approach (from the anthropology of religion) is needed to understand the findings.

This research has found, as a crucial aspect, that in the study of religion an inclusive approach can be more useful than to research only within the limits of every sub-discipline of the Religious Studies. For example, the aforementioned results of the three articles have been interpreted in another way if the researcher understood the findings only from a sociological lens. However, an approach that interacts with other sub-disciplines -such as the Anthropology of Religion- can provide a richer explanation of different dimensions (even ones that are omissions in the Sociology of Religion). This idea is try to link the different sub-disciplines of the Religious Studies (Sociology of Religion, Anthropology of Religion, Philosophy of Religion, Psychology of Religion, and so on) in the knowledge and explanations of religious phenomena; because there is no a single discipline that could claim to be the only required in the study of religions (Pye, 2013).

A multidisciplinary approach should be used in the study of religion because there are different types of sources in religious phenomena. There are written sources, oral sources, and material sources. In the case of the written sources these are linguistic, historical and to a lesser extent field-based; the oral sources are linguistic, mainly field based and to a lesser extent historical; and material sources are mainly field based and historical and only in a derived sense linguistic (Pye, 2013). Therefore, this should be used in a different way to historical, linguistical or empirical disciplines in the study of religious phenomena because these are composed of different elements related to the different types of sources above.

Moreover, it is important to use this broader disciplinary approach in the study of religion(s) because there are some religious expressions -such as Haitian Religion- that are becoming part of the religious field in the Chilean context and are composed of different sources. For example, the religious syncretism of the Latin American Catholicism is different to the threefold basis of Haitian Religion -Catholicism, Protestantism and Vodou-. Therefore, in order to understand the religious expression with a different background it is necessary to use the theoretical and methodological resources of different sub-disciplines in the Study of Religion. The analysis of new religious expressions in Chile is a challenging task and as the Haitian case shows it is necessary to use the resources of the Religious Studies as a field of knowledge more than research and analyze within the limits of only each sub-discipline.

On the one hand, it is important to identify the limitations of this research. First, it was not possible to access a Haitian Pentecostal church to do fieldwork. The original plan was to make a comparison between both Haitians Catholic and Pentecostal churches, but two different pastors from two different Pentecostal communities rejected the invitations from

the researcher himself to include their churches in this research. This negative response produced an important lack of empirical data for the case of Haitian Pentecostalism. Second, it was not possible to reach a broader Haitian sample due to linguistic limitations. Third, the findings of this research cannot be generalized to the churches and immigrants in general. This research only analyzes two churches with different types of immigrant flocks. They show a novel tendency in the Chilean religious realm (diversification of the religious scenario due to immigration flows), but they cannot be considered as the paradigmatic or model cases for the cultural and social forms that Chilean churches adopt under contemporary immigration.

On the other hand, a very important limitation is the difference between the languages which are spoken by the researcher (Spanish) and the Haitian sample (Haitian Creole). The first limitation is that this linguistic difference resulted in interviews that were carried out by the researcher dependent on the translation by the gatekeeper in the Santa Cruz parish. The concern with the translation is that the translator summarized the main ideas of the answers given interviewees and in this way a lot of information was lost. I could not access the whole response from the interviewees only the translator's version. The second limitation was that performed without any understanding of the language of the Haitian sample, I could not reach a broader sample because I depended on the translator and his contacts for the interviews. I could not make any different contacts by myself, I needed to contact people for interviews through the assistance of the gatekeeper.

Finally, the study of religion and immigration in the Chilean case is at the basis of further research. For example, the diversification of the religious scenario is an area worthy of research for the next months or years. This can be seen in the presence of different religious expression of the same faith (as is the case of Latin American Catholics) or even the arrival of religions hitherto unknown in Chile (as Vodou exemplifies). Immigration in its religious forms diversifies and revitalizes Chilean Catholicism because the churches are not only composed of a Chilean flock with traditional expressions or celebrations. Nowadays, the same Chilean churches receive an immigrant flock with new religious expressions, Marian devotions, processions, and so on. In conclusion, Chilean churches are not isolated from the interconnected world; Chilean churches are increasingly becoming intercultural churches.

Bibliography

- Aguirre, T. (2017). Migración y religión. La conformación de una comunidad haitiana católica en Santiago de Chile. En N. Rojas & J. Koechlin (Eds.), *Migración Haitiana hacia el Sur Andino* (pp. 187-209). Lima: Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya.
- Ameigeiras, A. (2006). El Abordaje Etnográfico en la Investigación Social. En I. Vasilachis (Ed.), *Estrategias de Investigación Cualitativa* (pp. 107-152). Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Anderson, A. (2007). Spreading Fires: The Globalization of Pentecostalism in the Twentieth Century. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 31(1), 8-14.
- Anderson, A. (2013). *To the Ends of the Earth. Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beck, U. (2010). *A God of One's Own*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization. Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*. London: Sage.
- Berger, P. (1992). *A Far Glory: The Quest for Faith in an Age of Credulity*. New York: The Free Press.
- Berger, P. (2004). *Questions of Faith. A Skeptical Affirmation of Christianity*. United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Berger, P. (2013). Pluralism, Protestantization, and the Voluntary Principle. En M. Pfadenhauer (Ed.), *The New Sociology of Knowledge. The Life and Work of Peter L. Berger* (pp. 33-45). New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Berger, P. (2014). *The Many Altars of Modernity. Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age*. Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Berhó, D., Martí, G., & Mulder, M. (2017). Global Pentecostalism and Ethnic Identity Maintenance among Latino Immigrants A Case Study of a Guatemalan Neo-Pentecostal Congregation in the Pacific Northwest. *Pneuma*, 39, 5-33. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700747-03901004>
- Bidegain, A. M., & Bidegain, G. (2016). Migration, Pastoral Action, and Latin America. En E. Padilla & P. C. Phan (Eds.), *Christianities in Migration. The Global Perspective*. (pp. 173-192). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blaikie, N. (2007). *Designing Social Research*. London: Polity.
- Brazal, A., & Guzman, E. de. (2015). *Intercultural Church. Bridge of Solidarity in the Migration Context*. USA: Borderless Press.
- Brazal, A., & Guzman, E. de. (2016). Seeing Beyond the Religious and Social Divide. The Intercultural Church in the Migrant Context. En G. Mannion (Ed.), *Where We Dwell in Common. The Quest for Dialogue in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 125-143). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Breton, R. (2012). *Different Gods. Integrating Non-Christian Minorities into a Primarily Christian Society*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Brodwin, P. (2003). Pentecostalism in translation: Religion and the production of community in the Haitian diaspora. *American Ethnologist*, 30(1), 85-101.
- Brusco, E. (1993). The Reformation of Machismo: Asceticism and Masculinity among Colombian Evangelicals. En V. G. Garrad-Burnett & D. Stoll (Eds.), *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America* (pp. 143-158). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Bukasa, P. K. (2018). Tactical Creolization and the Production of Belonging in Migrant Pentecostal Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa. En O. Bakewell & L. B. Landau (Eds.), *Forging African Communities. Mobility, Integration and Belonging* (pp. 129-155). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burke, P. (2013). *Hibridismo Cultural*. Madrid: Akal.
- Butler, M. (2008). The Weapons of our Warfare: Music, Positionality, and Transcendence among Haitian Pentecostals. *Caribbean Studies*, 36(2), 23-64.
- Calvillo, J., & Bailey, S. (2015). Latino Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Identity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 54(1), 57-78.
- Cano Miranda, D. (2016). Santería Cubana en la Ciudad de México: Estudio de caso en una colonia popular al sur de la ciudad de México. *Revista Brasileira do Caribe*, 17(33), 161-186.
- Cárdenas, R. (2018, octubre 1). Inmigrantes suben 67% en dos años y venezolanos se convierten en la comunidad más numerosa. *La Tercera*. Recuperado de <https://www.latercera.com/pulso/noticia/inmigrantes-suben-67-dos-anos-venezolanos-se-convierten-la-comunidad-mas-numerosa/336741/>
- Casanova, J. (2001). Religion, the New Millennium, and Globalization. *Sociology of Religion*, 62(4), 415-441.
- Cazarin, R. (2018). Pentecostalism and a Global Community of Sentiment: The Cases of Nigerian and Congolese Pastors in Diaspora. En O. Bakewell & L. B. Landau (Eds.), *Forging African Communities. Mobility, Integration and Belonging* (pp. 255-275). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cerrutti, M., & Parrado, E. (2015). Intraregional Migration in South America: Trends and a Research Agenda. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41, 399-421.
- Charmaz, K., & Mitchell, R. (2007). Grounded Theory in Ethnography. En P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography* (pp. 160-174). London: Sage.
- Chesnut, A. (2003). *Competitive Spirits. Latin America's New Religious Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chesnut, A. R. (1997). *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Choi, C., & Berhó, D. (2016). Ethnic identity maintenance within the Latino-American church a structuration perspective. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 45(2), 91-107.
- Clarke, A. (2007). Grounded Theory: Critiques, Debates, and Situational Analysis. En W. Outhwaite & S. Turner (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Science Methodology* (pp. 423-442). London: Sage.
- Cleary, E. (1999). Latin American Pentecostalism. En M. Dempster, B. Klaus, & D. Petersen (Eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism. A Religion Made to Travel* (pp. 131-150). Oxford: Regnum.
- Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (2003). *Encontrar el Sentido a los Datos Cualitativos. Estrategias Complementarias de Investigación*. Colombia: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia.
- Conway, F. (1980). Pentecostalism in Haiti: Healing and Hierarchy. En S. Glazier (Ed.), *Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America* (pp. 7-26). Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

- Corten, A. (2013). Pentecostal Churches. Haiti. En P. Taylor & F. Case (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Caribbean Religions* (pp. 675-677). Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Cruz, G. T. (2008). Between Identity and Security: Theological Implications of Migration in the Context of Globalization. *Theological Studies*, 69, 357-375.
- Cruz, G. T. (2013). A New Way of Being Christian: The Contribution of Migrants to the Church. En E. Padilla & P. Phan (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology* (pp. 95-120). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cruz, G. T. (2014). *Toward a Theology of Migration. Social Justice and Religious Experience*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cruz, S. (2018). Pentecostalism in the Caribbean: The Influence of Afro-Religions. En H. Gooren (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Latin American Religions* (pp. 1-4). Switzerland: Springer.
- Cubides, J. D., & Bortolotto, I. (2013). Fe y Catolicismo Popular de los Migrantes Latinoamericanos en Santiago de Chile. Apuntes para la Comprensión de la Fe Itinerante desde la Perspectiva del INCAMI en la Parroquia Personal para los Migrantes Latinoamericanos de Santiago. En V. Correa, I. Bortolotto, & A. Musset (Eds.), *Geografías de la Espera. Migrar, Habitar y Trabajar en la Ciudad de Santiago, Chile. 1990-2012*. Santiago: Uqbar Editores.
- De la Torre, R., & Martín, E. (2016). Religious Studies in Latin America. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42, 473-492.
- D'Epainay, C. L. (1969). *Haven to the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile*. London: Lutterworth Press.
- Droogers, A. (1998). Paradoxical Views on a Paradoxical Religion: Models for the Explanation of Pentecostal Expansion in Brazil and Chile. En B. Boudewijnse, A. Droogers, & F. Kamsteeg (Eds.), *More than Opium. An Anthropological Approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal Praxis* (pp. 1-34). Lanham, Maryland and London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Droogers, A. (2012a). As Close as a Scholar Can Get: Exploring a One-Field Approach to the Study of Religion. En A. Droogers, *Play and Power in Religion. Collected Essays* (pp. 388-410). Göttingen, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Droogers, A. (2012b). Methodological Ludism: Beyond Religionism and Reductionism. En A. Droogers, *Play and Power in Religion. Collected Essays* (pp. 311-338). Göttingen, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Droogers, A. (2012c). Paradise Lost: The Domestication of Religious Imagination. En A. Droogers, *Play and Power in Religion. Collected Essays*. (pp. 69-91). Göttingen, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Droogers, A. (2012d). The Third Bank of the River: Play, Methodological Ludism and the Definition of Religion. En A. Droogers, *Play and Power in Religion. Collected Essays* (pp. 339-364). Göttingen, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Droogers, A. (2014). The Cultural Dimension of Pentecostalism. En C. Robeck & A. Yong (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism* (pp. 195-214). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Drotbohm, H. (2010). Haunted by Spirits. Balancing Religious Commitment and Moral Obligations in Haitian Transnational Social Fields. En G. Hüwelmeier & K. Krause (Eds.), *Traveling Spirits. Migrants, Markets and Mobilities*. (pp. 36-51). New York and London: Routledge.

- Durkheim, E. (1990). The Genesis of Religious Phenomena. En A. Giddens (Ed.), *Emile Durkheim. Selected Writings*. (pp. 224-232). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ebaugh, H. R., & Chafetz, J. S. (2000a). Dilemmas of Language in Immigrant Congregations: The Tie that Binds or the Tower of Babel? *Review of Religious Research*, 41(4), 432-452.
- Ebaugh, H. R., & Chafetz, J. S. (2000b). *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Ebaugh, H. R., & Chafetz, J. S. (2000c). Structural Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations. *Sociology of Religion*, 61(2), 135-153.
- Ebaugh, H. R., & Chafetz, J. S. (Eds.). (2002). *Religion Across Borders. Transnational Immigrant Networks*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Ebaugh, H. R., & Curry, M. (2000). Fictive Kin as Social Capital in New Immigrant Communities. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43(2), 189-209.
- Edwards, K., Christerson, B., & Emerson, M. (2013). Race, Religious Organizations, and Integration. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39, 211-228. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071312-145636>
- Emerson, M., Korver-Glenn, E., & Douds, K. (2015). Studying Race and Religion: A Critical Assessment. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(3), 349-359. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215584759>
- Foner, N., & Alba, R. (2008). Immigrant Religion in the US and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion? *International Migration Review*, 42(2), 360-392.
- Freston, P. (1998). Pentecostalism in Latin America: Characteristics and Controversies. *Social Compass*, 45(3), 335-358.
- Garces-Foley, K. (2007). *Crossing the Ethnic Divide. The Multiethnic Church on Mission*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Garces-Foley, K. (2008). Comparing Catholic and Evangelical Integration Efforts. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 47(1), 17-22.
- Gibbs, G. (2013). *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: Sage.
- Gill, A. (1999). Government Regulation, Social Anomie, and Protestant Growth in Latin America. A Cross-National Analysis. *Rationality and Society*, 11(3), 287-316.
- Giménez, V. (2014). Identidad, Religión, Movilidades. Repensar la Nación y las Pertenencias Religiosas a partir de la perspectiva de Migrantes Argentinos de Clase Media en Nueva York y San Francisco. En A. Ameigeiras (Ed.), *Símbolos, Rituales Religiosos e Identidades Nacionales* (pp. 155-170). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Glick Schiller, N. (2009). There is no Power Except for God: Locality, Global Christianity and Immigrant Transnational Incorporation. En T. Kirsch & B. Turner (Eds.), *Permutations of Order. Religion and Law as Contested Sovereignties* (pp. 125-146). Farnham, England: Ashgate.
- Glick Schiller, N., Caglar, A., & Guldbrandsen, T. (2006). Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Locality, Globality, and Born-Again Incorporation. *American Ethnologist*, 33(4), 612-633.
- Goetz, J., & LeCompte, M. (1988). *Estrategia y Diseño Cualitativo en Investigación Educativa*. Madrid: Morata.
- Gorski, P., & Guhin, J. (2017). The Ongoing Plausibility of Peter Berger: Sociological Thought on the The Sacred Canopy at Fifty. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 85(4), 1118-1131.

- Hagan, J. (2002). Religion and the Process of Migration: A Case Study of a Maya Transnational Community. En H. R. Ebaugh & J. S. Chafetz (Eds.), *Religion Across Borders. Transnational Immigrant Networks* (pp. 75-91). Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Hagiopan, F. (2009). Introduction. The New Landscape. En F. Hagiopan (Ed.), *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America*. (pp. 1-65). Indiana: Notre Dame University Press.
- Haines, D. (2007). Ethnicity's Shadows: Race, Religion, and Nationality as Alternative Identities among recent United States Arrivals. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 14, 285-312.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1994). *Etnografía*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Harris, A. (2016a). Patron Saint of Catholics and Hindus: Saint Antony and Ecclesial Hospitality in East London. En S. Snyder, J. Ralston, & A. Brazal (Eds.), *Church in an Age of Global Migration* (pp. 159-173). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harris, A. (2016b). «They Just Dig St Antony, He's Right Up Their Street, Religious Wise»: Transnational Flows and Inter-Religious Encounters in an East London Parish. En D. Pasura & M. B. Erdal (Eds.), *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism* (pp. 95-120). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Healey, J., Stepnick, A., & O'brien, E. (2019). *Race, Ethnicity, Gender & Class. The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change*. London: Sage.
- Hervieu-Léger, D. (2006). In Search of Certainties: The Paradoxes of Religiosity in Societies of High Modernity. *The Hedgehog Review*, 8(1/2), 59-68.
- Hervieu-Léger, D. (2009). Roman Catholicism and the Challenge of Globalization. En E. Ben-Rafael & Y. Sternberg (Eds.), *Transnationalism. Diasporas and the Advent of a New (Dis)Order* (pp. 445-459). Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Hurbon, L. (2001). Pentecostalism and Transnationalism in the Caribbean. En A. Corten & R. Marshall-Fratani (Eds.), *Between Babel and Pentecost. Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (pp. 124-141). Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Karagiannis, E., & Glick Schiller, N. (2006). Contesting Claims to the Land. Pentecostalism as a Challenge to Migration Theory and Policy. *Sociologist*, 56(2), 137-171.
- Kim, R. (2011). Religion and Ethnicity: Theoretical Connections. *Religions*, 2, 312-329.
- Kim-Cragg, H., & Burns, S. (2016). Liturgy in Migration and Migrants in Liturgy. En S. Snyder, J. Ralston, & A. Brazal (Eds.), *Church in an Age of Global Migration* (pp. 113-129). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kivisto, P. (2007). Rethinking the Relationship Between Ethnicity and Religion. En J. Beckford & D. N.J. (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (pp. 490-510). London: Sage.
- Kivisto, P. (Ed.). (2016). *Incorporating Diversity: Rethinking Assimilation in a Multicultural Age*. New York: Routledge.
- Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance Through Interviews and Dialogue. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3), 480-500.
- Lareau, A. (2012). Using the Terms Hypothesis and Variable for Qualitative Work: A Critical Reflection. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(August), 671-677.
- Lehmann, D. (1996). *Struggle for the Spirit. Religious Transformation and Popular Culture in Brazil and Latin America*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Levitt, P. (2007). *God Needs No Passport. Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape*. New York and London: The New Press.
- Ley, D., & Tse, J. (2013). Homo Religiosus? Religion and Immigrant Subjectivities. En P. Hopkins, L. Kong, & E. Olson (Eds.), *Religion and Place: Landscape, Politics and Piety* (pp. 149-165). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Louis, B. (2011). Haitian Protestants Views of Vodou and the Importance of Karactè within a Transnational Social Field. *Journal of Haitian Studies*, 17(1), 211-227.
- Louis, B. (2012). Touloutoutou and Tet Mare Churches: Language, Class and Protestantism in the Haitian Diaspora of the Bahamas. *Studies in Religion*, 41(2), 216-230.
- Louis, B. (2015). *My Soul is in Haiti. Protestantism in the Haitian Diaspora of the Bahamas*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Malesevic, S. (2004). *The Sociology of Ethnicity*. London: Sage.
- Mallimaci, A. (2016). Prácticas Religiosas en Contextos de Migración. Algunas Articulaciones entre Transnacionalidad, Localidad e Identidades. *Papeles del Ceic*, 1(154).
- Marina, P. (2016). *Chasing Religion in the Caribbean. Ethnographic Journeys from Antigua to Trinidad*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marquardt, M. F. (2005). Structural and Cultural Hybrids. Religious Congregational Life and Public Participation of Mexicans in the New South. En K. Leonard, A. Stepick, M. Vásquez, & J. Holdaway (Eds.), *Immigrant Faiths. Transforming Religious Life in America* (pp. 189-218). New York: AltaMira Press.
- Marti, G. (2005). *A Mosaic of Believers. Diversity and Innovation in a Multiethnic Church*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Marti, G. (2009). Affinity, Identity, and Transcendence: The Experience of Religious Racial Integration in Diverse Congregations. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(1), 53-68.
- Marti, G. (2012). Ethnic Option and the Ethnic Transcendent Expression of American Latino Religious Identity. En C. Chen & R. Jeung (Eds.), *Sustaining Faith Traditions. Race, Ethnicity, and Religion among the Latino and Asian American Second Generation* (pp. 25-45). New York and London: New York University Press.
- Marti, G. (2015). Religious Reflexivity: The Effect of Continual Novelty and Diversity on Individual Religiosity. *Sociology of Religion*, 76(1), 1-13.
- Martin, B. (1998). From pre- to post Modernity in Latin America: The case of Pentecostalism. En P. Heelas (Ed.), *Religion, Modernity and Postmodernity* (pp. 102-146). Oxford and Malden: Blackwell.
- Martin, B. (2006). Pentecostal Conversion and the Limits of the Market Metaphor. *Exchange*, 35(1), 61-91.
- Martín, E. (2017). Peter Berger's Theory of Secularization in Latin America: The Two Sacred Canopies. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 85(4), 1137-1146.
- Matthews, T., Bartkowski, J., & Chase, T. (2016). Race and Ethnicity. En D. Yamane (Ed.), *Handbook of Religion and Society* (pp. 421-442). Switzerland: Springer.
- McAlister, E., & Richman, K. (2009). Catholic, Vodou, and Protestant. Being Haitian, Becoming American-Religious Pluralism, Immigrant Incorporation, and Transnationalism. En R. Alba, A. Raboteau, & J. DeWind (Eds.), *Immigration and Religion in America. Comparative and Historical Perspectives* (pp. 319-352). New York and London: New York University Press.

- McMahon, L. (2012). Haiti. En M. Juergensmeyer & W. C. Roof (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Global Religion* (pp. 495-496). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Melkonian-Hoover, R., & Kellstedt, L. (2019). *Evangelicals and Immigration. Fault Lines among the Faithful*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Menjívar, C. (2001). Latino Immigrants and their Perceptions of Religious Institutions: Cubans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans in Phoenix, Arizona. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 1(1), 65-88.
- Míguez, D. (1999). Exploring the Argentinian case: Religious Motives in the Growth of Latin American Pentecostalism. En C. Smith & J. Propokky (Eds.), *Latin American Religion in Motion* (pp. 221-234). New York and London: Routledge.
- Mooney, M. (2007). The Catholic Church's Institutional Responses to Immigration. From Supranational to Local Engagement. En P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.), *Religion and Social Justice for Immigrants* (pp. 157-171). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Mooney, M. (2009). *Faith Makes us Live. Surviving and Thriving in the Haitian Diaspora*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Mooney, M. (2013). Religion as a Context of Reception: The Case of Haitians Immigrants in Miami, Montreal and Paris. *International Migration*, 51(3), 99-112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12073>
- Mooney, M. (2014). Religion and the Incorporation of Haitian Migrants in Montréal. En S. Lefebvre & L. Beaman (Eds.), *Religion in the Public Sphere. Canadian Case Studies* (pp. 201-217). Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Moyaert, M. (2015). Introduction: Exploring the Phenomenon of Interreligious Ritual Participation. En M. Moyaert & J. Geldhof (Eds.), *Ritual Participation and Interreligious Dialogue. Boundaries, Transgressions and Innovations* (pp. 1-16). London: Bloomsbury.
- Mulder, M., Ramos, A., & Martí, G. (2017). *Latino Protestants in America. Growing and Diverse*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Nicolas, G., DeSilva, A., Bejarano, A., & Desrosiers, A. (2007). A Descriptive Evaluation of Religiosity among Haitian Immigrants: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Haitian Studies*, 13(2), 60-72.
- Nieto, C. (2014). *Migración Haitiana a Brasil. Redes Migratorias y Espacio Social Transnacional*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Odem, M. (2004). Our Lady of Guadalupe in the New South: Latino Immigrants and the Politics of Integration in the Catholic Church. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 24(1), 26-57.
- Osorio, Ó. (2012). Migración, Adscripción Religiosa y Cambio Cultural. En C. Parker (Ed.), *Religión, Política y Cultura en América Latina. Nuevas Miradas* (pp. 315-330). Santiago: IDEA.
- Ospino, H. (2016). Latino Immigrants and the Redefinition of the US Catholic Experience in the Twenty-First Century. En D. Pasura & M. B. Erdal (Eds.), *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism* (pp. 181-207). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Parker, C. (2009a). ¿América Latina ya no es Católica? Pluralismo Cultural y Religioso Creciente. *América Latina Hoy*, 41, 35-56.
- Parker, C. (2009b). Education and Increasing Religious Pluralism in Latin America: The Case of Chile. En F. Hagiopan (Ed.), *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the*

- Catholic Church in Latin America* (pp. 131-183). Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Parker, C. (2016). Religious Pluralism and New Political Identities in Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, 43(3), 15-30.
- Pasura, D., & Erdal, M. B. (2016). Introduction: Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism. En D. Pasura & M. B. Erdal (Eds.), *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism* (pp. 1-20). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Porpora, D. (2006). Methodological Atheism, Methodological Agnosticism and Religious Experience. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 36(1), 57-75.
- Portes, A. (2000). The Two Meanings of Social Capital. *Sociological Forum*, 15(1), 1-12.
- Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (1996). The Downside of Social Capital. *American Prospect*, 26, 18-21.
- Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (2000). Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 32(2), 529-547.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2014). *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Pye, M. (2013). *Strategies in the Study of Religions. Volume one: Exploring Methods and Positions*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Ramírez, J. (2008). El Campo Religioso Latinoamericano y Caribeño. Efectos de la Globalización Neoliberal. En A. Alonso (Ed.), *América Latina y el Caribe. Territorios Religiosos y Desafíos para el Diálogo* (pp. 83-108). Buenos Aires: CLACSO.
- Rey, T. (1999). *Our Lady of Class Struggle. The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Haiti*. Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Rey, T. (2004). Marian Devotion at a Haitian Catholic Parish in Miami: The Feast of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 19(3), 353-374.
- Rey, T. (2008). Worthiness as Spiritual Capital: Theorizing Little Haiti's Religious Market. En J. Stolz (Ed.), *Salvation Goods and Religious Markets. Theory and Applications* (pp. 193-210). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Rey, T. (2010). Catholic Pentecostalism in Haiti: Spirit, Politics, and Gender. *Pneuma*, 32, 80-106.
- Rey, T., & Stepick, A. (2013). *Crossing the Water and Keeping the Faith. Haitian Religion in Miami*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Richman, K. (2005). The Protestant Ethic and the Dis-Spirit of Vodou. En K. Leonard, A. Stepick, M. Vásquez, & J. Holdaway (Eds.), *Immigrant Faiths. Transforming Religious Life in America* (pp. 165-187). New York: AltaMira Press.
- Richman, K. (2008). A More Powerful Sorcerer: Conversion, Capital, and Haitian Transnational Migration. *New West Indian Guide*, 82(1-2), 3-45.
- Richman, K. (2017). Who Owns the Religion of Haiti? En R. Maguire & S. Freeman (Eds.), *Who Own Haiti? People, Power, and Sovereignty* (pp. 106-124). Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida.
- Robbins, J. (2009). Pentecostals Networks and the Spirit of Globalization. On the Social Productivity of Ritual Forms. *Social Analysis*, 53(1), 55-66.
- Rojas, N., & Koechlin, J. (Eds.). (2017). *Migración Haitiana hacia el Sur Andino*. Lima: Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya.
- Ryan, L. (2016). Building Bridges to Parishes: The Catholic Church in England and Wales and the Role of Ethnic Chaplains. En D. Pasura & M. B. Erdal (Eds.), *Migration*,

- Transnationalism and Catholicism. Global Perspectives.* (pp. 291-315). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sánchez, K., Valderas, J., Messenger, K., Sánchez, C., & Barrera, F. (2018). Haití, la nueva comunidad migrante en Chile. *Revista Chilena de Pediatría*, 89(2), 278-283.
- Saunders, J., Snyder, S., & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2016). Introduction: Articulating Intersections at the Global Crossroads of Religion and Migration. En J. Saunders, E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, & S. Snyder (Eds.), *Intersections of Religion and Migration. Issues at the Global Crossroads* (pp. 1-46). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Serrao, R., & Cavendish, J. (2018). The Social Functions and Dysfunctions of Brazilian Immigrant Congregations in «terra incognita». *Review of Religious Research*, 60, 367-388.
- Sheringham, O. (2013). *Transnational Religious Spaces. Faith and the Brazilian Migration Experience*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Slootweg, H. (1998). Pentecostal Women in Chile. A Case Study in Iquique. En B. Boudewijnse, A. Droogers, & F. Kamsteeg (Eds.), *More than Opium. An Anthropological Approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal Praxis* (pp. 53-71). Lanham, Maryland and London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Small, M. L. (2009). How many cases do I need? On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, 10(1), 5-38.
- Smilde, D. (2005). A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Conversion to Venezuelan Evangelicalism: How Networks Matter. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(3), 757-796.
- Snyder, S. (2016). Introduction. Moving Body. En S. Snyder, J. Ralston, & A. Brazal (Eds.), *Church in an Age of Global Migration* (pp. 1-19). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Somma, N., Bargsted, M., & Valenzuela, E. (2017). Mapping Religious Change in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 59(1), 119-142.
- Soneira, A. (2006). La 'Teoría Fundamentada en los Datos' (Grounded Theory) de Glaser y Strauss. En I. Vasilachis (Ed.), *Estrategias de Investigación Cualitativa* (pp. 153-173). Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Stepick, A. (2005). God is Apparently not Dead. The Obvious, the Emergent, and the Still Unknown in Immigrant and Religion. En K. Leonard, A. Stepick, M. Vásquez, & J. Holdaway (Eds.), *Immigrant Faiths. Transforming Religious Life in America* (pp. 11-37). New York: AltaMira Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (2002). *Bases de la Investigación Cualitativa. Técnicas y Procedimientos para desarrollar la Teoría Fundamentada*. Colombia: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia.
- Taylor, C. (1999). Two Theories of Modernity. *Public Culture*, 11(1), 153-174.
- Taylor, C. (2007). *A Secular Age*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, T. (2017). Rebuking the Ethnic Frame: Afro Caribbean and African American Evangelicals and Spiritual Kinship. En T. Thomas, A. Malik, & R. Wellman (Eds.), *New Directions in Spiritual Kinship. Sacred Ties Across the Abrahamic Religions*. (pp. 219-244). Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tracy, S. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight 'Big-Tent' Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Tsang, W. (2015). Integration of Immigrants: The Role of Ethnic Churches. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, (16), 1177-1193.

- Tweed, T. (2006). *Crossing and Dwelling. A Theory of Religion*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
- Valles, M. (2009). *Entrevistas Cualitativas*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Vásquez, M. (1999). Pentecostalism, Collective Identity, and Transnationalism Among Salvadorans and Peruvians in the U.S. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 67(3), 617-636.
- Vásquez, M. (2009). The Global Portability of Pneumatic Christianity: Comparing African and Latin American Pentecostalism. *African Studies*, 68(2), 273-286.
- Vásquez, M., & Marquardt, M. F. (2003). *Globalizing the Sacred. Religion Across the Americas*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Verdaguer, M. E. (2009). *Class, Ethnicity, Gender and Latino Entrepreneurship*. New York: Routledge.
- Versteeg, P. (2006). Playing Religion? Experience, Meaning and the Ludic Approach. En A. van Harskamp, M. Klaver, J. Roeland, & P. Versteeg (Eds.), *Playful Religion. Challenges for the Study of Religion*. (pp. 97-108). The Netherlands: Eburon Delft.
- Warner, R. S. (1997). Religion, Boundaries, and Bridges. *Sociology of Religion*, 58(3), 217-238.
- Warner, R. S. (1998). Immigration and Religious Communities in the United States. En R. S. Warner & J. Wittner (Eds.), *Gatherings in Diaspora. Religious Communities and the New Immigrants* (pp. 3-27). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Warner, R. S. (2000). Religion and New (Post-1965) Immigrants: Some Principles Drawn from Field Research. *American Studies*, 41(2/3), 267-286.
- Warner, R. S., & Wittner, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Gatherings in Diaspora. Religious Communities and the New Immigration*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Waters, M., & Jiménez, T. (2005). Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31, 105-125.
- Wittberg, P. (2011). The Concept of Community in Catholic Parishes. En G. Giordan & W. Swatos (Eds.), *Religion, Spirituality and Everyday Practice* (pp. 89-108). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Wood, M. (2006). Breaching Bleaching: Integrating Studies of «Race» and Ethnicity with the Sociology of Religion. En J. Beckford & J. Walliss (Eds.), *Theorising Religion: Classical and Contemporary Debates* (pp. 237-250). London and New York: Routledge.
- Wuthnow, R., & Offut, S. (2008). Transnational Religious Connections. *Sociology of Religion*, 69(2), 209-232.
- Yang, F., & Ebaugh, H. R. (2001). Religion and Ethnicity Among New Immigrants: The Impact of Majority/Minority Status in Home and Host Countries. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 40(3), 367-378.
- Yáñez, C. (2017, mayo 29). Chile es el país latinoamericano donde más ha aumentado la inmigración. *La Tercera*. Recuperado de <https://www.latercera.com/noticia/chile-pais-latinoamericano-donde-mas-ha-aumentado-la-inmigracion/>